

## **Roma, Egalitarianism and School Integration: The Case of Flampouro**

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### **Introduction**

The global economic and political restructuring of the last two decades (fall of the "real socialism regime", worldwide dominance of a neo-liberal version of capitalism, attempt to impose the model of western democracy) has led to a change in the philosophy and the objectives of the welfare state. The worldwide ideological prevalence of neo-liberalism brought a shift in the priorities of the most countries national social policies, which ceased to pose at the top of their pursuits the elimination of the economic inequalities and focused on the (more practical) aim of "recognizing" the different (national, ethnic, cultural) social groups. A corresponding shift occurred in the field of social sciences, where social identities replaced social classes as the dominant "paradigm" (Zachos, Hatzis, 2005). This new situation fostered the "acknowledgement" of all sort of "collectivities", whereas the request for granting to cultural and ethnic groups the status of minority ceased to be a taboo issue for the modern nation-states.

Within this framework, various international organizations (United Nations, European Union) recognized the existence of a "Roma nation". That is, they acknowledged that people known as Gypsies, Roma etc. constitute a people that is dispersed and its particularity lies in the fact that, this people does not have and does not claim a national "hearth" (a mother country). Although the historical and scientific grounds of the concept of a Roma people is heavily disputed (Willems, Lucassen, 2000), this notion forms the basis of an approach according to which, the accession to the Roma people is no longer based on phenotypical and genetic grounds but on the (supposed) homogenized way of life and the (supposed) common cultural elements of those who are defined as Rom (Zachos, 2006a).

This approach is also the axis around which institutional bodies of the international community (United Nations, Unicef, European Union), as well as international or national Non-Governmental Organizations design and develop their actions and

policies. Furthermore, it seems that this same approach about the Roma and their way of life has been adopted by the majority of the academics and researchers of the scientific domain of the Romani Studies, and as a result, it has universally prevailed in public speech.<sup>i</sup> From all the characteristics attributed –within this approach- to the Roma, particularly interesting for the present project are the following:

1. Roma are “by nature” a nomadic people
2. Education is not compatible with the Romani culture
3. Roma get involved in politics only to serve their petty interests and for this reason, they always vote for the leading parties

The thesis of the present project’s writer is that according to the existing historical and cultural differences, the people who belong to the Roma do not constitute a nation.<sup>ii</sup> For this reason, it would be more appropriate to refer to “Romani / Roma groups”, that is, to communities which share certain common cultural (language of the ancestors, traditions, manners and customs), historical (relocations, persecutions) and social elements (profession, socioeconomic status), as well as common experiences regarding their relationship to the “hosting societies” (discriminations, racist behaviors) (Zachos, 2006a & b).

Flampouro is a village in the southern part of the Serres prefecture. Administratively, it belongs to the municipality of Nigrita and it is situated approximately ten kilometers east from the homonymous capital. According to the existing sources, in the area where Flampouro is today, in the last quarter of the 19th century there were four small settlements which were tantalized by the frequent floods of the Strymon River. These settlements’ residents, the majority of whom were of Roma origin, suffered from malaria caused by the stagnant waters of the marshland (Anagnostopoulos, 1936). Under Turkish rule, most of the area’s residents worked as share-croppers in the two big local agrarian lands (tsiflikia). The main occupation of the people of the Bairachtar Machala (Flampouro previous name) was fishing in the Achinos Lake and collecting the products of the marshland.

After the area’s integration into the Greek state, some of these Roma origin residents moved to Flampouro, whereas, the neighboring settlements were abandoned. The majority of the these people aimed at, fought for and finally succeeded in gaining a small piece of land, which enlarged later, when the lake was dried and its fertile land

was allotted to the people of the neighbouring villages. However, rural property was small and for the most time the production was not enough to cover the needs of the numerous Roma families. An additional problem was the morphology of the ground which was often covered by the waters of the Strymon River and therefore, it was not suitable for farming that could provide a considerable income. The rural lot was divided among the second generation beneficiaries, something that forced several smallholders to sell their land. As a result, these people entered the cheap working hands category, the members of which were farmers who cultivated the land; they kept 50% of the production and gave the rest to the owners, they were occupied as seasonal labor in agriculture and used to undertake the most menial farming, industrial etc. jobs.<sup>iii</sup> The bad financial situation of the people of Flampouro, the lack of career perspectives and their desire to improve their living standards made them seek a better luck elsewhere. Only a small number of them migrated abroad (mainly to Germany), since the authorities would not give them the necessary “certificate of social convictions”, because of their left political leaning. Most of the immigrants from Flampouro headed to Athens, where they formed a thriving community the members of which exceed today 2,500 people. By contrast, the village’s population from 1961 onwards constantly decreases: According to the official census, in 1951, 1363 people lived in Flampouro, in 1961 1734; in 1971 the number of its residents fell to 1550 people, in 1981 to 1382 and in 1991 to 1024 people.

Flampouro was the “Mecca of the Gypsies” (Yeager, 1979:362), a place where Romani “dominance”<sup>iv</sup> offered a secure environment free from intense ethnic conflicts and annoying, offensive behavior and where Roma origin people of the Serres prefecture used to gather for their social relations. The feasts, festive ceremonies and customs (Ampampas, Carnavalos, Lazarines, Tziamala) of Flampouro functioned as an attraction for the rest of the people of Serres, many of whom used to visit it at least once a year. Indicative of the village’s glamour is the fact that Bart McDowel of the National Geographic Society visited Flampouro, as one of his two “stops” in Greece, when at the end of the 1960’s, he made a journey in quest of the “Roma heritage” (McDowel, 1970: 125-126).

## **The research**

The goal of this paper is to contribute towards exploring the role played by economic and non-economic factors in the exclusion and integration processes of certain “special” social groups (ethnic groups, ethnic minorities, immigrants, refugees, etc.), as well as the ways and strategies through which these groups can intervene in these processes. The data of the research, which mainly focused on the educational condition of the citizens of the Romani village of Flampouro in the Prefecture of Serres, emerged from the author’s field research— which began in early 2000 and was completed in late 2001 – and from secondary sources, from archive material of educational organisations, ministries and local government agencies, from the archives of public utility agencies, from official meeting minutes, from reports by international organisations, cooperative associations and research institutes, from Male registers and municipal registers, contracts, memoranda, wills, maps, diagrams and voting lists. In order to utilize the collected material, secondary sources related to the issue were painstakingly examined (books, magazine and newspaper articles, memoirs, biographies and published recollections, unpublished material, such as lectures at conferences, dissertations and final papers, etc.) A third category of data came from the researcher’s direct observation of the social life of members of the Roma community in Flampouro; over the course of approximately eight months, the researcher closely observed and participated in collective activities (ceremonies, celebrations, political and social events) that took place in the community’s public fora (cafés, squares, community offices and the primary school, etc). Furthermore, the researcher held a series of interviews with people selected on the basis of the role they played or are playing in the public life of the Flampouro community.

## **Politics**

For the largest part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek state kept an indifferent attitude towards its Roma citizens. This becomes evident by the fact that only in 1953 did the Ministry of the Interior attempt to record the number of the “Gypsies” and to explore possibilities for their permanent settlement. However, about until thirty years ago, the majority of these people remained without citizenship, since the recording process was completed only towards the end of the 1970’s (Zeginis, 1994: 20). This legal status was one of the factors that lead the Roma to the margin of Greek society, since their

inability to make use of their urban, social and political rights deprived these people not only of the potential of social mobility but also of the basic, decent living conditions.

Contrary to this status that characterized the majority of the Greek Roma, most of the Roma origin residents of Flampouro were admitted to the Greek citizenship through the 1913 naturalization (Thilykos, 1985: 136). This event signaled the residents' equal –compared to the rest social and ethnic groups- treatment by the political and administrative bodies of the Greek state, as well as their participation in the political and social activities of the local society and of the wider “community” of the Greek citizens. From the first years of the village's integration into the Greek state, the Roma origin people of Flampouro started taking political action -hesitantly, at first-, since they were impelled to found a landless farmers association, in order to claim the area's rural land. From 1933 onwards, when the community of Flampouro was founded, they occupy posts of the local government. Their involvement in politics became more intense after 1944, when they were actively involved in trade unions and associations as well as in party institutions.

### **Ideology of equity**

In Serres prefecture where Flampouro belongs, a very well organized and conscious labour movement was established in the Interwar period. Its members exerted influence on the other professional groups, something that was also recorded in the elections of this period (Mavrogordatos, Hamoundopoulos, 1931: 79-81).

Nevertheless, it seems that the Roma origin voters of Flampouro were not influenced by this trend since their political orientation, as it was manifested both in the 1935 and the 1936 elections, brought them to the right end of the political scale and more specifically, to the right-winged royalist parties (see Table 1). During Greece's military occupation by German, Italian and Bulgarian forces, an event played a major part not only in changing their political preferences, but also in the way they perceived and lead their life: Flampouro was integrated in the German occupation zone of the municipality of Serres, whereas the villages on the opposite bank of the Strymona river were integrated in the Bulgarian zone. Living at the Bulgarian zone was very difficult because the conquerors treated the local populations cruelly and in some cases brutally. This forced many Greeks to take refuge to the southwest part of the

municipality, the part that was under German occupation. This period, a group of communists from two of the villages of the opposite bank, took to Flampouro. Its members had joined the largest resistance organization in Greece, the left-oriented National Liberation Front (EAM). Living together and socializing with these refugees revealed to the people of Flampouro a different concept of the world; their attitude towards them, which was consistent with the declarations of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and of EAM about equality and about establishing a society without discriminations and segregations, made them change their worldview and their political behaviour.<sup>v</sup> It should be noted at this point, that neither KKE nor the “government” of EAM made specific references to the Roma in their manifests and plans of action. However, some of their declarations regarding the nationally and ethnically “different” citizens of Greece referred to the burning questions of parity and free expression of cultural idiosyncrasy, while some other points in their agenda dealt with the Roma origin community of Flampouro, the two most important issues of whom were:

a) Granting all the people and nations, regardless of their origin, language, nationality etc. full political and mental parity (KKE, 1981: 93 & 104).

b) The proposal made by the KKE Secretariat about including the National Liberation Front in the People’s Republic Programme, according to which, “all agrarian land, all state rural property, every piece of uncultivated land, the monastery land, every piece of land that does not belong to farmers or workers, will be confiscated and distributed to the farmers” (K.K.E., 1987: 25).

The influence of these two declarations must have been crucial for the change of the political conscience and political behaviour of the Roma origin residents of Flampouro, since it touched upon two vital issues: First, the distribution of the farming land of the area, something that the people demanded from the day the region belonging today to the municipality of Serres was integrated into the Greek State, and second, the issue of their treatment by the other social groups.

As a result, during these years, several residents of Flampouro joined the EAM, a fact that together with the resistance activity of the refugees, created dangerous circumstances for the village: On two occasions the conquerors and their local associates threatened to destroy the village and execute all its residents. However, the

fear of destruction was not enough to prevent the political activity, since during this period, for the first time in Greece, the masses directly interfered in the political and social sector and were asked to get actively involved in the establishment of many institutions (Tsoukalas, 1999: 30), the most important of which was local government (Tyrovouzis, 1991). Within this framework, most Roma of Flampouro took part in EAM activities; they joined the popular committees, the popular tribunals and they participated in various cultural activities (drama society, dancing parties) organized in the wider Nigrita district. It is worth mentioning that women participated equally in these activities as well, and some of them evolved to resistance cadres. So, during EAM's dominance over the region of Flampouro, the contempted and oppressed Rom managed to escape the inferiority complexes caused by the rest of the area's population and by the nationalistic ideology promoted by the school, the army and the official representatives of the Greek state and they lived in an environment in which their "otherness" as well as their human dignity were respected.

According to Gramsci (1973: 32-33), the conscience of participating in a defined hegemonic power (political conscience) is the first step to a higher and more progressive self-conscience, where theory and practice eventually become one. In Flampouro, the political activity of the members of the Romani community, under the German occupation, lead to the formation of the hard core of the local organization of KKE, the members of which played for decades a central part in the political events of the village.

Towards the end of 1942, Flampouro came under the zone of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization (PLO), a nationalistic and antagonistic to EAM resistance organization, a few members of which cooperated later with the occupation forces. The people of PLO took advantage of the power of their firearms and treated the Roma residents of Flampouro very badly; they contempted, suppressed and exploited them, something that prompted the villagers to join E.A.M. and KKE (Dussas, 1997: 57). It should be noted that even those who were not actively involved in EAM, were favourably disposed towards EAM and KKE and this became evident: First from the almost overall participation of the adult people of the village to a big anti-royalist rally that took place in Nigrita immediately after the liberation from the German occupation and, second, from the way the majority of the voters of the Romani community of Flampouro reacted in the first elections that were held after the liberation of Greece

(1946), when following the KKE directive to its members and friends, they abstained from them. More specifically, only 79 people voted, including the Sarakatsans that had already settled permanently in the village, whereas, in the 1935 elections, 223 men<sup>vi</sup> had voted and only few of them did not belong to the Romani community. This abstention “stigmatized” Flampouro’s Romani community in the eyes of the nationalist state and parastate bodies, since its cause could not be interpreted otherwise.

In the Greek civil war some members of the Communist Party from Flampouro “went on the mountains” and took part in the military operations. From these people, others were killed and others resorted to the countries of the former Eastern Bloc. The rest of the Roma communists and “sympathizers” who remained in the village during the clashes, underwent the pressures and persecutions that the national army, the police and the members of paramilitary and parastate organizations laid in store for the defeated of the civil war. Nevertheless, despite the hard chase, the exiles, the frequent summons to the police station, the recommendations made by the authorities, the paramilitaries’ vexation, the -necessary for survival- recantation and the distortion of the election results, the winners of the war did not succeed in annihilating the “communist” influence in Flampouro. As a result, in those elections that were held without pressure and distortions of the free will of the Greek electorate, the Roma origin residents of Flampouro<sup>vii</sup> voted against the parties of the Right. These parties represented the cruel post-civil war state of the winners, they supported the social system of human exploitation, the social injustice, the acute inequalities and the discrimination against the weak social groups of the population. The Roma origin residents of Flampouro voted for the parties that declared the healing of the wounds of the war and the cessation of the persecutions and discriminations against the defeated and promised equality, democracy and power to the people. So, when the regime allowed the elections to be held in a relatively liberal atmosphere (1958), where the party of the United Democratic Left (UDL) came second with 24,42% at National level, the power of the Left in Flampouro was recorded in the official election results<sup>viii</sup> based on which UDL came first gathering one third of the votes (33,91%) (Table 1). The influence and power of the Left in Flampouro is also confirmed by the results of the municipal elections from which it becomes evident that amidst intimidations, blackmails and physical violence exerted by the police and its parastate



associates, the communists managed not only to control the local councils almost throughout the pre-dictatorship period, but also to elect three presidents in the community (Zachos, 2005).

In the post-dictatorship period a wide re-distribution of the voters of the Left in Greece, which favoured the newly established Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) occurred. PASOK, is a party that espoused part of the declarations, the rhetoric and EAM and UDL's slogans and exploited the powerful reflexes of the leftists (Sakellaropoulos, 2001). When this party came to power in 1981, a large section of the Greek people, members and friends of PASOK, gained access to administration and to the distribution of power from which they were totally excluded until then. Among these people a feeling of relaxation and vindication of their struggles prevailed. In contrast with PASOK's persuasive public speech, the parties of the left failed to make their proposal widely accepted and to convince that they were able to play a decisive role in the political developments. As a result, during the first decade of the country's governance by PASOK, the Left lost a significant part of its audience and instead of government initiatives, policies and objectives, it confined itself to defensive moves.

In this framework, one should place PASOK's rise as the first political power in Flampouro, a position it maintained steadily from 1977 until the 2000 elections - with the exception of the 1989 elections where the Left came first-. Regarding the electoral power of the Left, it remained high until 1990. During this period, KKE, with the exception of the 1974 and 1977 elections, as well as those of 1989 in which the political combination that participated came first, took the second place with percentages fluctuating around 30% (Table 1). After 1990 and the fall of the "social realism" regimes, and except for the 1996 elections, the Left "fell" beneath 20%. It should be noted, though, that the decrease of the percentage of the Left is in step with the big increase of the abstention rates, which in the last elections of 2004 exceeded 50% (55.66% & 69.35% in the national and in the euro-elections).

It seems that a large section of the left voters of Flampouro who lived in Athens, disappointed from the international developments and from the fact that capitalism had been left without an "opponent awe", did not find a reason, that is, they did not have any significant motive to undergo the trouble and the expenses of travelling back to

their village which is 600 kilometres away from Athens, in order to vote. As far as the voters who remained in Flampouro are concerned, most of them followed the general trends of conservatization of the Greek society and especially of its rural areas (Louloudis, Maravegias, 1999) that was sealed with the rise of New Democracy's conservative wing as the greatest political power in the village.

## **Education**

### *α. Historical data*

From the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the borders of the new countries of the Balkan peninsula took their final form, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia engaged in a fierce ideological, political and military conflict in order to annex as much territory of the collapsing Ottoman empire as possible. Schools and churches played a central role in this dispute since the existence and operation of Greek school or schools, for example, and of Christian, patriarchal churches in a town, village or settlement was a proof of the greekness of their population. At the same time, these institutions were cores of ideological propaganda that aimed at the native people of Macedonia who still remained “nationally” neutral. That means, they had not decided yet about the nation they would like to integrate into (Scheim-Dimen, 1975, Karakasidou, 1977).

The Greek state organized a dense educational network all over Macedonia, which was controlled by the local consular authorities. In the Serres prefecture, this network spread even to the remotest settlements (Vakalopoulos, 1986), regardless of the national or ethnic origin of the majority of their residents. So, in 1910 a Greek school was founded in the rural land (tsifliki) of Georgoulas (near Flampouro), where many people of Roma origin lived and worked, and in the following year a school was also founded in Flampouro, which was then called Bairachtar Machala (Konstantinou, 2000). It is worth mentioning that according to Flampouro's primary school records, immediately after Macedonia's integration into Greece, and more specifically, in the school year 1913-14, a kindergarten and two classes of the primary school were operating. The existence of a kindergarten grade shows the concern that those in charge for the official Greek education, as well as most of the European nation-states displayed for the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the people who spoke a different language (Kangas, 2000). This concern becomes evident from the fact that

primary education was compulsory since school had to contribute to the eradication of the use of the mother tongue of the various groups in the Greek territory that spoke a different language (Vlachs, Slav-speaking, Turkish-speaking, Arvanites, Roma etc.) (Zachos, 2006c) and teach the new generation the national language, the greatness of the ancestors and of the nation, and the values of the “Greek Christian culture”.

In the period, starting from 1913 and ending in the 1940’s, except for four years during the ‘40’s when schools stopped because of the German occupation and the civil war, the participation of the Romani community’s members in the official education of the Greek state was rather typical. More specifically, the number of the Roma children who enrolled to the primary school was satisfactory, compared to the total amount of the residents, since it reached and exceeded the corresponding national average (14% of the residents). The percentage, however, of those who attended regularly, without being often absent, was small and those who managed to finish their grade were only few (See Table 2).

The changes that occurred during the 1940’s in the worldview of most of the Flampouro’s Roma origin residents seem to have contributed to the reconsidering their attitude towards education and its goods, and to the acknowledgement of its role in the personal, social and professional life. So, from the beginning of the 1950’s, these people’s desire to “educate” their children became evident: During this decade, Roma children who were born in Flampouro enrolled to the primary school and a number of them -which increased with time- managed to successfully complete the school year (Table 2). Nevertheless, this period, the Greek people was coming out of a decade of disastrous war conflicts (occupation-resistance-civil war) and consequently, its largest part, regardless of intentions and values, had to try hard in order to improve its abject living standards. Therefore, for the people of the destroyed Greece hard work was their priority and as much as they valued education, it was of secondary importance to them.

#### *b. Factors that hindered educational integration*

At this point, it should be stressed that the educational problems faced by people that belong to ethnic groups different than the “prevailing” one are part of the discourse that concerns the education of all people who belong to “lower” classes and lower social strata. The historical relationship between people belonging to these groups and

education begins with the annulment of their universal exclusion, which, however, did not offset democratization of educational systems, but the provision of basic educational services instead, i.e. knowledge and skills that, for the masses of the population of national states, were limited to the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) (Logue, 1996: 79). Later, this minimum was expanded and mandatory enrollment in school was raised from 2-3 years to 8-10 years, which remains the current status. Although it currently seems that the issue of democratization of educational systems has become extinct in most countries of the world, the offspring of people belonging to lower social classes are, nevertheless, called upon to participate in an educational system that is constructed according to the requirements and needs of the middle classes. Thus, a serious obstacle interfered with the educational integration of the Roma residents of Flampouro had to do with the school curriculum and the educational practices which were based (as today are) on the culture and needs of the middle and upper classes (Cornell, 1993, Freire, 1972). Until about twenty years ago, the ethnic "different" students of the primary school were asked to adapt to its environment without having any kind of support, that is, without being asked to participate in some compensatory education programmes, to enter adaptational reception classes, literacy programmes, or to receive some kind of help from organizations and volunteers for language learning etc.

Another very important obstacle in the effort of Flampouro's residents to integrate in the Greek educational system was their mother tongue, which was different from the official (Greek) language of the school. Until the early 1960's, this language (Romanes) was used exclusively at homes, in the streets, in the villagers' everyday activities (Stamos, 1956, Makris, 1960). The different mother tongue is the cultural element of those belonging to groups "different" from the "majority" that substantially affects the lives and activities of their members, as it renders them identifiable and discernible. Bilingual people experience poverty and social exclusion to a greater extent than those who speak exclusively the official state language (Kongidou, Tressou-Mylona, Tsiakalos, 1997: 145). Until the early '60s, the prevailing concept was that failure at schools by members of groups that spoke a different language was due to insufficient knowledge of the school language; in fact, bilingualism was considered a disadvantage and had been correlated to various pathological situations (schizophrenia, learning disorders, psychological disorders).

Additionally, it was generally accepted that people have limited language learning abilities and that learning a second language creates problems for the satisfactory development of the first / main language. As a result, the teaching of the mother tongue of students who spoke a foreign language was prohibited in all educational systems, as it would have had adverse effects both on the development of the official state and school language and on the school performance and vocational career of those being educated (Markou, 1996: 9). The prevalence of this theory, combined with the desire of national states to achieve homogenization of their citizens, led most of these national states to implement “lingual genocide” policies against minority languages; these policies were implemented in two ways: Firstly, through directly prohibiting the use of different languages and, secondly, and more indirectly, through ideological and structural measures (Skutnabb - Kangas, 1998: 13), such as their total exclusion from the area of education, the field of administration, the “public” sphere, etc. This way, bilingual students were and still are forced towards monolingualism, i.e. the exclusive use of the officially recognized language. This situation gradually began changing in the early ‘60s, when the first bilingual classes were held in the United States of America and in Canada within the framework of compensatory education policies.

Today, many support the view that different linguistic elements not only do not comprise a cause for school failure, but, on the contrary, a deficit in the development of the mother tongue is detrimental to learning a second language; this view is supported by research undertaken throughout the world (Cummins 1999: 159-162). Every time people learn a foreign language, they use what they already know in regard to the structure and functions of the lingual system. The “fact that bilinguals have two words for the same idea or object and two ways to express the same thought can make them “objectify” or better comprehend lingual functions” (Cummins 1999:154). Consequently, proper development of the mother tongue is expected to substantially contribute towards the culture and development of one or more languages.

Studies on bilingualism have shown that even learning a new lingual system does not compete with or hinder the lingual system already known; in fact, it adds to it (additive bilingualism). Learning foreign languages, i.e. learning another, second language, is much like learning a first one, as long as the culture that the language

conveys holds a high position in the hierarchical scale of languages. According to Cummins (1999), children of lingual minorities succeed in school when their mother tongue prevails in the place where they live or when it is recognized as equal or even superior to the prevailing language of this place (e.g. English). Lack of a unified stance in regard to the languages of “different” groups (Kouzelis, 1997) and their classification clearly produces better treatment of the speakers of “superior” languages. Thus, for example, great parts of the Greek population will treat a speaker of English or German differently than they would treat a speaker of Albanian.<sup>ix</sup>

Experience from the operation of bilingual classes has shown that competence in both languages does not guarantee school success of children coming from national and ethnic groups different to the “prevailing” one. Because of their “particularity”, these individuals experience a series of restrictions in all their activities. Thus, the exclusion of their language, culture and experiences by educational mechanisms leads those being educated in this category to develop a negative disposition vis-à-vis school, which is expressed as silence and lack of participation in school activities (Cummins, 1999: 45). Cummins (1999: 46) supports that in order to overcome these difficulties, the identity of the members of bilingual groups must be accepted, but not indiscriminately, as many “cultural practices and social structures violate the US Declaration of Human Rights and other regulations of the United Nations». Consequently, language variation, when combined with low economic and cultural position of its speakers, comprises an important factor in school failure of bilingual individuals, as the families of children of different ethnic groups who belong to the middle classes have the financial means to educate their offspring in both languages, hire the best teachers, enroll their children in the most expensive private schools and, finally, watch their children become truly successful graduates of the educational system.

The language problem of the residents of Flampouro was intensified by the village’s geographical alienation, as well as by the nature of the occupation of the largest part of the residents (farming), because of which these people did not have frequent contacts with speakers of the Greek language and consequently, they were not encouraged to improve and develop its use. Greek was not the second language of Flampouro’s Roma residents and most of them could not be characterized as bilingual, according to the meaning the term has today. Children came into real contact with the Greek

language in kindergarten, where, despite the teachers' generous efforts, the difficulties were many.

A third negative factor concerning the smooth and successful school integration of the offspring of Flampouro's Romani families was the low financial level of the overwhelming majority of their families, which forced the children to break up their schooling for a period of time or even permanently, in order to work and help with the family budget. Finally, the fact that almost all residents of Flampouro were illiterate impeded the Roma's successful school course.

*c. Educational level of Roma residents of Flampouro<sup>x</sup>*

The difficulties described above, limited the participation of the Roma origin students of Flampouro in the official primary education until the end of the 1960's. Some of those who did not complete their studies in the "regular" school were given later a second chance, when the "evening primary school" was founded. It should be noted that, this school which operated in Flampouro from 1961 to 1972, contributed to the upward social mobility of its graduates, since the primary school certificate was a necessary qualification for their leaving farming (employment in the public sector, in banks, public services) as well as for the improvement of their working conditions (issue of driving license, farming lift). So, since the motives were strong and the desire of the Roma origin residents for educational integration was already given, from the beginning of the 1970's, illiteracy among the younger generations in Flampouro was eliminated (Rizos, 1973). To better assess this development, it should be stressed that the same period, the percentage of the illiterate in the country population reached 36,8% (1971 census), whereas ten years earlier, half of the people in Greece (50%) did not know reading and writing (Heliou, 1984: 70).

In the same period, apart from the negative parameters affecting primary schooling, a series of important factors impeded the participation of the children of Flampouro's Roma origin residents (that had graduated from primary school), in secondary education: The first has to do with the lack of regular itineraries. Until 1958, when just a dirt road was made, there was no other way for traveling from Flampouro to the nearest High School (Nigrita). The second factor, relevant to the first, had to do with the expenses that a family had to cover, if their child decided to go to high school, and which included the expenses for living in Nigrita (housing, food). Moreover, to this

financial burden of the continuation of the studies, one should add the tuition fees demanded for attending high school, which in 1957 were 65 drachmas annually (Nigrita High School Records, 1957), a considerable amount of money for most of Flampouro's Romani families. A third deterrent was depriving a family from working hands. Those years, children from 12 years old and above participated "equally" in the farming work. A fourth reason regarding mainly those who attempted attending high school, is social racism. The young Roma who went to high school were confronted with offensive and humiliating behaviour.

As a result, until the mid-1970's, the participation of the members of Flampouro's Romani community in secondary education was rudimentary. It was only after the mid 1970's that the percentage of primary school graduates who enrolled to High School exceeded the percentage of those who broke up their studies. This change occurred when the road connecting Nigrita with Flampouro was paved with asphalt and the means of public transport started regular itineraries adapted to the school schedule. From the beginning of the 1980's the percentage of the Roma origin primary school graduates who enrolled and graduated from the Nigrita High School was constantly increasing. In the last decade they were attuned to the percentages of the other rural areas in Greece, whereas from the mid-1980's onwards, the percentage of the Roma origin residents of Flampouro who entered Higher education have risen above the corresponding national average (Zachos, 2005: 238-244). So, there are no illiterate among the young Roma of Flampouro; among the people who in 2001 were from 20 to 39 years old. The majority of them (55.2%) graduated from primary school and a considerable percentage (11%) has graduated from a higher education institution (Table 3). In addition, as seen in Table 4<sup>xi</sup> – despite their continuous dwindling numbers, which hinders the extraction of safe conclusions – people born in Flampouro since the late '70s have shown a "stable" educational course, i.e. their percentage of participation in the three educational tiers tends to match that of population groups in the same geographical (rural area residents) and social position and are no pronounced deviations from national averages.<sup>xii</sup>

The educational course of the members of the Roma community of Flampouro is contrary to the majority of studies concerning the relationship between the Roma and education, both in Europe and in Greece (see below). At this point, it should be stressed that in most European countries there are no statistical data for members of



the Roma, as most of these individuals are citizens of the states in which they reside and are not included in minority people censuses (wherever they exist). Thus, each researcher, depending on his/her theoretical approach, can “construct” his/her own Roma and measure their educational performance. Consequently, it is widely maintained<sup>xiii</sup> that the relationship between the members of all Roma groups and education presents significant problems. Most Roma seem to have been or to be excluded from school, while those enrolled in the educational system seem to end their course early on, at the primary tier.<sup>xiv</sup>

#### *d. Educational level of Roma of Greece*

In regard to Greece, specifically, until the mid-‘80s nothing had been done for the educational integration of Roma offspring. As can be seen from the low percentage of their enrollment in school, educational policies neither took their needs into account nor did they draft any compensational programmes (Karadinos, Kavounidou, Ioannou, 1992: 24). This situation began to change after Greece acceded to the (then) European Community, when – at the order of its Directives – the Greek state had to address the particular problems of this specific population group. Thus, in 1983<sup>xv</sup> the first literacy programme for the Roma was drafted,<sup>xvi</sup> followed by other initiatives concerning their education. These actions, as well as research and studies undertaken by independent researchers and academics, created a database on the life and activities of Rom groups in Greece. Specifically, the most significant studies that focused on the relationship between the Roma and Greek education are the following:

First, the study by Kokkinaki (1983), which revealed that in Ano Liosia, Attica, of the 1,067 Roma over the age of 6, only 194 (18.2%) had attended primary school, while only one man had graduated from Junior Secondary School and another three had merely attended it. In fact: of the parents, 22.3% of the men and 5.9% of the women had attended primary school, while the corresponding percentages for children were 24.2% for boys and 16.7% for girls (Kokkinaki, 1983: 116-117).

Second, E. Marselos and M. Pavli-Korre, editors of the Greek part of the Council of Europe’s report entitled “Report on Schooling for Gypsies’ and Travellers’ Children”, estimated that during the 1984-85 period, when their research was undertaken, 65% of the total Rom population of Greece were illiterate (Liegois, 1998: 73). In further detail, 85% of semi-nomadic and almost 100% of the men over the age of forty and

women over the age of twenty-five were illiterate, while the total percentage of those not included in the illiterate category was limited to approximately 40% (Liegois, 1998: 73). In regard to children of school age who should, according to the Law, attend public or private educational institutes for at least nine years, only about 17% of girls and 24% of boys attended classes (Liegois, 1998: 92-93).

Third, the study by Pavlis and Sideris (1990: 51) on the educational condition of the Roma residing in Agia Varvara, Attica and Kato Achagia, Achaia, which showed that 33.33% of the men and 37.90% of the women of Agia Varvara had never attended a school class, while the corresponding percentages for Kato Achagia were 36.86% for the men and 53.13% for the women. The same study showed that not a single woman in Kato Achagia had completed primary education, while 6.52% of the men did complete primary education. The corresponding percentages for Agia Varvara show that more women (22.07%) than men (20%) had completed primary education (Pavlis and Sideris, 1990: 52). In regard to secondary education, research data showed that in Agia Varvara 13.34% of the men attended up to the third grade and 4.83% of the women had attended classes up to the second grade, while in Kato Achagia, not a single man or woman attended Junior Secondary School (Pavlis and Sideris, 1990: 53).

Fourth, the study by Dikaiou (1990) showed that of 332 children of Rom origin in Dendropotamos, Thessaloniki, only a third (31.02%) finished primary school. The rest either never attended (18.8%) or dropped out (28.9%) after three or four years of enrollment (Dikaiou, 1990: 49-50).

Fifth, in the same region, i.e. Dendropotamos, Thessaloniki, research took place within the framework of the EU Programme "Poverty 3". According to its results, out of a population of 1,441 individuals of Roma origin, 48.7% were illiterate and 15.1% had only elementary reading and writing skills (Tsiakalos, Kongidou, 1992: 29-30). Additionally, 67.8% of children of school age were enrolled in primary school, while only 50% regularly attended classes (Tsiakalos, Kongidou, 1992: 30).

Fifth, Sparangis (1993) completed the first dissertation<sup>xvii</sup> on the education of Rom groups in Greek territory. Its results, although supported by a very small sample (12 families) provided, according to the author of the dissertation, a hopeful message, as most young Roma between the ages of 19 and 35 had completed primary school

(Sparangis 1993: 89 & 103). In regard to individuals between the ages of 30 and 50, research showed that they sporadically participated in primary school activities, while, finally, men and women above the age of 51 had not participated at all in conventional education (Sparangis 1993: 89).

Seventh, Tsiakalos (1995: 26), making reference to various local studies, estimated that percentages of participation of students of Rom origin in Greek schools did not exceed 40% and that adult illiteracy reached 80%.

Eighth, Doussas (1997: 123), on the basis of various studies<sup>xviii</sup>, supported that the total percentage of illiterate Roma in Greece is approximately 90%. Specifically, the author claimed that the percentage of illiterate individuals was inversely proportionate to the degree of integration or assimilation of members of Romani communities in Greek society, as there was nearly 100% illiteracy among members of nomad groups, 90% among semi-nomads and a high percentage – in Doussas' estimation – among recently permanently settled individuals.

Ninth, the Department of State of the United States of America noted that for the years 1996, 1997 and 1998, 80% of Greek Rom groups remained illiterate (U.S. Department of State, 1998).

Tenth, according to a general assessment of the relationship between all Greek Roma and education, which was based on the data of the "Education of Gypsy Children" Programme, in the year 2000, 69.7% of those between the ages of 18 and 47 were functionally illiterate or had never attended school, while only 10% had completed primary school, 2.1% Junior High and 0.9% High School (Sotirchou, 2000:7).

According to the data of the same study, merely 30% of the children of primary school age attended primary school regularly, while the percentage of attendance in Junior Secondary School was 14.4% and nobody from the study population had attended High School (Sotirchou, 2000:7).

## **Conclusions**

From the end of the civil war until today, the participation and successful course of Flampouro's Roma origin residents in all three levels of the official educational system of Greece has been increased. As a result, illiteracy has been eliminated, the overwhelming majority of the residents have a primary school certificate and quite a

few of them have continued their education in the country's higher education institutions. It is also worth noting, that during the last years, the participation of these people in the official Greek education does not differ from the corresponding one of the total amount of the people of the country and especially of the rural classes and that the educational course of the women of Flampouro's Romani community is similar to that of men (Table 5).

The relationship of the Roma origin residents of Flampouro with the official Greek education refutes one of the dominant myths about the life and culture of this specific social category, according to which, the Roma "have no learning curve" or that the Roma culture is incompatible with that of the school and therefore, most of them are illiterate (Vasiliadou, M., Pavli-Korre, M. 1996, Liezois, 1998). However, the successful integration in the Greek educational system is a parameter that differentiates Flampouro's Romani community from all those people labeled as Roma (Liezois, 1998), as well as from the rest "related" Romani groups of the Serres prefecture (Athens Academy, 1971, Kostoglou, 1988, Paraskevas, 1995, Nakou, 1998). This last finding is especially important to the interpretation of the educational course of the members of Flampouro's Romani community, since the Roma origin groups of Serres prefecture share plenty of common historical and cultural elements (longstanding permanent settlement in the places where they live today, longstanding ownership of the Greek citizenship, involvement in the political situation, ownership of the land they cultivate, occupation with farming etc.) (Zachos, 2006b). So it seems that the element which differentiates the members of the Romani community of Flampouro from the members of the other Romani communities of the Serres district, which is their political behaviour, has influenced the way these people viewed education. It seems that the contact of the Roma origin residents of Flampouro with the people and the ideas of the Left has brought significant changes in their lives, which ultimately also affected their educational course. More specifically, the recognition of their human existence and their dignity by the cadres and members of EAM and of the KKE who lived in the village, whose policies and actions were consistent with the declarations about equality among all people regardless of colour, nation and "tribe", affected Roma's perception of the world. This change seems to have been further encouraged by their equal treatment by the people of the Left during the Liberation Fight and the civil war (1941-1949), whereas the work of the party's

“propagandists” helped them realize their economic and social position. The experiences of the above period enhanced the self-esteem of the members of Flampouro’s Romani community, while the acceptance of the ideology of equity, the demand for progress and economic growth, the benefits of which would be fairly distributed, together with the hope of changing the world -which remained alive for as long as the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics existed-, created a climate of optimism. Finally, the constant involvement in crucial disputes (agrarian question, liberation movement, civil war) seems to have increased the militancy of Flampouro’s Roma, who learned to step forward to the active vindication of their constitutional, political and social rights and to the dynamic demand for the improvement of their living standards.

Consequently, the course of most members of Flampouro’s Romani community confirms Gramsci’s (1973: 190) viewpoint, according to which, political action brings people out of passiveness, since it seems that the new worldview and the new supplies with which these people confronted life and society after their contact with the people and the ideas of the Left, altered their criteria and forced them to reconsider their values, attitudes and behaviors. These people were armed with an optimistic view of life that increased their combative spirit as well as their resolution to work in order to improve their living standards. So, several of them tried to exploit all the “tools” the residents of the rural areas of the Greek territory had at their disposal: additional personal work and use of bank loans with which they attempted to modernize and intensify their agricultural produce, whereas others were forced to immigrate. In the end, most members of Flampouro’s Romani community managed to escape the role of the “agrarian proletariat” (seasonal labor in agriculture) which they played for decades and succeeded in integrating in the official educational system. They claimed and took up better posts and they improved in a spectacular way the appearance and infrastructure of their village, as well as their houses and living standards in general.

## Notes

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<sup>i</sup>. For more details concerning this issue, see (Zachos, 2006a).

<sup>ii</sup> According to “cultural” nationalism, which was connected with the “Romance” movement in Germany, a nation is as a historical collective entity, whose members

are distinguished by common origin, language and religion. On the contrary, “political” nationalism, which is connected with the French revolution, advocates that a nation constitutes a collective reality of people who participate voluntarily in it. People labelled as Roma do not fulfil any of these criteria.

<sup>iii</sup> Roma origin residents of Flampouro were not occupied in parasitic, so called “traditional” Romani jobs, like these of the pedlar and vendor, but in “normal” professions, in sectors where the majority of the rest of the population of Greece is occupied, a fact that refutes one of the fables concerning Roma’s life (See Zachos, 2005: 291-296).

<sup>iv</sup> Until the end of the 1940’s, when a few Sarakatsan families settled in, the village was almost exclusively inhabited by people of Roma origin. Sarakatsans were pastoral nomads, who were divided into (large) families and formed an economic livestock unit called Tselingato. Their number never exceeded the 10% of the total population of Flampouro, something that played a defining role in the relationship of the two communities, as well as in the Romani identity of the village. For more details concerning Sarakatsans, see (Campbell, 1976).

<sup>v</sup> The exploitative nature of capitalism, the extracting of the surplus-value from the employee to the benefit of the capital, the conflict between capital and labour, the covered-up class nature of the state and of its typically egalitarian mechanisms, the subversion of the capitalist political power as a prerequisite for socialism etc., are deductions of the Marxist theory, that in several historic conjunctures formed the basis (the slogans) of Marxism as an ideology of the masses (Milios, 1996: 26).

<sup>vi</sup> In Greece, women voted for the first time in national elections in 1952. In the municipal elections, they voted from 1930 but only those who were literate and above thirty years old, that is, a very small percentage of their total number.

<sup>vii</sup> It should be stressed at this point, that all the voters who came from the other social group of the village, the Sarakatsans, the members of which never exceeded the 10% of Flampouro’s population, voted –according to estimates made by themselves and by local politicians– always for the party of the Right.

<sup>viii</sup> From the end of the civil war (1949) until when the colonel dictatorship came to power, the opposition parties had many times denounced the election results as products of “violence and fraud”, something that seems to be confirmed in the case of Flampouro, from the extreme fluctuation of the votes of the Left (Table 1, election results of 1958 and 1961).

<sup>ix</sup> However, “language is culture. Lingual diversity is cultural wealth. The extinction of a language constitutes a threat against European culture, the particularity of which is consistent with its lingual diversity. Therefore, multilingualism must be safeguarded” (Christopoulos, 1998: 74).

<sup>x</sup> The elements mentioned here are concern in the course of six hundred sixty three (663) individuals of Roma origin in the formal Greek education, three hundred forty seven (347) boys and three hundred ten six (316) girls that were given birth in Flampouro the years 1945, 1951, 1957 and during the period which begin from the 2/4/1963 and finish 1/4/1981.

<sup>xi</sup> This table focuses only on people who completed their attendance in local educational institutes and not those who were transferred to a school in a different district.

<sup>xii</sup> For a detailed account on this issue, see (Zachos, 2005: 211-249).

<sup>xiii</sup> See, for example, the report by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, 2000: 67) where the following data are stated: in Spain, most Gitanos children have attended primary education, while only about 1% attend University. In Italy, only 193 of the 1,814 children of Roma origins enrolled in primary education continued into the first year of secondary education. In Hungary, more than 70% of Roma children attend primary education, only 33% attend (mostly vocational) schools of the secondary tier, while less than 1% have a higher education degree. In FYR of Macedonia, approximately 10% of Rom children are not enrolled in primary education schools, half of the others fail by the time they have reached the fifth grade and only 35-40% complete the eighth grade; on average, only one child of Roma origins completes tertiary education. Finally, according to a 1996 report by the

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European Commission, no other population group has such a negative performance in education as Roma and Traveller groups.

<sup>xiv</sup> The educational situation of Roma children is usually characterized by: “Lack of preschool education; Low school enrollment percentages; Inability to participate in the learning process; Premature cessation of compulsory education; Scornful stance by classmates, parents and teachers” (Markou, 1997: 60).

<sup>xv</sup> See: General Secretariat for Popular Education (1989). The reform of the legal framework of Popular Education (see: *Government Gazette*, No. 21, No. 2136 / 26-4-1982 and *Government Gazette*, No. 435β / 27-6-1982 and Laws 1320/1983, 2218/94 and 5067/1985) took place, according to Vassiliadou (1996: 52), in order to approach “the models of European countries”. Thus, in 1984, Popular Education organized the first experimental programme for the Roma of Agia Varvara and Kato Achagia and in 1986 drafted and implemented a literacy programme for the Roma, within the context of which a special educational “package” was created for teachers, along with special audiovisual material for classes. Additionally, there were studies by Pavlis-Korre (1986), Vassiliadou et al. (1988), Vassiliadou et al. (1992), Vassiliadou, Pavlis-Korre (1996) and Vassiliadou (1997) that focused on the educational situation of Greek Roma.

<sup>xvi</sup> Apart from the authors whose studies are listed below, others that have addressed the issue of Romani group education include Chatzissavidis (1987, 1996, 1999), Tressou-Myllona (1992, 1998, 1999), Zionou-Sideri (1995), Vergidis (1995, 1998), Papakonstantinou et al. (1998), Vitsilaki - Soroniati (1999) and Katsikas, Politou (1999). The education of Roma groups has also been the topic of conferences: see: (Vassiliadou, 1997), (Tressou, Mytakidou, 2002: 475-498) and (Tressou, Mytakidou, 2003: 621-668).

<sup>xvii</sup> Later, there were two more dissertations on topics related to the education of members of Romani groups in the Greek territory: those by Lydaki (1997) and Karagounis (1998).

<sup>xviii</sup> See also: (Doussas, 1991 & 1993).



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**Table 1**

Election results in Flampouro

α) in referendums

date	For or against the King			
	YES		NO	
	votes	%	votes	%
1/9/1946	102	43,97	130	56,03
8/12/1974	323	36,33	566	62,96

β) in national elections

ELECTION DATE	RIGHT-WING		CENTRE / PASOK		LEFT-WING	
	votes	%	votes	%	votes	%
9/6/1935	189	85,15	-	-	9	4,05
26/1/1936	115	56,10	13	6,34	1	0,49
31/3/1946	35	44,30	4	5,06	-*	-*
5/3/1950	42	18,42	106	46,49	0	0
9/9/1951	25	8,28	217	71,85	0	0
16/11/1952	138	45,85	128	42,52	35	11,63
10/2/1956	147	27,17	390	72,09	**	**
11/5/1958	185	29,32	91	14,42	214	33,91
29/10/1961	634	78,37	173	21,38	2	0,25
3/11/1963	234	26,26	575	64,60	59	6,62
16/2/1964	183	20,38	631	70,27	84	9,35
17/11/1974	531	56,07	140	14,84	35	3,69
20/11/1977	236	23,89	464	46,96	158	15,99
18/10/1981	268	24,28	546	49,46	276	25,00
<i>E</i> 18/10/1981	242	21,57	495	44,12	337	30,03
<i>E</i> 17/6/1984	203	20,53	459	46,41	276	27,91
2/6/1985	274	21,99	528	42,38	429	34,43
18/6/1989	299	23,62	452	35,70	509	40,21
<i>E</i> 18/6/1989	276	21,45	451	35,04	507	39,39
5/11/1989	345	27,60	524	41,92	375	30,00
8/4/1990	372	29,90	485	38,99	385	30,95
10/10/1993	250	18,98	759	57,63	210	15,96
<i>E</i> 12/6/1994	152	21,23	324	45,25	89	12,43
22/9/1996	278	23,62	392	33,31	355	30,16
<i>E</i> 13/6/1999	235	31,17	246	32,63	121	16,05
9/4/2000	453	39,46	443	38,59	228	19,86
7/3/2004	519	46,76	459	41,35	99	8,92
13/6/2004	301	39,71	248	32,72	112	14,78

\* Left-wing parties abstained from the 1946 elections.

\*\* Left-wing parties allied with the parties of the centre

*E* Elections for the European parliament



**Table 2***Pupils enrolled and completed the grade in Flampouro's primary school*

school year	population of Flampouro	enrollments		completed the grade	
		No	% of the population	No	% of the enrolled
1921-22	615	132	21,46	NE *	
1922-23	615	66	10,73	NE *	
1923-24	»	96	15,61	NE *	
1924-25	»	89	14,47	NE *	
1925-26	»	60	9,76	NE *	
1926-27	»	66	10,73	NE *	
1927-28	»	50	8,13	NE *	
1928-29	745	55	7,38	NE *	
1929-30	»	78	10,47	NE *	
1930-31	»	85	11,41	NE *	
1931-32	»	106	14,23	38	35,85
1932-33	»	72	9,66	36	50,00
1933-34	»	53	7,11	28	52,83
1934-35	»	49	6,58	28	57,14
1935-36	»	50	6,71	40	80,00
1936-37	»	82	11,01	NE *	
1937-38	»	166	22,28	NE *	
1938-39	»	183	24,56	116	63,39
1939-40	»	164	22,01	99	60,36
1940-41	1197	151	12,61	52	34,44
1941-42	»	53	4,43	NE *	
1942-43	»	81	6,77	3	3,70
1943-44	»	41	3,43	NE *	
1944-45		NE *		NE *	
1945-46	»	80	6,68	54	67,50
1946-47	»	147	12,28	65	44,22
1947-48		NE *		NE *	
1948-49		NE *		NE *	
1949-50	»	109	9,11	46	42,20
1950-51	»	114	9,52	51	44,73
1951-52	1363	102	7,48	77	75,49
1952-53	»	151	11,07	123	82,46
1953-54	»	158	11,59	110	69,62
1954-55	»	165	12,11	147	89,09
1955-56	»	184	13,50	159	86,41
1956-57	»	209	15,33	175	83,73
1957-58	»	234	17,17	162	69,23
1958-59	»	253	18,56	200	79,05
1959-60	»	286	20,98	235	82,17
1960-61	1734	301	17,36	236	78,40
1961-62	»	329	18,97	259	78,72

\* *NE no evidence found in Flampouro's primary school archive*

**Table 3**

Educational level of Roma residents of Flampouro who were from 20 to 39 years old in 2001

Total population	educational level									
	<i>they didn't graduate from primary school</i>		<i>primary school</i>		<i>High school (Gymnasium)</i>		<i>Lyceum</i>		<i>Universities – Technical colleges</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
308	40	13,0	170	55,2	28	9,1	36	11,7	34	11,0

**Table 4**

Educational level of Roma residents of Flampouro born between April 2, 1963 and April 1, 1981

έτος	Total population	educational level									
		<i>they didn't graduate from primary school</i>		<i>primary school</i>		<i>High school (Gymnasium)</i>		<i>Lyceum</i>		<i>Universities – Technical colleges</i>	
		<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
1963	10	4	40,0	4	40,0	2	20,0	-	-	-	-
1964	22	9	40,9	11	50,0	1	4,5	1	4,5	-	-
1965	22	8	36,4	12	54,5	2	9,1	-	-	-	-
1966	18	3	16,7	12	66,7	-	-	2	11,1	1	5,6
1967	19	4	21,1	12	63,2	1	5,3	2	10,5	-	-
1968	23	3	13,0	15	65,0	3	13,0	-	-	2	8,7
1969	18	6	33,3	9	50,0	1	5,6	-	-	2	11,1
1970	21	1	4,8	17	81,0	-	-	3	14,3	-	-
1971	18	1	5,6	14	77,8	1	5,6	1	5,6	1	5,6
1972	25	-	-	12	48,0	2	8,0	6	24,0	5	20,0
1973	16	-	-	11	68,8	2	12,5	-	-	3	18,8
1974	22	-	-	10	45,5	2	9,1	4	18,2	6	27,3
1975	16	-	-	8	50,0	3	18,8	3	18,8	2	12,5
1976	19	1	5,3	12	63,2	1	5,3	2	10,5	3	15,8
1977	14	-	-	4	28,6	1	7,1	5	35,7	4	28,6
1978	8	-	-	4	50,0	-	-	3	37,5	1	11,1
1979	6	-	-	1	16,7	1	16,7	2	33,3	2	33,3
1980	9	-	-	2	22,2	5	55,6	1	11,1	1	11,1
1981	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50,0	1	50,0
<b>total</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13,0</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>55,2</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>9,1</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>11,7</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>11,0</b>

**Table 5**  
Educational level of Roma residents of Flampouro per sex

sex	total	educational level									
		<i>they didn't graduate from primary school</i>		<i>primary school</i>		<i>High school (Gymnasium)</i>		<i>Lyceum</i>		<i>Universities – Technical colleges</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	
men	157	22	14,0	84	53,5	17	10,8	19	12,1	15	9,6
wom	151	18	11,9	86	57,0	11	7,3	17	11,3	19	12,6
total	<b>308</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13,0</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>55,2</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>9,1</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>11,7</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>11,0</b>

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