

Roma Security

Eng. Osman Balić – YUROM Center

"Human security covers freedom from fear and freedom from want"

YUROM Centre and the League of Roma - Standing Conference of Roma civil associations (SKRUG) formed the thematic committee within the League of Roma, comprising civil society organizations, independent regulatory bodies, representatives of state authorities and institutions, in order to establish a systematic monitoring of the Roma human security in Serbia.

The idea we were led by was to place under the safeguards exposed to public pressure of the civil society organizations the negative social phenomena within Roma community, responsibility and irresponsibility of the government authorities and the concept of human security. We want to promote a new system of social responsibility for all past and future incidents and, eventually, to minimize the Roma security risks which have become a factual issue.

We believe it is high time to break the silence of the public, of the responsible institutions, international organizations, relevant individuals and even Roma organizations.

Increasing the security of the Roma in Serbia and in other Balkan countries has to be the ultimate goal of all government authorities, at all levels, all public and secret police and security structures, including all media and public services. It has become an acceptable way in which decision-makers at all levels contemplate this issue.

At the same time, we hope that this gathering of the Decade of Roma Inclusion will trigger widening of the circles of civil society organizations in the region, which will focus part of their activities on promoting human security and the security of Roma, and will help raise the general level of security in the region in accordance with reform processes in all sectors of security.

INTRODUCTION

The main problems characterizing the security status of the Roma as basic human rights, rest with **marginalization of incidents** by the political structures, and can be qualified as follows:

- intimidation,
- lack of adequate security policies and their integration into the wider political community,
- dysfunctional judiciary and its ethnic bias,
- politicization, instrumentalization of the media to obstruct reforms within the Decade of Roma,
- political exclusion and intolerance,
- lack of civil (and state) control over the work of the police and intelligence agencies that burden political and public life,
- lack of political will and readiness for cooperation with Roma civil organizations and acceptance of responsibility for the tolerant and biased attitude towards offenders who are ethnically motivated.

In fact, social exclusion can be explained by the very low social awareness of the creeping racism, anti-Roma sentiment and nationalism, which has almost become a permanent condition over the last twenty-something years.

We do not really know to what extent is racial discrimination against the Roma in Serbia, in the Balkans and in Europe present, because there are no official records of racially motivated violence. Many physical conflicts are extremely vaguely characterized by the police as "unresolved issues."

Ten years ago, the Humanitarian Law Centre has released a publication entitled "The Roma in Serbia." This unique collection of the victims' personal testimonies comprises 250 stories on violence, classified so that one can easily spot the breadth and depth of discrimination against the Roma population. There is no evidence of racially motivated violence. Prosecuting of racial discrimination cases is very rarely conducted in Serbia, but when it happens, victims and perpetrators are equalized. " Judges often harass victims with questions such as: whether there was a misunderstanding between the victims and the perpetrator -

in which case one may conclude that such violence would probably be legitimate then? When the victim is Roma man or Roma woman (or the male or female representative of some other minority group), things get even worse. Instead of punishing the offender more severely and taking stronger stand, it happens that the judiciary usually does the opposite and the victims are finally discouraged to turn to the courts. Roma origin is often taken as a mitigating factor for the perpetrator, although this fact is not directly stated in such way in the judgements. More often, racial motives for the attack are completely ignored".

In terms of the letter of the law, Serbia has fairly well-designed law on hate crimes - Anti-discrimination Law is excellent and very clear. In addition, several other laws explicitly prohibit discrimination, including the racial one. A hate crime was introduced by the amendments to the Criminal Code. However, a large number of cases of racially motivated violence against the Roma remain unreported. When attacked, members of Roma community, as a rule, will not report the case, but if they do, it become an exception and is done mainly by those who are, to a certain extent, acquainted with the law or with activists of NGOs so they are aware that they can turn to someone they trust. Roma community does not really trust the police, which is not surprising."

Do Roma actually know they have the right to protection, or they keep silent out of fear or other limitations? These are some of the important questions for the entire society. "Fear is the main reason why victims do not report the attacks, and this is the case with the Roma as well. Sometimes it is the fear that the police would be offensive (especially in small towns), sometimes that reporting would be treated with distrust, and in some cases the perpetrator has good connections in the police so he/she will not be prosecuted... Sometimes, the fear refers to personal security since it is considered that perpetrator will repeat violence again, due to reporting, etc.. There are many reasons to fear. Most Roma still does not know their rights or options to protect. Unfortunately, there are many of those who accept violence as a part of their life and do not realize that there is not a single justification for it".

During the years of war, several generations of young people have come of age, educated on the model of violence which was not penalized. Thus, a new cultural pattern has been formed on the radical, ethnic nationalism and on exclusion of others on ethnic and religious grounds. In this sense, the existence of several extreme right-wing youth organizations such as Obraz, Dveri, Novi stroj, has been indicative. Their activities are under the auspices of the influential Serbian institutions and organizations such as the University of Belgrade, as well as the Church.

Policy of intolerance and discrimination, which has dominated in Serbia since the early nineties, continued in 2014 as well. On the political, social and cultural scene, this policy is characterized by obstruction of Roma Inclusion in state institutions, municipal administrations and in public sector in general. Activities of numerous formal and informal right-wing groups rely on the tacit support of certain circles in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) and in the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC). Some of them rely on the Church, in terms of their agendas, and others, such as Obraz, Sveti Justin Popović, Dveri srpske, Nomokanon, act with the blessing of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Their actions usually have negative repercussions on the Roma.

The minority issue is one of the most important indicators of ethnic nationalism and the related ethnic exclusion. State constituted on ethnicity can not address the Roma issues in a democratic way since, as a rule, it treats minorities as a disturbing factor. In the local public, the Roma are seen as a burden which should be relieved.

Some cases of ethnically motivated violence and attacks on the Roma

During 2013 several cases of violence against the Roma were reported in Belgrade, Pančevo, Bečej, Niš and Novi Sad.

1. Young Ervin Bilicki (17) from Bečej was tragically killed on the night of March 17 when brutally beaten in the street where he lost consciousness and drowned in a puddle of water. A minor (14) was a suspect arrested, and is now prosecuted for the criminal offence of severe bodily injury with fatal outcome. Although initially ruled out that this was inter-ethnic violence, there are still indications that the attack was possibly racially motivated.

2. The container settlement of Resnik, in which Roma families live nowadays after eviction from the New Belgrade settlement of Belleville, was the target of several consecutive attacks. The first incident occurred on the night of August 28 around 23h when a group of at least 20 men, wearing hoods and armed with sticks, attacked the settlement during a private party.

On the occasion of this attack, the hooligans threatened the residents and directed racial slurs at them. Some of the men entered the settlement, threw stones, and broke the window under which the children slept in one of the containers. One person suffered injuries when hit through the window with a metal bar. During the following nights, hooligans continued to arrive to the settlement in groups, trying to provoke and intimidate residents, threatening that they will set fire to them. The residents immediately reported each attack to the police, and a police car appeared within 3 to 10 minutes. Upon the police intervention on the Saturday night of 31 August, four attackers (including one juvenile) were caught. Out of fear for their own

and their children's safety, Roma families organized a night guard in the settlement. The police sent the patrol car on duty overnight only after six days of constant attacks, and after the intervention of NGOs. Following these attacks, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality issued a warning by which she called on all authorities to immediately take all necessary measures to ensure a peaceful life for all citizens and prevent violence against minorities. This was not the first time that the settlement was exposed to racially motivated violence. Prior to displacement of families from Belleville in April 2012, locals of Resnik organized violent protests against the decision to settle Roma families in this territory. Therefore, the Roma lived for several months under constant police protection.

3. On the night of 30 July 2013, around 22 pm seven to eight vehicles stormed into Roma settlement "Beograd mala" in Niš. Several young men rushed out of the vehicles and fired several shots in the air, one minor was injured on that occasion. The High Court in Niš conveyed its suspicion of crime being committed, causing general danger and inciting racial and religious hatred and intolerance based on the insults directed on that occasion to the Roma. This incident was believed to be preceded by a fight, in which the Roma took part as well, in the yard of a nearby high school a few days earlier, on which occasion non-commissioned officer of the 63rd Parachute Brigade from Niš and one juvenile suffered serious bodily injury, and another juvenile suffered slight injuries. Although criminal charges were filed after this fight against all participants therein, it did not prevent a sort of collective reprisal against the Roma in the settlement "Beograd mala". This incident was also decried by the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, who appealed to the competent national authorities to investigate into the relationship between these incidents and to expose and bring to justice all the perpetrators of these acts.

4. On October 19, 2013 in the Šafarikova Street in Novi Sad, a group of skinheads waylaid a Roma couple with an intention to abduct a two-year old child because they believed the boy-child to be lighter skinned than his father. They yelled at the couple saying they must have had stolen the child and should therefore be sent to prison. One of the hooligans identified himself as a police officer, and then offered to "buy" a child. Frightened father called the police for help, and the hooligans ran away.

5. Another violence against the Roma occurred in early November 2013 when anti-Roma protests were organized in the Belgrade suburb of Zemun Polje. The occasion was outbreak of scabies at the local primary school, for which Roma children were blamed. However, the health service which confirmed scabies only in the case of three Roma pupils who were immediately isolated and treated until cured, appealed that there was no fear of an epidemic. However, this did not deter local residents from organizing mass gatherings and protests, followed by racist statements and threats. The crowd demanded that the city authorities should prevent further immigration of the Roma and evict them from social housing in Kamendin, which also belongs to the Zemun Polje. However, the Roma account for only one fourth of beneficiaries of social housing in this settlement. Roma families have lived for days in fear of physical violence, and many of them were not allowed to send children to school. The protests were decried by the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, the Ombudsman and many non-governmental organizations, and the NGO Centre for Minority Rights filed criminal charges against the organizers and participants of the protest for the criminal offence of instigating national, racial and religious hatred and due to shouting, "We don't want Gypsies, we don't want scabies! ", "Scabby Gypsies, get out! ", "Slaughter the Gypsies! " "Kill the Gypsy, don't let him live", "We'll kill you!", "Get away from Zemun Polje", "Let's move the Gypsies out". The criminal charges were also filed against the persons responsible from the newspaper Večernje novosti because they published on their web page a racist text and readers' comments spreading hatred against the Roma.

**SURVEY CONDUCTED AMONG THE CITIZENS FROM THE ROMA MAHALLAS,
INTENDED FOR MAPPING SECURITY PROBLEMS IN THE ROMA COMMUNITY**
(the data processed by Prof. Valentina Sokolovska, Ph.D.)

Results of the survey conducted among the citizens from the Roma mahallas, dedicated to the problems of security which the Roma face in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, show that one of the main causes of their unsafe position is poverty. Caused by unemployment, poverty leads to various forms of discrimination against an ethnic group, which is reflected in economic, health and social protection, environmental protection, education, and personal and collective insecurity. Poverty is also a cause of deviant phenomena such as many forms of crime: prostitution, increased levels of drug abuse, stealing, beggary, etc.. Thus, improvement of the severe and difficult social status of the Roma requires three crucial resources: money, entrepreneurial knowledge and educational qualifications.

On the other hand, the Roma are faced with the problem of discrimination, mostly based on the prejudice. Members of ethnic groups exposed to discrimination are usually grouped in certain areas, as discrimination is possible in terms of certain housing (mahallas and slums), they have the same level of economic resources due to discrimination in the labour market (jobs paid very low), the same level of power and relation with the police due to discrimination related to these two spheres, and they usually live close to each other, enter into relationships with each other, marry the members of the same ethnic group,

and so on. Due to such closure within their own ethnic group, there is a risk that can serve as the basis for the emergence of negative stereotypes, and stereotypes in turn serve as the basis for discrimination. Discrimination has certain cyclical character. It maintains visibility, while recognition makes members of ethnic group easy targets for discrimination. Cyclicity therefore leads to a self-sustaining nature of ethnic discrimination, and is thus very hard to break. However, it seems that the solution to this problem is the improvement of economic status of the Roma.

However, the correct interpretation of many responses, disclosed in the following tables, requires wider research into the security problems faced by the Roma.

The survey was conducted during March 2014 on a sample of 120 citizens of Roma origin who live in the mahallas. The aim of the survey was mapping of the security problems faced by the Roma in the Republic of Serbia.

"Do you personally feel safe?" - was the question which most respondents (43.3%) answered as having partial feeling of safe living in Serbia, 32.5% of them were feeling completely unsafe, while 24.2% said they were feeling completely safe (Table 1).

Table 1 "Do you personally feel safe?"

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages	cumulative
I feel completely safe	29	24.2	24.2	24.2
I feel partly safe	52	43.3	43.3	67.5
I feel unsafe	39	32.5	32.5	100.0
Total	120	100.0	100.0	

Given the past socio-historical periods which differed, among other things, in various government policies, but also due to economic and business development, respondents point to the period by 1990 as the safest. 62.4% of them (of the total 117 who answered this question), perceive the politics of the former SFRY as the period during which their individual and collective rights were most respected. This period is followed by the period of the previous five years, which 15.4% of respondents described as the safest, than the decade as from the year of 2000 (11.7%), while only 10.3% of respondents highlighted the period during the rule of Slobodan Milošević (Table 2).

In interpreting the division of responses referred to in Table 2, we have to take into account the level of economic development of the country, in addition to specific governing internal and external policies faced by the Republic of Serbia. Thus, the Roma associate the period of former SFRY with the most positive sense of security, when the positions of middle and lower working classes were most favourable and when economic differences were not so pronounced.

Table 2 In what period did you feel the safest?

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages	cumulative
before 1990 -under Tito's rule	73	60.8	62.4	62.4
during the 90s - under Slobodan Milošević's rule	12	10.0	10.3	72.6
after the year of 2000	14	11.7	12.0	84.6
in the last 5 years	18	15.0	15.4	100.0
Total	117	97.5	100.0	
Missing data	3	2.5		
Total	120	100.0		

Contrary to this period, the respondents describe the period of Slobodan Milošević's rule as the least secure period. However, according to the Roma opinion, the similar applies to the period after 2000. In broader social terms, this is the period when Serbia faced huge social changes and upheaval. We shall mention only few: this is the period which marked end of wars in the region, a large number of refugees and displaced persons (including also a large number of the Roma), the bombing of Serbia, the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic, collapse of social enterprises and their transfer into the private sector (which was accompanied by a large number of bad privatizations), increasingly hardened position of the economy, job loss, deterioration of the middle class and strengthening of crime and corruption. Therefore, the answers provided in Table 3 are not surprising. The period of the last 5 years was most insecure for the Roma citizens. 42.7% of them provided such answer. Together with the 20.0% of respondents who said that the most insecure period in their lives was the one after the year of 2000, we come to 62.7% of the respondents' answers.

Table 3 *In what period did you feel the safest?*

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages	cumulative
before 1990	20	16.7	17.1	17.1
in the 90s	17	14.2	14.5	31.6
after the year of 2000	30	25.0	25.6	57.3
in the last 5 years	50	41.7	42.7	100.0
Total	117	97.5	100.0	
Missing cases	3	2.5		
Total	120	100.0		

Uncertain socio-political and unfavourable economic conditions entail an emergence of nationalism. Many studies attempting to research the Roma status in Serbia indicate the consequences of nationalism, a great social distance demonstrated by all the other citizens of Serbia towards the Roma. It is reflected towards all age groups of the Roma and in every aspect of social life. The results presented in Table 4 show that the respondents highlighted hatred against the Roma (34.5%) as the main threat to their security. Along with the responses referring to strengthening of nationalism (22.7%) as the main threat, this makes 52.7%, i.e. more than half of all respondents. In addition, the responses of those who point to poverty as the cause of their insecure lives in Serbia (20.8%), can not be neglected.

However, it is interesting that the respondents also highlight migrations (10.9%) as an important factor which may jeopardize their security. In recent years, the Roma have faced an organized forced resettlement conducted by the state authorities. In this way, they are losing social ties, already fragile, and are displaced to entirely unknown surroundings. The second aspect of migrations, considered as the main cause of insecurity, are forced migrations of the Roma from Serbia's environment. The Roma displaced from Kosovo and Metohija and from the territories of other countries in the region are faced with difficult problems of housing, employment, obtaining of health care, education for children, and many other issues. In addition, respondents point to the problem of drug addiction and crime, as a spreading threat they face.

Table 4 *What is the main threat to the security of the Roma?*

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages	cumulative
strengthening of nationalism	27	22.5	22.7	22.7
migrations - asylum	13	10.8	10.9	33.6
hatred against the Roma	41	34.2	34.5	68.1
poverty	25	20.8	21.0	89.1
drug addiction	2	1.7	1.7	90.8
crime	2	1.7	1.7	92.4
unemployment	8	6.7	6.7	99.2
some media	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total	119	99.2	100.0	
Missing data	1	.8		
Total	120	100.0		

Surveyed citizens believe that the police bear the greatest responsibility (63.3%) for their security. And that is the state authority they expect the protection from. Apart from the police as an "external" factor which can protect them, there is also the family as an "internal" factor. The Roma expect protection for themselves and for their children from within their families. However, interestingly enough, 14.2% of respondents believe they themselves are responsible for their security. Such awareness of their personal responsibility for their own lives (and the lives of their families), and the way of organizing social and personal life which should not put the surveyed citizens in any danger, partly results from the lack of confidence in state institutions. Based on the answers provided in Table 5, but in a much smaller percentage, the respondents point to politicians, the National Council of the Roma National Minority and the military as the authorities responsible for the Roma personal security. Such shift of responsibility to the political sphere of society is quite reasonable, bearing in mind that the activities of said authorities are the basis for the security of all citizens of a society.

Table 5 *Who is responsible for your personal security?*

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages	cumulative
the police	76	63.3	63.3	63.3
the military	1	.8	.8	64.2
politicians	8	6.7	6.7	70.8
family	13	10.8	10.8	81.7
Myself	17	14.2	14.2	95.8
The Roma National Council	5	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	120	100.0	100.0	

Surveyed citizens consider the Roma ignorance of their rights and obligations as the biggest problem in achieving greater safety and security (32.5%). In addition, they believe that the police unconcern of the Roma security is also one of the major problems (25.8%). According to 5.8% of respondents, the police either lack interest in them or mistreat them. This problem can be partially solved by hiring police officers of the Roma nationality. 15.0% of them consider that this is a good way of achieving greater safety and security of the Roma because they would be more motivated to protect their people, to get acquainted with the culture and way of life of the Roma and, more importantly, to become familiar with the social networks of the Roma in their settlements. In addition, political participation of the Roma in local governments is also important (6.7% of responses). Their involvement in the decision-making bodies can lead to better representation and improved quality of life.

On the other hand, in terms of their security, the Roma are pretty self-critical (Table 6). They see most of their problems in their own lack of motivation to cope with this problem because "they keep silent and do not want to be on bad terms with anybody". This statement certainly requires further research, but the specifics of the way the Roma organize their daily lives may provide one of the potential answers to the question as to why do they keep silent and unwilling to resist. Is it that they do not want to be on bad terms with their informal leaders or with the majority of citizens and the state institutions? A number of respondents (4.2%) point to a large number of criminals among the Roma people as one of the causes of their insecure position in the Serbian society.

Table 6 *The most common problems related to achieving greater safety and security of the Roma in your city?*

	frequencies	percentages
ignorance of rights and obligations	39	32.5
the police is not interested in the security of the Roma	31	25.8
the police harasses the Roma people	7	5.8
there are not enough Roma police officers	18	15.0
a large number of criminals among the Roma people	5	4.2
all keeping silent and do not want to be on bad terms	6	5.0
insufficient motivation of the Roma to take action	6	5.0
there is no Roma representative in the municipality	8	6.7
Total	120	100.0

The very concept of security is divided into economic and health sphere, a segment of the environment, education, social and political security in the framework of individual and collective rights.

The main problem faced by the Roma and giving rise to their insecurity and vulnerability is unemployment (according to 59.1% of the respondents) and poverty that stems from unemployment. These two problems are highlighted by a total of 70.4% of respondents. If this figure is summed up with the number of those who consider their insecure position from their inability to pay electricity and heating bills, i.e. basic monthly obligations, as well as food for themselves and their families, we can conclude that the only exit the Roma see within the economic and health protection is increased employment.

Table 7 *In the framework of economic and health security, you are most frightened by the following:*

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
unemployment	68	56.7	59.1
lack of food	7	5.8	6.1
inability to obtain adequate health care and to pay for the medicines	8	6.7	7.0
inability to pay for electricity, heating, fuel	13	10.8	11.3
poverty	19	15.8	16.5
Total	115	95.8	100.0
Missing cases	5	4.2	
Total	120	100.0	

In order to improve security within the framework of environmental protection, the most important condition, according to the respondents, are better housing conditions (Table 8). 47.6% of them stated that this area would improve if they had financial capacities to live alone with their families. Life in confined spaces, inhabited by several generations of the Roma, as well as the fact that many housing units do not have water or bathroom, lowers the level of security in terms of health. Considering also the fact that many Roma settlements are in fact slums located on the outskirts of towns, with many illegal dumps in their immediate environment, then the issue of health care is inseparable from the problem of the environment and can not be dealt with separately.

Lack of basic livelihoods and poverty, as well as neglect of the offspring can lead to increased problems of drug abuse and theft, as well as an increase in crime among the poorer strata of society. However, according to 14.3% of respondents, the Roma are faced with unreasonable harassment by the police.

Finally, to conclude with this segment of the security problem, we shall also mention the problem of (un) recognition and (dis) respect of the Roma by others. The feeling of inequality among members of Roma community is pronounced, and is also detected in many studies. The greatest social distance experienced by the Roma on a personal level is the cause and feeling of insecure position in the Serbian society. 21% of respondents point to the fact that the Roma are not respected when appearing in public institutions: municipalities, social care centres, schools and the like.

Table 8 *In the framework of environmental protection, you are most frightened by the following:*

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
poor housing conditions - a great number of us living in one house	50	41.7	47.6
I have no water and bathroom at the house, drug abuse	18	15.0	17.1
the police stops me for no reason and harasses me (charges me tickets)	15	12.5	14.3
I am not respected at the Municipality, social work centre...	22	18.3	21.0
Total	105	87.5	100.0
Missing cases	15	12.5	
Total	120	100.0	

The feeling of insecurity is certainly most pronounced when the parents take care of their children, of which neither the youngest ones are spared. In schools, Roma children face various forms of discrimination. However, what should concern a society is the fact that 54.2% of respondents answered they had no conditions to educate their children. We shall mention only that education is a basic precondition for overcoming the poverty and that Roma population, which is deprived of primary education in the 21st century as well as of the possibility to continue education, is predestined to continue its unfavourable social status

All said problems lead to a pronounced de facto segregation, pointed out by 24.1% of respondents (Table 9). The form of the actual segregation is a problem that the Roma face every day. Based usually on prejudice, this form is so distinct that it also reflects in the feeling of the existence thereof at the legal level as well.

Table 9 In the framework of education, you are most frightened by the following:

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
they harass my children at school	18	15.0	21.7
I have no conditions to educate my child	45	37.5	54.2
segregation	20	16.7	24.1
Total	83	69.2	100.0
Missing cases	37	30.8	
Total	120	100.0	

De facto segregation, face by the Roma, is also reflected in the social security sphere (Table 10). The severity of this problem is supported by the fact that the majority of respondents, 35.4% of them, places the problem at the forefront of the causes of their insecurity. It is followed by the failure to obtain aid from the Centre for Social Work, even though it is usually the only income they have, and is thus an important factor of social insecurity. The respondents also point to various forms of crime they face, as a cause of their social insecurity. These are: existence of violence and bullies at the settlement, human trafficking, beggary and domestic violence (Table 10).

Table 10 In the framework of social security, you are most frightened by the following:

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
I live with an alcoholic and drug addict	5	4.2	5.2
Centre for Social Work does not provide me with financial assistance	29	24.2	30.2
others insult and underestimate me because I am a Roma man/woman	34	28.3	35.4
others insult and curse me in the street	4	3.3	4.2
violence and bullies in the mahalla	11	9.2	11.5
beggary	3	2.5	3.1
human trafficking	3	2.5	3.1
Violence in the family	7	5.8	7.3
Total	96	80.0	100.0
Missing cases	24	20.0	
Total	120	100.0	

Within the political insecurity, greatest risk according to 34.4% of respondents are the neo-fascist parties and movements (Table 11), joined by fan groups against Roma (8.6%). On the other hand, the Roma believe (25.8%) that the political parties and the government itself approve the actions of these groups. In addition to these external risks, the Roma point to internal reasons, such as bribery by the Roma from mahallas to vote for certain parties (31.2%).

Table 11 In the framework of political security, you are most frightened by the following:

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
neo-fascist parties and movements	32	26.7	34.4
fan groups against the Roma	8	6.7	8.6
political parties and government keep silent and approve their actions	24	20.0	25.8
the Roma from mahallas bribe us to vote for a particular party	29	24.2	31.2
Total	93	77.5	100.0
Missing data	27	22.5	
Total	120	100.0	

Latest isolated form, individual and collective insecurity (Table 12) is defined by the increasing rate of crime in settlements and mahallas (31.9%), especially juvenile crime (27.5%), and the number of children who use drugs (22.0%), prostitution, loan-sharking, racketeering, presence of sexually transmitted diseases, possession of firearms, etc.

Table 12 In the framework of individual and collective security, you are most frightened by the following:

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
crime and violence in the mahalla	29	24.2	31.9
juvenile crime	25	20.8	27.5
number of children who use drugs	20	16.7	22.0
prostitution	5	4.2	5.5
loan-sharking	3	2.5	3.3
racketeering	4	3.3	4.4
sexually transmitted diseases	3	2.5	3.3
plenty of weapons in the mahala	2	1.7	2.2
Total	91	75.8	100.0
Missing data	29	24.2	
Total	120	100.0	

Finally, Tables 13, 14 and 15 disclose the attitudes of surveyed Roma towards ethnic incidents. In most cases (Table 13) they indicate that during 2012 and 2013 there were 1 to 5 incidents (67.0%) in their places of residence, that in 67.4% of cases the perpetrator was not found (Table 14), as well as that ethnically motivated incidents did not occur in the first three months of 2014 (Table 15). These attitudes, particularly in terms of punishment for perpetrators of ethnically motivated incidents, are the main reason for the Roma distrust in the police and judiciary.

Table 13 How many ethnic incidents occurred in total in your city in 2012 and 2013?

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
0	22	18.3	19.1
1 - 5	77	64.2	67.0
6 - 10	10	8.3	8.7
11 and more	6	5.0	5.2
Total	115	95.8	100.0
Missing data	5	4.2	
Total	120	100.0	

Table 14 In how many of the total incidents observed in 2012 and 2013 the perpetrator was discovered and punished?

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
0	62	51.7	67.4
1 - 5	25	20.8	27.2
6 - 10	2	1.7	2.2
11 and more	3	2.5	3.3
Total	92	76.7	100.0
Missing data	28	23.3	
Total	120	100.0	

Table 15 How many incidents - ethnic conflicts - occurred in the first three months of 2014?

	frequencies	percentages	valid percentages
0	63	52.5	54.8
1	20	16.7	17.4
2	22	18.3	19.1
3 and more	10	8.3	8.7
Total	115	95.8	100.0
Missing data	5	4.2	
Total	120	100.0	

Conclusion

Since their arrival on the territory of Europe, the life of the Roma has been accompanied by various difficulties. In the last 5 years, due to the physical and cultural differences and perhaps due to the first and initial success of the Decade of Roma, the entire population has been exposed to stigmatization and discrimination - from simple rejection of organized persecution in some European countries.

It was similar before. Systematic persecution was carried out in almost all countries. In Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic, Germany, Switzerland, France, England and Spain, the Roma were punished, imprisoned, hunted down, stigmatized, and in some cases, by the orders, the parts of their bodies were cut off. They were treated as pests and wild animals, whose murder would provide a prestigious prize. As of the 15th century, many countries enforced the laws and regulations against the Roma, and the Church played a great role therein. Over the next centuries, they met with laws banning travel to many countries; they faced "an organized hunt" and mass killings. Injustice towards the Roma people escalated during the Second World War when, together with the Jews, they were on the verge of extinction. Germany is one of the best examples of how anti-Gypsyism survived through the centuries. From 1417 to 1945 lives of the Roma living in this country were constantly in danger. These facts clearly indicate that anti-Gypsyism has long been present in humanistic Europe (Đurić, 2010).

The term anti-Gypsyism was first used by Rajko Đurić in 1989 in New York, to mark hostile behaviour and attitude towards the Roma in different societies, countries, times and contexts, ranging from prejudice and stereotypes, through ethnic distance and extremist-nationalist excesses, to the political actions against the Roma (Đurić, 2010:84).

Anti-Gypsyism is a different type of racial ideology. It is also similar, different and mixed with many other types of racism. In itself, it is a complex social phenomenon that manifests itself through violence, hate speech, exploitation and discrimination as the most evident form. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as a very specific form of racism, an ideology of racial superiority, a form of diminishing of human qualities and institutionalized racism.

It has fed on discrimination throughout history and fought to maintain control in relationships that provide benefits to majority groups. It is based, on the one hand, on the imaginary fears, negative stereotypes and myths, while on the other hand, it challenged or eliminated the public by historical discrimination against Roma.

Meanwhile, the spiral of racist violence continues - bullies show greater cruelty, and therefore the incidents are becoming more serious. They are politically organized and present in all institutions and at all levels of the

government. They are members of the European Parliament. They do not loathe racial theories, last century's fascism and racial laws. They sometimes exercise and march resolutely around Roma settlements, not only in Hungary.

Europe and its security system has incorrectly assessed fascism as less dangerous than the Roma coming from the east in search of a place under the sun and jobs. They probably think that "ghost in a bottle" is tightly closed and controlled.

While others strive to be wealthier, we, the Roma, strive to "start living more safely".