Portugal

The 'prudent' integration of Roma/Gypsy pupils: segregation and white flight in Portuguese compulsory schooling

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Summary

In this report, drawing on the analysis of policy recommendations and reports, as well as empirical work on the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils in schools, we argue that racism is being institutionally misrecognised in Portugal by the combined actions and discourses of decision-makers, teachers, social workers and other representatives of civil society.

Intercultural dialogue and *education* – the national domestic policy in place – is not a systematic practice informing the structures of the Portuguese education system; instead, it has favoured the misrecognition of racism and has helped to pre-empt political demands made by minoritised groups. In fact, the so-called *intercultural approach* reduces racism to a matter of conviviality between different cultures and shifts the problem onto the 'other', whose cultural competence is constantly under surveillance. Thus the current political invisibility of racism and the related absence of an anti-racist strategy are leading to the increasing visibility of certain populations – such as the Roma - who are the main target-population for a policy of 'integration' in compulsory schooling. This trend is hindering understanding of the marginalisation and segregation of Roma populations as part of the history of modern nation states, colonialism and the idea of Europe/Europeaness in the Iberian Peninsula since the 15th and 16th-centuries.

On a European level, whilst the commitment heralded by the launch of a number of agencies to monitor racism seemed promising for the anti-racist agenda, two questions remain particularly problematic. Firstly, although such agencies have been crucial for

the denunciation of cases of racism in contexts such as the Portuguese, they have also fostered the reproduction and misrecognition of racism through the absence of a historically informed framework capable of tackling institutionalized racism. Secondly, the reports by a number of different European agencies continue to reveal a blind faith in knowledge/information to overcome 'prejudice', thus excluding the debate on questions of power and privilege.

It is within this wider political context which evades racism as a key historical and political process in the formation of Europe that we present an empirical case study referring to several instances of segregation in schools involving a Roma/Gypsy 'community' in the rural north of Portugal. The segregated school was eventually closed, not because of the segregation – as it was never really defined as such by the *mediation agents* involved in the case – but due to a wider national policy of closing down small primary schools. The case was approached as a matter of 'prudent integration'– related to the perceived cultural and education deficits of the Roma/Gypsy population - thus foreclosing any framing of the situation as a case of racism. Accordingly, social control and schooling were the main intervention modes, a *civilising tool* for the Roma/Gypsy pupils and their families.

> I, the King, make known to those who this law will see that, because experience has shown that the dispositions of the Ordinations of the Kingdom and other subsequent Laws, and several orders that in different times were approved so that the Gypsies do not enter the Kingdom and stay in their Lands (…) I decided in good deed, and I command, that there is no person in this Kingdom, of each of gender, that uses the costumes, language, or Geringonça [the designation by non-Roma/Gypsies to the language spoken by Roma/Gypsies] (…) and that the so-called Gypsies, or people that as such are treated, do not dwell together in more than two houses in each street, neither walk together in the streets, or halt together in them, or in the fields, and will not sell or buy, or exchange beasts, unless they use the costume, language, and lifestyle of other people in the Land… (D. João V, Ordination No. 28, 10 November 1708, in Coelho, 1892: 256-257)

> the Gypsies wandered in the national territory for a long time, since the mid-15th century (…) we can imagine the strangeness that this people - so different, talking an unknown language, to which non-Gypsies called geringonça (caló), dressed in an exotic fashion and with totally different habits - caused in the society then. It is quite likely that the immediate reaction has been rejection and persecution, which came to be embodied in laws that inflicted punishments, sometimes quite harsh. (GACI/ACIDI, 2011)

> those children, the non-Gypsies in these contexts, are loaded with prejudice, right? The parents here often say: 'Look… If you don't eat I'll take you to the Gypsies, or 'Look, beware, if you misbehave I will leave you with the Gypsies (Isabel, social worker at a local association)

Introduction

Despite the general presumption that education systems offer opportunities to reduce social inequalities, the reverse is often true. Far from helping individuals overcome the limits of

their circumstances, education can often compound inequalities. The processes through which this happens reflect a complex interplay of political, socioeconomic, cultural and ideological factors. (Power, 2007: 33, in FP7 Policy synthesis)

This paper was produced within the FP7 research project TOLERACE: *The semantics of tolerance and (anti-)racism in comparative perspective*, and focuses on the sphere of education. This component of the research work aimed to explore official policies and initiatives designed to promote tolerance and anti-racism at the level of compulsory education, as well as the ways in which schools and other agencies are responding to cases of complex cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. In particular, we aimed to unravel how public bodies (such as state-endorsed institutions, regional/local authorities and schools) cope with situations and denunciations involving racial/ethnic/religious discrimination and the initiatives they take to foster tolerant and anti-racist values and attitudes. While the TOLERACE project does not aim primarily to examine the denunciation of racial discrimination, we do focus on understandings of (anti-)racism that have led to its denial and misrecognition and are crucial to examining processes and situations involving political, socio-economic and cultural exclusion and marginalisation.

Within the Portuguese context we chose to examine a case concerning the management of diversity in education in relation to an *ethnically marked* population (Sayyid, 2004): the Roma/Gypsies.[1] This focus helps to reveal the semantics of tolerance, integration and (anti-)racism as they are deployed in policy and everyday discourses and practices. To understand the broader framework of the controversial case selected, we also analysed national policies adopted in Portugal since the 1990s, particularly for 'Intercultural Education', and the wider European legal debates on the situation of ethnic/national minorities and the implementation of anti-discrimination and anti-racist measures. We argue that the absence of a comprehensive anti-racist policy, which would enable racism to be acknowledged as a historical legacy that permeates the everyday functioning of public bodies and civil society organisations, is rendering public policies and initiatives ineffective. This is further compounded by the prevalence of an understanding of racism as an individual *disposition* towards *difference* (i.e. the prejudice paradigm), and thus of anti-racism as a strategy directed towards *learning* how to *accept* other cultures. This framework, also common to most of the academic

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[1] Recognising the many different terms used by the Council of Europe, in 2006 a glossary was published in order to standardise the terminology in English and French (CoE, 2006). Most of the current official texts, such as treaties, recommendations and resolutions, have adopted the use of the term Roma. However, in Portugal the official designation is 'Portugueses de etnia cigana' or 'Portuguese ciganos' (Portuguese of Gypsy ethnicity; Portuguese Gypsies). We will use the term Roma/Gypsies, except when translating directly from the interviews, where the term 'cigano' is translated as Gypsy.

production on racism and on Roma/Gypsies in Portugal, depoliticises/evaporates racism as it continuously shifts the focus onto the 'characteristics' of the 'other'. Thus, we are witnessing the re-drawing of an (abyssal) line (Santos, 2007) between the so-called *majority* population and the 'other', leaving the former unquestioned and un-marked.

It is usually stated that the Roma/Gypsies, like the Jews or the Muslims, are 'Europe's other' (Goldberg, 2009: 155). Nevertheless, it is crucial to locate their marginalisation and segregation in the historicity of the modern nation states, colonialism and the idea of Europe/Europeaness, that is, in the interrelation between 'race', racism and modern configurations of political belonging. The Roma/Gypsies are European *citizens* but they have been historically produced as *not belonging* to Europe/Europeaness. They have been governed by a colonial regime *in* Europe, regulated by 'systems of state governance of populations' (Amin, 2010: 3) specific to the ruling of *uncivilised*, *dangerous* and *deviant subjects*. This is central to avoiding a decoupling of the history of colonial administration from the history of nation-formation; both processes have shaped the marginalisation of Roma/Gypsy communities and their construction as the *unfit* 'other'. For instance, in the Iberian Peninsula, it was precisely in the 16th centuries that a growing body of legislation was produced for the administration of Roma/Gypsy populations (including their expulsion and deportation to colonial territories such as Brazil and Angola by the Portuguese authorities) as part of the process of the formation of nation states and therefore of controlling territories, populations, frontiers and political belonging (Bastos, 2007; Bastos et al., 2007; Motomoura, 2003; Costa, 1996) (see attachment with a chronology for the most important legislation on the Roma/Gypsy population since the 16th century in Portugal). The configuration of the idea of 'race' (Goldberg, 2002) and of racist governmentalities (Hesse, 2004) is embedded in this process, and the enduring location of the Roma/Gypsies as the uncivilised and dangerous 'Europe's other' (but not *properly* European) is a fundamental part of that history. Current discourses, public policies and initiatives adopted in European member states for the 'inclusion' of the Roma/Gypsies are thus rooted in the legacies of 'race' and racism.

More specifically, this paper aims to discuss the 'integration' of Roma pupils in compulsory schooling in Portugal, in the light of the current political invisibility of racism and anti-racist measures and the increasing visibility of the Roma/Gypsy population (for a discussion of the concept of *visibility*, see Brighenti, 2007). It is divided into three sections. In the first section, we provide an overview of the Portuguese political framework for education, diversity and racism, paying particular attention to intercultural education as a domestic policy. Secondly, we analyse key issues that

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have been raised by European agencies engaged in the monitoring of racism and the protection of national minorities, regarding the education of Roma/Gypsy pupils, as well as the national responses this has engendered. Thirdly, we focus on a recent case regarding the segregation of Roma pupils in a state primary school as the result of 'white flight', to argue that even in cases of rampant racism, public policies and practices are failing to officially recognise this, thus reducing the possibilities for anti-racism.

The paper draws on empirical work which took place for the most part between April and July 2011, predominantly in a rural area of the North of Portugal. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a variety of actors involved in work with Roma/Gypsy populations, namely:

- Representatives of official bodies (5)
- Members of civil society organisations (7)
- Municipal workers, including cultural mediators (2)
- Teachers (2)

A total of 16 people were interviewed. In addition to the empirical work, several policy documents were analysed (policy recommendations and legislation, institutional booklets, inspection reports, and other official publications), and we also considered the Media coverage of the case studied. Finally, we analysed the textbooks being used in compulsory education to understand how the Roma/Gypsies are presented.

1. Intercultural education as a domestic policy strategy

> The history of Portuguese expansionism teaches us that even in what could be considered a system of cultural dominance (in this case, the dominance of European culture and Portuguese traditions), the global conviviality provided by the decompartmentalisation of the world, was made up of reciprocal influences. The Europeans have left their mark on the world, but when interacting with people overseas they have also been subjected to significant cultural changes. It is useful to note that contemporary Western culture is itself a product of miscegenation, and that the so-called minority cultures have influenced it not only through conflict. but also through social exchanges (Costa & Lacerda, 2007: 12)

In Portugal, questions related to cultural diversity did not receive significant political attention until demographic changes were already evident as a result of the postcolonial migrations. Until the early 1990s, presumptions of the successful assimilation of the colonised and the homogeneity of the Portuguese nation paved the way for, and reinforced, this political silence (Araújo, *forthcoming*). According to Cardoso (1998), it was only after Portugal joined the European Union in 1986 that such concerns slowly began to feature in the political agenda (Table 1).

Table 1. Creation of public bodies for the integration of immigrant and ethnic minorities, including educational bodies, and the fight against ethno-racial discrimination	
1991	**Coordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programmes** (SCOPREM), under the authority of the Ministry of Education [Normative Dispatch 63/91, 13 March]
1993	Launch of the **Project for Intercultural Education** (PREDI) by SCOPREM, [Normative Dispatch 70/ME/93, 6 August]
1996	**High-Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities** [Decree- Law 3-A/96, 25 January] **Working Group for the Equality and Inclusion of Roma Communities,** under the authority of the High-Commissioner [Resolution of the Council of Ministers 157/96, 19 October] Creation of the **Guaranteed Minimum Income** scheme (currently the **Social Inclusion Income** – SII/RSI) following the 1992 EC Recommendation 441
1999 2000	**Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR)** [Law No 134/99, 28 August], headed by the High-Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities The **report** by the **Working Group for the Equality and Inclusion of Roma Communities** is made **public** [Resolution of the Council of Ministers 18/2000, 13 April]
2001	*Entreculturas* **[Between cultures] Secretariat** replaces the SCOPREM [Normative Dispatch 5/2001, 1 February]
2002	**High-Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME)** [Decree- Law 251/2002, 22 November]
2003	*Entreculturas* **Secretariat incorporated into the ACIME**
2004	Protocol between the ACIME and the **Victim Support Unit** (APAV); creation of the **Support Unit for Immigrant Victim and Victims of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (**UAVIDRE)
2005	**Office for Technical Support for Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities Associations** (GATAIME)
2006	**Roma Communities Support Agency (GACI)**
2007	**High-Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue – Public Institute (ACIDI),** as a result of the merging of the ACIME, the technical support structure for the coordination of the *Escolhas* Programme [Choices], the Structure of the Mission for the dialogue between Religions and the *Entreculturas* Secretariat [Law-Decree 167/2007, 3 May] **Web Page CIGA-NOS!** National Commission for the Social Inclusion Income launched**: Strategy for Active Inclusion**
2008	**National Plan for Inclusion (PNAI)** 2008-2010

The political visibility of questions related to diversity emerged specifically in the sphere of education (id.), adopting *intercultural dialogue* from the outset as a policy strategy to 'prevent segregationisms, racisms, xenophobias, intolerance' (SCOPREM, 1998: 9). Created in 1991 within the Ministry of Education, the **Secretariat for the Coordination of Multicultural Education Programmes** (SCOPREM, since renamed *Entreculturas* – 'between cultures'), emphasised the following as crucial aims:

> to coordinate, foster and promote, within the education system, programmes and events which aim for conviviality, tolerance, dialogue and solidarity between different peoples, ethnicities and cultures (Statutory Regulation 63/91,13 March).

During the 1990s, the Secretariat set up a *Project on Intercultural Education* (PREDI: 1993-1995-1997), aiming for the social and educational integration of 'ethnic groups' (*sic*) (SCOPREM, 1998: 18) and 'socially disadvantaged' pupils (*Normative Dispatch*

No. 170/ME/93). The project ran in about 50 schools, some of which were chosen because of the high enrolment figures for Roma/Gypsy students (GTIIC, 1998). The activities developed within this project – framed in terms of 'difficulties in intercultural coexistence' (Valentim, 1997: 88) - included intercultural education activities (mostly for teachers) and the introduction of *school/community mediators* (SCOPREM, 1998: 56), together with a variety of initiatives that hardly fell within its scope, such as those directed towards the diet of disadvantaged young people or reinforcing school security (*id.*). Regarding initiatives targeting the Roma/Gypsy population, a report by the *Working Group for Equality and Inclusion of the Gypsies* (GTIIC, 1998) mentions:

> These 52 schools all have projects on intercultural education that contemplate specific activities for Gypsy pupils and among these activities we would highlight the provision of meals, participation in after-school activities, the development of motivation strategies and the involvement of Gypsy families and communities (e.g. lessons in camp sites, sessions of Gypsy songs and dances, collections of Gypsy stories and folk tales). (p. 39)

Overall, few activities were developed and most took place in metropolitan Lisbon and were directed towards 'ethnic minorities', with intervention being marginalised to non-curricular areas (Araújo, *forthcoming*). In terms of the curriculum, an external evaluation of the project noted that a participatory process was not implemented:

> The construction of an intercultural education demands, as we have seen, intervention at the level of the curriculum (the integration of contents, changes in the curricular structure, new teaching methodologies). Yet, because it is a sensitive area, and possibly conflictive inasmuch as it confronts deep-seated representations and traditional practices, this kind of intervention ought to be progressive and broadly participatory (SCOPREM, 1998: 69)

In spite of the recognition that changes to education required a participative approach capable of dealing with 'deep-seated representations and traditional practices', the scope of the project was never extended and anti-racism has remained off the political agenda. It should also be noted that the increasing emphasis on *cultural contact* or *interculturality* has hindered the debate on structural changes to the education system, namely regarding curricula and textbooks, school arrangements for religious diversity or bilingual education. Although schools were granted greater freedom to adapt schooling to the local community in the late 1990s – under the principle of *Flexible Management of the Curriculum* (Dispatch 4848/97, 30 July and Dispatch 9590/99, 29 April), and later with the re-organisation of compulsory education (Decree-Law 6/2001, 18 January) - most teachers do not teach outside the established cannons.[2]

Interculturality as a domestic policy was consolidated throughout the 2000s:

> Portugal undertakes to pursue a foreign policy based on friendly relations and co-operation with all other States. As a result of this principle, the successive governments of the Republic have prioritised dialogue with other peoples and cultures (…). It must, however, be noted that intercultural dialogue is both a foreign and domestic policy objective, and where domestic policy is concerned, such dialogue is an important dimension of the policy geared

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[2] See Leite, 2006, for a contextualised discussion of such policy strategies.

> to integrating immigrants into the national community. In 1991, for example, a Programme entitled "Education for All" was initiated, primarily in order to promote success at school as a condition for acceding to full citizenship, for children belonging to ethnic and linguistic minorities, but also with an eye to promoting the values of tolerance, dialogue and solidarity among different ethnic and cultural groups. (Council of Europe, 2004: 6)

Raising awareness of the value of different cultures and developing skills in intercultural communication have been core objectives, materialised in awareness campaigns and activities. This strategy is nowadays structured into five main lines of action:

1) To deepen and systematise theoretical-methodological proposals in training for intervention in contexts involving cultural diversity;

2) To qualify new trainers in the areas of immigration and interculturality;

3) To generate contributions to the area of dialogue between cultures and civilisations;

4) To make public opinion sensitive to welcoming and integrating [immigrants];

5) To build and ground intervention in the area of mediation (Entreculturas, 2011a).

The Entreculturas team has also produced educational materials for teachers and other social agents. However, such resources can only aspire to cosmetic changes, as they tend to be characterised by a compensatory and celebratory approach to difference – proposed as additions to school knowledge - rather than engaging with the transformation of the official canon. Additionally, they tend to offer de-contextualised and depoliticised solutions. For example, in a brochure inspired by the work of an Irish organisation that was adapted by Entreculturas, teachers are asked to pay particular attention to bilingual children in matters such as the pronunciation of their names (Entreculturas, *s.d.:* 4). Despite this, bilingual teaching – although proposed to Parliament in 2007 - has always been rejected as a political strategy in Portugal (Público, 2007).

More recently, one of the initiatives that has been most publicised is the *Trainers Team*, which:

> provides support for undertaking awareness-raising and mobilization actions at a local level to promote welcoming and integration. Around 30 trainers make up the Team, qualified with specific training in various areas. This team allows ACIDI to build capacity among the staff of the most diverse institutions that are directly or indirectly involved in the process of welcoming and integrating immigrants in Portugal – schools, associations, hospitals, courts and public and private organisations in general. (ACIDI, *s.d.*: 59, original in English).

The team offers sensitisation and information activities that are requested by schools and other institutions involved in the process of 'welcoming and integrating' immigrants (schools, associations, town halls, hospitals, courts, etc) (Entreculturas, 2011b). In

addition to constituting a reactive approach, the training courses that have been offered are illustrative of the *irrelevance* of racism:

Table 2. Training activities offered by *Entreculturas*
SENSITISATION AND INFORMATION ACTIVITIES (up to 4 hours)
Receiving and celebrating: support services and small ideas **Learning with stories: first steps towards interculturality** **Nationality law** **Immigration law** **Myths and facts about immigration in Portugal** **Intercultural dialogue** **Inter-religious dialogue** **Health, immigration and diversity** **Socio-cultural mediation** **Intercultural education for young people**
SEMINARS (up to 6 hours)
Intercultural education **Intercultural education in schools** **Socio-cultural mediation**

In these activities, the emphasis is in intercultural learning, namely 'accepting difference', tolerance, conflict resolution'. Only one of the ten activities proposed mentions racism, namely *Myths and Facts about Immigration in Portugal*, which aims:

> To sensitise and mobilise efforts directed towards welcoming and integrating immigrants. The module 'Myths and Facts on Immigration' addresses questions related to employment, health, education, culture, language, and justice, as well as matters concerning the descendants of immigrants, racism and discrimination and the role of the Media, among others. (Entreculturas, 2011b)

More generally, the problem to be tackled is perceived as a matter of *intercultural misunderstandings* and *not knowing the 'other'* - one of the main mottos of institutions such as the ACIDI or *Entreculturas* is 'the 'other' as a starting point', which renders an anti-racist strategy irrelevant. This is despite the fact that the creation of the *Entreculturas* Secretariat was related to the promotion of equal opportunities and to addressing the growing manifestations of racism across Europe in the 1990s - even though racism was recognised only in its most explicit forms and seen as marginal (Gilroy, 1992) to Portuguese society:

> Even in our society, displays of intolerance are emerging, as are cases of physical and psychological violence directed at ethnic minorities, the result of the proliferation of simplistic doctrines and extremist groups which must be strenuously combated (ME, 1991, apud Cardoso, 1998: 198-9).

As previously noted (Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010), the political strategy followed by the Portuguese authorities to deal with racism emphasises the *positive side* of *integration*:

> [The fight against racial discrimination] has not been such a visible activity, but there is a concern, and hence campaigns for raising public awareness. Nevertheless, and to be highly objective, in political terms it is not the best way to deal with questions related to integration. The best way to tackle this is through the positive aspects, rather than the negative ones, since it might end up stressing the worst that is happening in terms of the reception [of immigrants], which still exists. We have to strive to find measures to fight [against racism and discrimination], but it is not what we want to highlight here. (José, ACIDI representative)

The wider political framework – particularly pushed by the ACIDI (High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue) – proposes that racism is a negative aspect that is best left out of the debate, together with the view that it is a matter of prejudice and attitudes towards the *unknown*, rather than a historical process structurally embedded in Western societies (Essed, 1991; Goldberg, 2009) that has favoured ethnically/racially unmarked populations (Sayyid, 2004). Accordingly, racism is conceived of as the 'unwanted', inevitable effect of unsuccessful integration, and the notion of racial discrimination as a practice underlying social relationships and political administration, and therefore one of the *causes* of the 'marginalisation' of certain communities, is discarded. With political discourses emphasizing *integration* as a political answer to the growing presence of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities – so as to avoid outbreaks of xenophobia - the idea of a welcoming and tolerant Portuguese society is reasserted, effectively redrawing the line between the host society/immigrant and ethnic minorities (Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010). As we have noted (*id.*), 'integration' works as a discursive device that subjects immigrants and ethnic minorities to continuous *supervision of their cultural competence* (Almeida, 2007: 367). Within this framework, racism is approached as exceptional - a consequence of deficient integration - and linked to *prejudice* or erroneous knowledge and visions of reality - to be dealt with by more information and education. As we pointed out in a previous publication (Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010) in which we analysed a brochure produced by the ACIME (High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities) entitled *Immigration: myths and facts'*, racism is taken to be untrue, *false, erroneous knowledge*. Accordingly, scientific knowledge is considered to provide objective and 'rigorous' interpretations of 'facts', as opposed to ideologies that support a fallacious knowledge of reality (i.e. 'myths', which may lead to 'wrong' interpretations) (ACIME, 2005: 2).

This framework not only constructs racism as exceptional but also reinforces confidence in the democratic mechanisms of European societies. Accordingly, the Portuguese authorities have systematically claimed its pioneering role in legal frameworks for immigration and integration (e.g. via its ranking in indexes such as MIPEX – the Migration Policy Index), and their confidence in its legal mechanisms designed to combat racism, despite their scant implementation:

> It should be noted that acts of racial or religious discrimination are punishable under Portuguese law with prison sentences of up to 8 years. The prohibition of discrimination covers the setting up of racist or xenophobic organisations, incitement to racial or religious hatred or violence and slander or insults against individuals or group on the grounds of their ethnic or religious affiliation (including denial of crimes against humanity). (CoE, 2004: 6)

The inexistence of reliable data on racial discrimination has made it difficult to refute such political rhetoric, placing greater relevance on the work carried out by international agencies in this area - work which questions the readiness and 'success' of Portuguese 'integration policies'. According to the annual reports published by the *Fundamental Rights Agency*[3] (the former *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia*) over the last decade, the current overall situation of Portugal in terms of education policy and practice is bleak: initiatives tend to be centred on the Lisbon metropolitan area, there is a total absence of bilingual education (EUMC, 2004), few training opportunities for teachers in intercultural education, underachievement in some groups (EUMC, 2006), and persisting cases of explicit school segregation (EUMC, 2004; FRA, 2008). This is aggravated by the ineffectiveness of the equality bodies recently established (FRA, 2007). In the next section, we therefore examine some of the key questions that European agencies have highlighted regarding the education of Roma/Gypsy populations and (anti-)racism in Portugal.

2. International pressures

> Recognising that Roma and Travellers have faced, for more than five centuries, widespread and enduring discrimination, rejection and marginalisation all over Europe and in all areas of life; and were targeted victims of the Holocaust; and that forced displacement, discrimination and exclusion from participation in social life have resulted in poverty and disadvantage for many Roma and Traveller communities and individuals across Europe (…) [The Advisory Committee of the FC] Recommends that governments of member states: adopt, in accordance with the principles and provisions set out in the appendix to this recommendation, a coherent, comprehensive and adequately resourced national and regional strategy with short- and long-term action plans, targets and indicators for implementing policies that address legal and/or social discrimination against Roma and/or Travellers and enforce the principle of equality (Rec[2008]5: 3-5)

Throughout the 1990s – following the rise of visible and violent forms of racism by xenophobic right-wing groups in several contexts – a certain political consensus surfaced throughout Europe on the need to eliminate racism and other forms of discrimination. This materialised in the creation of a number of European bodies to

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[3] Set up in 2007, the Fundamental Rights Agency replaced and built on the EUMC's experience, 'to provide assistance and expertise to the relevant institutions and authorities of the Community and its Member States in order to support them in taking measures or formulating courses of action to fully respect fundamental rights" (FRA, 2010). The FRA is based in Vienna and acts as an independent body of the European Union. It works on the data gathered by the European Information Network on Racism and Xenophobia (RAXEN), which collects data and information at national level (through contracted National Focal Points).

fight racism and xenophobia, such as the *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance* (ECRI) in 1993,, the *Committee of Experts on the Roma and Travellers* (MG-S-ROM, under the auspices of the Council of Europe) in 1995, and, in 1998, the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* (EUMC, replaced, in 2007, by the *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*). In June 2000, the adoption by the Council of Europe of the *Race Equality Directive* (2000/43/CE) implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, was further evidence of this such commitment (FRA, 2008).

These European agencies have highlighted the particularly disadvantaged position of Roma/Gypsy communities and called for further action to be taken by member states. We therefore analyse here the key issues that have been raised regarding the education of Roma/Gypsy pupils in Portugal, as well as the responses that have been produced at national level. Reports published by two specific agencies were selected: the *European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance* (ECRI) and the Advisory Committee of the *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities* (FC). The reports by these agencies are particularly significant to our analysis, as they pushed for a reaction from successive Portuguese governments in an attempt to show they were complying with existing international legislation and conventions. Also, as they focus extensively on each national context, they provide more details of the cases (the comparative reports by the FRA tend to lack depth in terms of national analysis).

The **European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance** (**ECRI**) is a human rights body of the European Council overseeing issues of racism and intolerance in EU member states. The ECRI 'monitors problems of racism, discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, citizenship, colour, religion and language, as well as xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance, prepares reports and issues recommendations to member states' (ECRI, 2011). The Commission publishes country-by-country reports covering five-year cycles and issues key recommendations. According to the official information published on their website, 'the reports are drawn up after a contact visit to the country in question and a confidential dialogue with the national authorities' (*id.*). The reactions of the national authorities are generally added as appendixes to the reports and are readily available. In the three ECRI reports on Portugal, the most common issues that have been denounced regarding the education of Roma/Gypsy pupils are high dropout rates (ECRI, 1998: 9; see also ECRI, 2002, 2007) and hostile reactions to Roma/Gypsy populations, including children in schools (id.) (the term 'segregation' is not specifically mentioned). The situation is seen as being further compounded by the absence of an independent body to deal with complaints and a lack of reliable information being collected.

The **Advisory Committee of the *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities* (FC)** is also of particular relevance since it focuses much of its activity specifically on the Roma/Gypsy population. The signing of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995 (effective since 1998) established a turning point in the legal and political approach to combating discrimination and monitoring the situation of the Roma in different European states. The two areas of concern signalled by the Advisory Committee in the field of education are the same as those identified by the ECRI: school absenteeism and dropout rates, and segregation. They have also repeatedly stressed the need for the Portuguese authorities to produce data on racial discrimination and violence.

2.1. Drawn by numbers: the absence of reliable data on racism

The levels of formal educational attainment in Portugal remain low; the situation of the Roma is comparatively worse. Official data from 1998 indicates very low levels of participation in pre-school education by the Roma, high levels of failure and early drop-out rates. In 1998, only 55.4% of Romani pupils completed primary education, compared to the national average of 87.7% [Entreculturas]. A study carried out by Númena in 2005 indicated even more worrying results: of 401 Roma surveyed nationwide, 29% of the respondents had not completed even 4 years of schooling. Forty-two percent reported completing at least 4 years of school, 5% reportedly completed 6 years of schooling, 3% reportedly completed 9 years of schooling, while just 1% had completed upper secondary education. None of the respondents had completed tertiary level education. (Númena, 2007: 53-54)

Several international reports have noted that the Portuguese authorities have so far refused to collect any information on racial discrimination (e.g. ECRI, 2002; CoE, 2006). The solution proposed – respecting existing legislation - is the collection of anonymous data through informed consent (ECRI, 2002: 17; CoE, 2006: 10). The collection of data has remained a priority amongst the concerns raised by the Advisory Committee of the FC:

28. While it is aware of the reluctance regarding ethnic data collection in Portugal, the Advisory Committee stresses that the absence of reliable data on the situation of minorities complicates the development of suitable policies to advance equal opportunities of persons belonging to minorities, as well as the prevention of racial discrimination. Very little information is available on the position of ethnic minorities in areas such as housing, education and employment because Law 67/98 of 1998 regarding the collection, processing and communication of sensitive personal data is interpreted by the authorities as impeding the collection of any ethnic data. The Advisory Committee is also informed that, in view of the lack of data based on ethnic origin, providing statistical evidence of discrimination before a court remains a challenge.

29. The Advisory Committee notes that this view is shared to some extent by the Portuguese authorities, as they informed the Advisory Committee that the absence of a national study on the Roma population hampers a more rigorous analysis of their situation. The Advisory Committee also notes that, according to the information available, a research project is being implemented under the leadership of ACIME with a view to gathering data on the demographic and economic situation of Roma in Portugal and that data are collected on Roma in the educational system. The Advisory Committee strongly encourages the authorities to collect further information on the situation of ethnic minorities, on a regular basis, and it emphasises the fact that methods exist whereby such data could be collected while ensuring the protection of personal data. It also urges the authorities to ensure that the right of the individuals concerned freely to choose to be treated or not to be treated as a person belonging to a minority is fully respected when collecting data on the demographic,

economic and educational situation of ethnic groups (for example the Roma). This right is enshrined in Article 3 of the Framework Convention. (CoE, 2006: 10)

The Portuguese authorities have constantly refuted this on the grounds of existing legislation[4], namely the European Directive on the processing of personal data and its transposal to the 1998 Data Protection Act (Law 67/98, 26 October):

> The only figures we have on the Roma Community are based on estimates (it is thought that they number approximately 40-50,000 people in Portugal), and we are therefore unable to provide statistics on the actual number because of the provisions of Directive 95/46/EC of the European Parliament and the Council, transposed into the national legislation by Law No. 67/98, of 26 October which, in general terms, prohibits the processing of personal data revealing ethnic or racial origin and political or philosophical beliefs. (CoE, 2009a: 3)

The 1998 Act states that:

> …it is forbidden to process personal data referring to philosophical or political convictions, membership of a political party or trade union, religious faith, private life and racial or ethnic origin… (Law 67/98, 26 October, No. 1 of Article 7)

Yet Number 2 of the same article allows for the processing of such data in specific circumstances, such as 'reasons of public interest', safeguarding anonymity and informed consent:

> 2 - Upon approval of the law or permission by the CNPD [National Commission for the Protection of Data], the processing of the data referred to above may be allowed when, for reasons of public interest, such treatment is essential to the exercise of the legal or statutory duties of the person in question, or when the person concerned has given their consent to this processing, in both cases with the guarantees of non-discrimination and safety measures provided for in Article 15. (Law 67/98, 26 October, No. 2 of Article 7)

It should be mentioned that the legislation on the protection of personal data is European in scope and in several contexts anonymous data has been collected for the purpose of monitoring inequalities.

Unofficially, the Portuguese authorities have further argued that the categorisation of groups has the potential to reinforce stereotypes, thus backing away from the collection of evidence. However, the initiatives and approach fostered by the Portuguese authorities are themselves contributing to the reification of racial categories. As we will argue in Section 3, without engaging with the specific histories behind the construction of categories of *nationhood* and *Europeaness*, the life chances of the populations subjected to categorisation continue to be shaped in significant ways *while* being excluded from an anti-racist strategy.

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[4] It has also been argued that the 1976 Constitution includes the principle of non-discrimination in Article 13 (revised in 2005 to extend the principle of equality on the grounds of sexual orientation): 'Article 13. Principle of equality: 1)All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law; 2) No one may be privileged, favoured, disfavoured or deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the basis of ancestry, sex, race, language, place of origin, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation, social status or sexual orientation.'

Reproving the absence of statistics on the situation of Roma/Gypsy populations – noting that this makes it difficult to prove racism[5] - the Advisory Committee pointed out in 2009 that such data had been collected in the past, namely by the Ministry of Education:

> The Advisory Committee deplores the persisting lack of reliable data on the situation of persons belonging to minorities, and in particular Roma, in areas such as employment, housing or education, despite the existence of a few sociological studies providing some data on persons belonging to the Roma minority. It also notes that the Ministry of Education has been collecting some data on the situation of Roma in the field of education, with a view to designing further specific measures. The Advisory Committee is, however, of the opinion that the information available is not sufficient to provide an accurate picture of the situation of Roma (see also remarks in respect of Article 15 below) and it understands that others in Portugal are advocating for comprehensive data collection on the situation of persons belonging to ethnic minorities, and in particular to the Roma community.[8] It underlines that the current lack of data constitutes a serious obstacle to the elaboration and implementation of more effective positive measures and specific policies to promote equal opportunities. Furthermore, it makes it more difficult to demonstrate and combat existing racial discrimination. (CoE, 2009b: 11)

Since the early 1990s, data on 'cultural groups' and enrolment in education has been collected in Portugal (initially by SCOPREM and later by DAPP). Following instructions by the Ministry of Education, head teachers were to provide this information without the involvement of parents or pupils (thus generating some anecdotal evidence). The information published consistently showed the Roma/Gypsy population as the most disadvantaged group in terms of access to education. The following figure shows the percentage of pupils enrolled in compulsory and upper secondary education, distributed by the following 'cultural groups/nationalities (1999/2000): 'Lusophone countries',[6] 'former emigrants', 'European Union' and 'other countries'[7]:
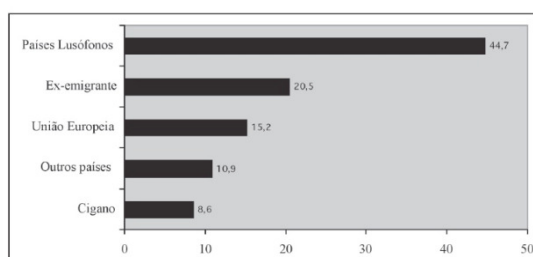
Fonte: http://www.giase.min-edu.pt/estat/99_00/pdf/folha_rapida_1999_2000.PDF

Thus, whilst the official rhetoric has been grounded on the legal impossibility and social undesirability of collecting such figures, data has actually been published in the sphere

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[5] Authors such as Bonnett and Carrington (2000) have argued that although such data has been deployed to manage populations, it has also been used by minoritised communities to reassert political claims for equal rights.

[6] We suspect that this category does not include Portuguese students, but only those from Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé, where Portuguese is an official language.

[7] It is interesting to note how these categories draw the boundary between the nationals – presumed to be ethnically/racially unmarked – and the 'others' – those who belong to a 'cultural group'. Previously, the collection of such statistics revealed the division between 'Luso'/unmarked and 'non-Luso'/marked populations (SCOPREM, 1998: 46-47).

of education, even after the transposal of the Data Protection Act in 1998.[8] Moreover, the data collected in a study by Númena (2007) – the National Focal Point to the European *Fundamental Rights Agency* – summarized in the epigraph to this sub-section, provides substantive evidence that the Roma/Gypsy population is particularly disadvantaged. While this situation has been *known* since at least the early 1990s, no anti-racist policies or strategies targeted at the education system have been launched or even debated. Instead, measures have been directed *at* the Roma/Gypsy populations themselves within a remedial or compensatory framework (e.g. initiatives such as the *Choices Programme*) which tends to reinforce racist assumptions concerning a 'deficit culture'.

2.2. Multicultural curricula and textbooks

European institutions have also expressed concern regarding the low involvement of Roma/Gypsy pupils in the Portuguese education system. In 2002, the ECRI noted that the national authorities recognised the low success rate for the education of Roma/Gypsy pupils, whilst expressing confidence in the assurances made by Portuguese authorities, namely regarding school curricula and textbooks – supposedly correcting pupils' low self-esteem:

> It appears that Roma/Gypsy children have a high failure and drop-out rate in Portugal. ECRI notes that the government is aware of this problem and has taken steps to encourage school attendance by children from these communities, by ensuring, from example, that Roma/Gypsy culture is reflected in school curricula and textbooks. ECRI urges the government to continue its efforts and to step up action in this area. (ECRI, 2002: 15, emphasis added)

While relating the underachievement of Roma/Gypsy pupils to inadequate investment in intercultural training, the Advisory Committee of the *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities* has been critical of the absence of a multicultural curriculum and textbooks in Portugal:

> However, despite efforts made by the authorities and a number of NGOs active in the field of education, information provided to the Advisory Committee shows that intercultural education is still not sufficiently developed in the educational system. The Advisory Committee notes that, often, teachers are not adequately trained to deal with multiethnic audiences and that textbooks do not contain enough elements on minority cultures, especially concerning Roma culture and traditions, although efforts are being made in this respect. Research, academic studies and project evaluations which were brought to the attention of the Advisory Committee highlight the deficit in intercultural education as one of the root causes for under-achievement in the school system of Roma and immigrant children. As a consequence, the Advisory Committee encourages the Portuguese authorities to continue to promote intercultural learning in the educational system, including

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[8] The collection of such data was sometimes discontinued. In 2004, the official body from the Ministry of Education responsible for statistics in education (DAPP) surveyed pupils nationally in order to obtain updated figures on ethnic diversity in schools. Nonetheless, this was received with caution on both sides of the political spectrum. A local branch of the Portuguese Communist Party reacted immediately, considering the collection of data inappropriate in the light of the principle of non-discrimination (Article 13) in the Portuguese Constitution (Público on-line, 30 March 2004).

> by making textbooks more sensitive to ethnic diversity and by introducing further teacher training in this respect. (CoE, 2006: 13)
> the Advisory Committee *finds* that the lack of sensitivity within the education system to diversity is still perceived as one of the main causes of under-achievement among children of immigrant and Roma background. (*id.*: 17)

The *multicultural curriculum* and textbooks - reflecting the culture of Roma/Gypsy communities – is seen as both providing information and knowledge on this culture for the non-Roma/Gypsy population, as well as being a factor that motivates Roma/Gypsy pupils to attend school. This is in spite of the poor consensus on what constitutes a *multicultural curriculum* (see Araújo & Maeso, 2011).

The Portuguese authorities have reacted to the charge that textbooks and curricula do not reflect the composition of its society by referring to a number of publications outside formal education:

> The Entreculturas Secretariat, part of the Office of the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue has also produced a range of educational material to promote success at school by building on the potential and knowledge of Roma children and young people and to facilitate the work of teachers with the children and families in question. The Secretariat was also the Portuguese publisher of a European collection – Interface – entirely devoted to Roma history and culture, and its dissemination has proved extremely positive in promoting understanding of the Roma people. (CoE, 2009a: 25)

Again, the Advisory Committee of the FC noted in its report that 'textbooks contain very limited information on the history and culture of the Roma', which they see as hindering school participation and success (CoE, 2009b: 19). The Portuguese authorities responded to this by alluding to the publication of a number of ethnographies:

> Regarding the intercultural teaching and the recommendation to make textbooks more sensitive to the Roma cultural heritage, the edition of the following books should be mentioned [list of ethnographies] (CoE, 2010: 8).

School textbooks – especially those in the social sciences - are interesting objects for the analysis of national identities and imaginaries. Our analysis of Key Stage 3 history textbooks (for pupils aged 12 to 15 years old) – involving the bestselling books in the school year 2008-2009 – attests to the exclusion of the Roma/Gypsies. None of the textbooks analysed ever makes reference to their belonging or even their existence in Portugal, and only one book fleetingly mentions that the Roma were persecuted by the Nazis – together with the Jews and homosexuals -. On no other occasion are they related either to European or Portuguese territory – the Roma/Gypsies are *in* Europe, but not *of* Europe (Goldberg, 2009).[9]

In addition, as part of the TOLERACE project, we also examined 25 textbooks published in the last ten years and used in Key Stages 1 and 2 (Years 1 to 6, for pupils

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[9] This data and analysis refers to a related project funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (ref. FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-007554), entitled *'Race' and Africa in Portugal: a study on history textbooks* (2008-2011) and coordinated by Marta Araújo.

aged 6 to 11 years old) for *Portuguese Language* and *Social Studies* (*Estudo do Meio*) at KS1 and *History and Geography* at KS2. An examination of the books also revealed the absence of references to the Roma/Gypsy populations, with two exceptions:

> For many years Gypsy caravans have travelled on the Portuguese roads, moving from place to place to sell their goods (Sá, 2008: 47, social studies textbook for Year 3)

The idea of the Roma/Gypsies *passing through* the territory helps reproduce the idea that this is a population that is occasionally *in* but not *of* the nation.

The second textbook includes a photograph of a group of Roma/Gypsy people dancing in a circle, alongside equally demeaning photos of 'Guineans' (by the sea) and 'Indians' (featuring a store), with the following text:

> Each people, despite being a minority in a foreign country, keeps their language, their habits, regional costumes, their food, their music, dances… that are perpetuated throughout time. People from other races with other cultures live in Portugal. They are minorities whom we should respect. (Pinto & Carneiro, 2001: 55, social studies textbook for Year 3)

Thus, while there has been some change in compulsory school textbooks to match the political rhetoric of Portugal-turned-multicultural, such changes act by way of *activating existing visibilities* (Brighenti, 2007) – reifying 'culture' and reinforcing the idea of the existence of 'races'. This strongly contrasts with the motto 'there is only one race, the human race', that was very often repeated in the context of our interviews.

2.3. School segregation

The third aspect that is highlighted in European reports refers to cases of school segregation in Portugal. This has been noted since at least the late 1990s, with cases identified in different regions of the country, although most often in rural areas (in larger cities, social segregation tends to ensure school segregation). The cases that have been reported have referred to classes in schools made up of Roma/Gypsy pupils only or, less commonly, schools attended only by these pupils. The case addressed in the empirical work for the TOLERACE project refers to a combination of the two situations, as detailed in the final section of this paper.

The problem of school segregation is framed by the ECRI as a matter related to the 'hostility' emerging out of the 'arrival' of the Roma population in 'certain neighbourhoods' and the *co-existence* of 'different lifestyles', as explained in detail below:

> The Roma/Gypsy community represents a major victim group in racist incidents, followed by black people from the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. It seems that the arrival of Roma/Gypsy groups in certain neighbourhoods has given rise to protests and even to demands that they leave. These protests reflect the tensions caused when different lifestyles co-exist side by side. The established, sedentary population often sees the arrival of travelling people in their neighbourhood as a threat. These fears are not necessarily or exclusively based on the difference in ethnic origin, but are also fuelled by prejudice creating

a negative image of Roma/Gypsies by associating them with crime and trafficking in various forms. (ECRI, 1998: 7-8).

Cases of the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils in schools have also been denounced by the Advisory Committee of the FC, namely 'practices of grouping Roma students together in one class' (CoE, 2006: 10) and 'a concentration of Roma pupils in some classes' (CoE, 2009b: 19). A case in which a class of Roma/Gypsy pupils was allocated a prefabricated building was also cited:

> The Advisory Committee finds it particularly worrying that Roma pupils have in some instances been placed in separate classes, sometimes located outside the premises of the schools. The Advisory Committee is informed in particular of one school in which Roma pupils are separated from the other pupils and are taught in a temporary prefabricated classroom.(CoE, 2009b: 19)

This specific case of Barqueiros took place in 2008, and was denounced in the Media in 2009. A representative from the borough considered it a form of discrimination, arguing that there was nothing 'pedagogical' about it (*Jornal de Notícias*, 2009; see also Público, 2009a), and the parents of the Roma/Gypsy pupils concerned denied choosing such a practice (Público, 2009b). In a statement issued by the Regional Education Authorities, its director argued that it was a 'positive discrimination' measure, 'a form that corresponded to the specificities of a group of young people' (ORH, 2010: 2). Soon after, the Observatory for Human Rights (*id*.: 5) stated that this was a clear breach of Law 134/99 (28 August) on racial equality, although this does not seem to have received much public attention. Regarding the case, the Portuguese authorities responded to the Advisory Committee:

> The particular case of the 'Barqueiros' school (Paragraph 92): As stated in Paragraph 92 of the Second Opinion of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, there is a school, in the city of Barqueiros, where some Roma students were separated from the other students of the school. CEARD [Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination - CICDR] received a racial discrimination complaint in October 2010 regarding this case and according to the Law 18/2004 an investigation was conducted by the General Inspection of Education. Its final report was sent to the CEARD to issue nonbinding legal advice. The High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue took a decision based on this advice that is yet to be made public. (CoE, 2010: 11-12)

The information we gathered was that it was declared an administrative offence (*Contra-Ordenação* 10/2009) to create a school for Roma/Gypsy pupils only (ACIDI, 2010: 95). Yet, we have so far failed to find any further information, both regarding the results of the investigation by the Education Inspectorate (the last available report by the Inspectorate for this group of schools relates to 2007) and regarding any public statement made by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue

on this issue.[10]

The response by the Portuguese authorities seems to have been deemed satisfactory by the Advisory Committee, which declared:

> It was worrying that some Roma pupils were taught in a separate class, in one particular reported case, which was duly investigated by the Inspectorate General of Education. The class in question was discontinued and the pupils enrolled in mainstream classes, following a decision by the school authorities. (Resolution CM/ResCMN[2011]11: 2, s.p.)

As we will show, the existence of other (simultaneous) cases of segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils in Portugal – and especially their naturalisation by the actors involved - demonstrates that these were not 'isolated events' and hints at the limited scope of action for European agencies: ineffective denunciation.

In these kinds of cases, European agencies have endorsed the deployment of socio-cultural mediators acting as 'a liaison point between families and schools (ECRI, 2007: 30), whilst pointing out their low social and political profile in Portugal:

> ECRI regrets that the problems raised in the second report persist and have sometimes even worsened. The socio-cultural mediators are certainly receiving training, but the posts are rarely filled or if they are, they rapidly become vacant again owing to lack of professionalisation, poor career prospects, job insecurity and other disincentives. It appears, for example, that mediators are obliged to take on second jobs in order to support themselves and broaden their career prospects. This also has a negative effect, in that those whom the scheme is designed to help feel discouraged and frustrated when they see that the mediation service is not operating properly. Everyone agrees, however, that having a mediator is very helpful and that the concept should definitely not be discarded. (ECRI, 2007: 16)
> School mediators can play an important role in finding solutions to existing problems facing both Roma pupils and their families, as well as teachers and school authorities. However, they are often underutilised and their status lacks clarity. The Advisory Committee is informed that their role is often misunderstood by school administrations and local authorities and that they are often perceived as additional teachers, who should take care of the Roma pupils, rather than as a link between the Roma families, the majority population, the school and the authorities. The Advisory Committee reiterates its view that the status and role of school mediators should be clarified in order for them to serve as an effective tool for integration. (CoE, 2009b: 19)

This shows that the public powers continue to under-invest in some solutions - illustrative of the formal possibilities offered by existing legislation - adopted by the Portuguese authorities (CoE, 2006).

In Portugal, the institutional antecedents of the figure of 'cultural mediator' can be found in the 1990s, within the context of the country's increasing engagement with European Union policies and recommendations for social inclusion and anti-discrimination (Oliveira *et al.,* 2005: 31-38). According to the study carried out by the Observatory on Immigration, early *cultural mediation* initiatives were carried out by four organisations: the *Obra Nacional para a Pastoral dos Ciganos,*[11] the *Santa Casa de*

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[10]Despite other statements (regarding racism directed towards Chinese populations and the recent attacks in Norway) being available online on the ACIDI website.
[11] The *National Pastoral Work for the Gypsies'* was officially established in 1972 as part of the Catholic Church's Portuguese Ecclesiastic Conference:

Misericórdia in Lisbon,[12] the NGO *Moinho da Juventude* Cultural Association and the Ministry of Education Department for Elementary Education (ibid: 32). It was in the sphere of education that the state started promoting the idea of cultural mediation as a strategic device for intervention in cases of 'absenteeism' among ethnic minorities.[13] The cultural mediator – jointly with the *animator* – was first mentioned as a resource in the *Educational Priority Intervention Territories* (TEIP) in 1996; it was then officially recognised in 1998 and its legal status established in 2001 (see Table 3). The intervention of socio-cultural mediators has also been supported within the Choices (Escolhas) programme launched in 2001. In September 2009, the ACIDI launched a *Municipal Mediators* project in spheres such as education, health and housing (to be implemented in 15 municipalities),[14] taking the Roma/Gypsies as the target-population (Castro *et al.*, 2010: 6).

Table 3. Legislation and initiatives on cultural mediation	
1996	Launch of the *Educational Priority Intervention Territories* (Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária – TEIP); mentioning the possibility of working with the support of mediators [Dispatch 47/96, 1 August]
1998	Recognition of the figure of the mediator by the Ministries of Education and Employment and Social Solidarity [Joint Dispatch 304/98, 24 April]
2000	Establishment of the Working Group for Cultural Mediators [Joint Dispatch 1165/2000]
2001	Establishment of the legal status of Socio-Cultural Mediator [Law 105/2001, 31 August]
2008	*Educational Priority Intervention Territories* - Second Generation (TEIP2); the intervention of mediators was established as a pedagogical development priority in TEIPs [Normative Dispatch 55/2008, 23 October]
2009	Pilot Project on Municipal Mediators (ACIDI/GACI)

Since its inception, education policies and public bodies (i.e. municipalities) linked the need for 'cultural mediation' to cases of unsuccessful schooling and early absenteeism among 'ethnic minorities' and 'immigrants'. The narratives used to explain these situations deploy an imaginary of *cultural distance,* as clearly stated in the two following quotes:

> From the interviews conducted, and with reference to those selected as typical cases of mediation (…), we confirmed that the projects for mediation emerged as an attempt *to make the school familiar to those social groups that, for cultural reasons, have been estranged from it*. As an example, *the Gypsy and African cultures may be considered groups that tend to be estranged from the schooling culture*. However, this gap is not exclusive to this particular kind of group, as it can occur in other social groups in contexts of social exclusion (Oliveira *et al.*, 2005: 100, emphasis added)
> In most of the municipalities, the reasons cited to explain absenteeism and early drop-out rates in the education system relate to factors *endogenous to the Roma/Gypsy population*, namely not valuing the role of the school 'as a factor for social insertion and integration', and questions associated with intra-family dynamics and gender issues. (Castro *et al.*, 2010: 85)

www.portal.ecclesia.pt/instituicao/pub/65/noticia.asp?noticiaid=33411&jornalid=65 (accessed: 4.08.2011)
[12] A private charitable institution : www.scml.pt (accessed: 14.09.11)
[13] Through the Regional Education Authorities.
[14] In Amadora, Aveiro, Beja, Coimbra, Idanha-a-Nova, Lamego, Marinha Grande, Moura, Paredes, Peso da Régua, Seixal, Setúbal, Sines, Sintra, Vidigueira. As part of this project, the GACI/ACIDI, together with the Centre for Studies on Social Intervention (CESIS), provided a 90-hour training course for Roma/Gypsy mediators (Castro et al., 2010: 47).

Regardless of this, no mediators intervened in the case studied.

2.4. The evasion of racism

Although the reports published by these two European agencies denounce ethnic and racial discrimination against Roma/Gypsy populations in different member states, racism has not been sufficiently addressed. The reports fail to link the cases of segregation to the historical marginalisation, racial discrimination and repression experienced by the Roma/Gypsies in Europe (illustrated in the attachment for the Portuguese context). By never framing the question as a matter of racism, the reports by the ECRI reproduce an approach that treats segregation as *isolated events*, deserving the social condemnation of the 'majority' population:

> ECRI is especially concerned to learn that Gypsy children are occasionally faced with hostile reactions from parents of non-Gypsy children who do not wish Gypsy children to join their own children's classes. For example, ECRI notes the incident widely reported in the press of the transfer of ten or so Gypsy children from a school in Teivas to a school in Rebordinho at the start of the 2003 school year. The children were transferred apparently in response to pressure from non-Gypsy parents in the first school. Placards were put up in the new school stating "No to Gypsies". Nonetheless, the school officials reported the incident to the police and, according to ACIME, the authorities did everything to ensure that the Gypsy children could attend their new school under acceptable conditions. (ECRI, 2007: 30)

We argue instead that they should be seen as the tip of the iceberg, revealing *institutional racism* (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967) directed towards the Roma/Gypsy population in contexts such as the Portuguese. As we will show, although cases of school segregation have been denounced by the Media, they seem to attract the support of wide segments of the population.

Without a strategy of anti-racism in place, the European reports analysed the call for change at the level of the populations themselves, namely through a range of policies that 'foster the social and occupational integration of these minority groups in order to break the vicious circle which merely leads to their further exclusion.' (ECRI, 1998: 8). This framework continues to promote surveillance of the *cultural performance* of the Roma/Gypsy populations, and to evade any debate on racial discrimination. Additionally, the proposed measures rely on problematic assumptions about the effectiveness of knowledge – that is, providing more information *on* that population – as an anti-racist strategy, rather than engaging with the power relations that produce this absence of information:

> ECRI strongly recommends that the Portuguese authorities continue their efforts to address the problems relating to the reception of Gypsy children in certain schools and that they take all necessary measures to deal with any hostile reactions from the parents of non-Gypsy children. (…) ECRI recommends that the Portuguese authorities pursue and step up their efforts to promote Gypsy culture among teachers and pupils. (ECRI, 2007: 30)

As Lesko and Bloom have argued, '"ignorance" is an effect of particular knowledge, not an absence of knowledge' (1998: 380). Framed as a matter of prejudice and biased representations, the discussion of racism is again evaded, replaced by the language of (conflictive) race relations, and 'attitudes of rejection and hostility':

> The Advisory Committee finds that attitudes of rejection and hostility towards minorities are present in the Portuguese society, especially based on the colour of the skin and towards Roma (…) the Advisory Committee considers that the authorities should further develop and strengthen programmes aiming at countering prejudices against persons belonging to ethnic minorities and should put mechanisms in place to ensure the proper recording and data collection on racially motivated violence and crime and to ensure that these crimes are thoroughly investigated. (CoE, 2006: 17)

Without the mechanisms in place to produce *evidence* of institutional racism, the Portuguese authorities have refuted claims of such hostility existing in its society, even despite these denunciations:

> We would have to disagree with paragraph 62, which states that attitudes of rejection and hostility towards minorities are present in Portuguese society, for this does not accurately reflect the rule in Portuguese society.
> We would like to stress that Portugal has in its legal framework several mechanisms to fight and punish practices of racial or ethnic discrimination in defence of any citizen that might be a victim of these practices, instead of protection given to one national minority. Furthermore, it develops efforts to eliminate racism and intolerance, as recognised in the ECRI's 3rd report on Portugal. (CoE, 2007a: s.p.)

As we will show in the next section, the case we studied constituted not only a clear-cut example of 'rejection', 'hostility', and 'racial and ethnic discrimination', but also made it clear how the misrecognition of racism is produced.

3. Integration with *prudence:* legitimising the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils in schools on educational grounds

> Compared to other groups, Roma people have lower life expectancy. They have poorer health and live in worse housing. Employment and education levels are abysmal and of little concern to the politicians, whose commitment to change is at best weak, and most of the time non-existent. Like black Americans, Roma know the indignity of segregated schooling (R. Rustem, 2010, Why Martin Luther King Matters To Europe's Roma)

Robert Rustem, a member of the *European Roma and Travellers Forum* (ERTF), reminds us that the racial segregation of Black people in the *Jim Crow* era – which subsists in the USA today (Minow, 2008) – and of the Roma/Gypsy in Europe share many common features. Yet while much has been produced on Roma/Gypsy pupils and their communities in the field of education, it is startling that so little research has addressed the racism directed towards this population throughout Europe - Portugal

being no exception[15] – particularly so when many European reports on racial discrimination have repeatedly cited cases of school segregation.

Questions related to racial segregation in education have been most commonly associated with the United States or South Africa. In Europe, segregation has been mainly addressed in relation to the past, particularly to colonial education.[16] In much contemporary work, the assumption tends to be that racism has evaporated, that is, the idea that racism (including its most crude forms) no longer exists in democratic Europe. This assumption helps clarify the 'discourse of segregation' concerning Roma/Gypsy pupils as typical of *new* member states, that is, countries such as Romania or Bulgaria (e.g. European Commission, 2007: 11).[17] Significantly, it draws on a historicist notion of 'race' that presupposes its disappearance (Lentin, 2008), instead of seeing it as an embedded aspect of Western modernity and its state structures (Hesse, 2004; Goldberg, 2006).

Accordingly, we consider an approach that locks certain modes of racism within national peculiarities or specific times to be unproductive; we should instead consider the contemporary typologies of regionally registered racisms:

> a set of more or less recent typologies of regionally registered racisms linked to their dominant state formations (…) regional models or mappings, rather than ideal types, broad generalizations as contours of racist configuration, each one with its own material and intellectual history, its prior conditions and typical modes of articulation (Goldberg, 2006: 333)

We thus argue for an understanding of the marginalisation and segregation of Roma/Gypsy populations in the historicity of the modern nation states, colonialism and the idea of Europe/Europeaness in the 15th and 16th-century Iberian Peninsula.

3.1. A controversy? Segregation and white flight in a rural primary school

In the final section of this paper, we examine a recent case regarding several occurrences of the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils and *white flight* in a state primary school in Portugal (the key events regarding the case are described in Table 4, below).

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[15] In Portugal, a lot of small-scale work has been published on the education of the Roma/Gypsy population (especially Master's dissertations), but there has been little involvement on the part of the academic community in studying questions related to racism; they tend instead to emphasise intercultural relations and education (e.g. Casa-Nova, 2002; Cortesão et al, 2005).

[16] See, for instance, Duffy (1961) for a discussion of racial segregation and schooling in Mozambique under Portuguese colonialism.

[17] The same logic of linear progress that positions Portugal as less advanced in terms of anti-racist policies, but moving towards eradicating racism.

Table 4. A case of segregated schooling	
Dates	**Key events**
1997/98	Enrolment of Roma/Gypsy pupils at the Aguda primary school (belonging to the Verdana group of schools).
	Constitution of a separate class, a Year Zero for the late schooling of Roma/Gypsy pupils over 13 years old, in Canal Grande, at a local association.
Beginning of school year 2000/01	Process of negotiation with non-Roma/Gypsy parents and the Regional Education Authority, leading to the constitution of a class with Roma/Gypsy pupils only, at the primary school of Ferrarias.
2003	Transfer of Roma/Gypsy pupils from Ferrarias primary school back to Aguda.
	Gradual transfer of non-Roma/Gypsy from Aguda primary school to other schools in the area.
	The intervention of the ACIME is required. This body states that the transfer was made according to the 'will and need' of the guardians of the children involved.
2005	National policy for the closure of primary schools with less than ten pupils, or less than 20 in cases of low attainment.
2006/07	Tensions between the Roma/Gypsy and non-Roma/Gypsy populations. Demonstration by the non-Roma/Gypsy parents, which closed down the Aguda school. All the non-Roma/Gypsy parents transfer their children.
	At a meeting of the Municipal Assembly, the President of the Municipality of Canal Grande argued that Aguda should remain open and that this was agreed with the Regional Education Authority.
2007 to 2010	Aguda school attended only by Roma/Gypsy pupils (4 to 8 simultaneously). Other Roma/Gypsy pupils from schools in the Ferrarias group transferred to the Aguda primary school. .
	Weekly support from the Choices (Escolhas) Programme.
February 2010 to June 2010	The Choices programme promotes 'contact' between Roma/Gypsy and non-Roma/Gypsy pupils, with weekly visits from the former – attending the Aguda school – to the Verdana group of schools.
June 2010	Legislation requiring the closure of primary schools with fewer than 21 pupils (*Resolution of the Council of Ministers No. 44/2010, 14 June*)
End of school year 2009/10	Closure of the Aguda primary school. Pupils join the Ferrarias group of schools, divided amongst several classes, or stay in a training programme which started on-site.
2010/2011	Start of the [*PIEF*] training programme for pupils aged 12 to 16, in spite of caution by the Regional Education Authority. Transfer of underachieving Roma/Gypsy pupils at Ferrarias. Weekly support from the Choices programme – 2nd edition (Escolhas - 2ª ed).
End of school year 2010/11	Closure of the training programme at Aguda.

In the mid-1990s, the requirement that recipients of the *Guaranteed Minimum Income had to* agree to enrol their children of compulsory school age in the education system is said to have increased the number of Roma/Gypsy pupils, due to their overrepresentation in the most socially disadvantaged groups.[18] Much political (and academic) discourse has stressed that this resulted in further pressure on the school structures and organisation (already under strain due to a set of neoliberal policies and practices entailing surveillance of schools and teacher performance). In this paper, we

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[18]Although this often seems to be overestimated, as figures for their representation amongst the beneficiaries of the income are about the same as those for the non-Roma/Gypsy population, according to Branco (2003).

argue instead that the presumed increase in the number of Roma/Gypsy pupils attending school helped *make racism more visible*, in spite of its persistent misrecognition.

The case we analyse here refers to an explicit situation of segregation and white flight which can be traced back to the mid-1990s. In 1996-97, a group of Roma/Gypsy pupils started attending the primary school in Aguda, following the acquisition of land by their family in the school's catchment area. In that same year, conflicts were registered and pupils aged over 13 were transferred to a larger site (*Canal Grande*), where they were to attend what was designated a *Year Zero* at the premises of a local association (simultaneously, other children attended extracurricular activities on site). This was seen as a means of establishing future integration in regular schooling:

> "... in 1997, in Canal Grande, when we first tried to school those kids .... We had João, I remember, at the time he would have been around 13 which is the age when some Gypsy boys and girls get married, and we were about to put them next to children aged six. Without him even knowing how to hold a pen (…) So it was preferable to offer a preparation year. Training him to sit down for one hour, and then two, then three, until he could manage four hours, which is the morning period, right? Until he could handle a pen, a pencil, forming the first letters and so… So that he didn´t have to sit down next to a six year old and be ridiculed." (Maria,19 social worker at local association)

The available data suggests that this situation continued until the beginning of the school year 2000/2001 when, following negotiations between the Regional Education Authority (*Direcção Regional de Educação*) and non-Roma/Gypsy parents, a class was created for Roma/Gypsy pupils only – some of whom came from Aguda – in the nearby Ferrarias. This was a situation denounced by the Media at the time (see box below).

In 2000, a national newspaper alluded to a class with ten Roma/Gypsy pupils being created at the Ferrarias primary school. The director of the school argued that it was the first time that this school had had Roma/Gypsy pupils, and so there should be '*prudency 'in their integration*. She also stated that this was a temporary solution (lasting up to a term) aimed at preventing clashes and at preparing the children for *full integration* in the school. This decision was backed by the Regional Education Authorities, in the light of the 'children's own special characteristics'.

Although a parent who was interviewed agreed that non-Roma/Gypsy parents 'opposed' the inclusion of Roma/Gypsy students in the same classes as their children, both the head teacher and the Local Education Authorities (*Centro de Área Educativa* – CAE) denied any external pressure in making of this decision, which was presented as pedagogical in nature, rather than political. The Ministry of Education backed the decision – arguing that it would serve to diagnose the difficulties and learning levels of the pupils concerned - and stated that it would evidently not allow any racial discrimination in the education system. Only the Teacher's Union and the president of the Romani Union used the terms 'segregation' and 'discrimination' to refer to the events.

In 2003, some of the Roma/Gypsy pupils were transferred back to Aguda. From this point onwards a process of white flight started taking place, with non-Roma/Gypsy parents progressively transferring their children to schools in other places (to Ferrarias and schools in the Verdana group). This process prompted the transfer of other

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[19] All names were changed to preserve anonymity.

Roma/Gypsy students from other schools to Aguda: 'They were sent to Ferrarias, and some to Aguda, and then a class was set up for Gypsies only, the Gypsies that were there, and transferred (…) from Ferrarias to Aguda.' (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda). Following this transfer of Roma/Gypsy pupils, the *High-Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities* (ACIME) was required to intervene. Yet, in an official report published soon after,[20] this institution merely stated that the transfer was made according to the 'will and need' of the guardians of the pupils concerned.

Since 2005, the Portuguese government has adopted a policy of closing primary schools attended by fewer than ten pupils, or 20 pupils in cases of low attainment (FENPROF, 2006, 22 December).[21] Although it is not very clear how many pupils attended the Aguda school since this policy was initiated, according to information provided by the teachers it seems that the figure was between seven and 14, which would indicate that the school was a candidate for closure.

By 2006/2007, tensions between the non-Roma/Gypsy and the Roma/Gypsy populations were said to have been registered, culminating with the former closing down and locking the school. According to information from the interviewees, the school was at the time 'mixed', with most pupils being white, 'of our race'. Although the teachers seemed wary of disclosing this more fully, pupils were being taught separately in the school: 'There were two classrooms only, and they [Roma/Gypsy pupils] would all be in one class. But still it was a mixed school' (Ticha, teacher at Aguda primary school).

In April 2007 the possibility of closing the Aguda primary school was raised at a Municipal Assembly meeting in Canal Grande. The President of the Municipality stated that the school should not be closed, as an economic investment had been made to ensure that the 14 Roma/Gypsy pupils had proper educational facilities. Significantly, white flight was legitimised in the name of future integration: if the school was closed, children at 'an initial stage of integration' would be sitting next to the other pupils and parents would remove the remaining non-Roma/Gypsy children. The President also mentioned that this had been transmitted to the Director of the Regional Education Authority, who accepted the continuing functioning of the school in exceptional circumstances.

From the school year 2007/2008 onwards, only Roma/Gypsy pupils attended the school. In November 2007, a visit by the Inspectorate of Education (*Inspecção-Geral da Educação* - IGE) found that the functioning of a school with 'Roma/Gypsy only' was

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[20] For the sake of anonymity, the references to the sources consulted are not included.
[21] This was later regulated by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers No. 44/2010 (14 June), which enforced the closure of primary schools attended by less than 21 pupils (allowing for some exceptions duly granted by the education authorities).

a 'barrier to their full integration'. No further action seems to have been taken as a consequence of this official visit to the school, apart from this aspect receiving a negative appraisal in the overall evaluation of the school. Discussions about the situation with the school board seem to have been kept brief:

> "it was the negative point in the evaluation of the [Verdana]. schools group The non-integration, the fact that it was... I was not on the panel, I wasn't part of the panel, but questions were raised about why that class was there, and I think nobody was really answering. And then our coordinator did say something - that's what I've been told, because I was not there." (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda)

Subsequently, for three school years (2007-2010) only Roma/Gypsy pupils attended the Aguda school. Whilst clearly constituting a case of segregation, the teachers interviewed were reluctant to provide full details of the process. When mentioning the absence of an 'ethnic mix' at the school, teachers instead emphasised pedagogical questions related to the teaching of different age groups in one classroom. Thus we were told that in 2009-2010 only seven pupils attended the school - all of 'Gypsy ethnicity' (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda), in three different levels: five in Year 2 and two in Year 4, even though they were grouped differently, as the teacher considered that three should follow Year 2 and two Year 1.

In fact, although the teachers acknowledged that the creation of a class consisting only of Roma/Gypsy pupils was undesirable, they often positioned themselves in agreement with the non-Roma/Gypsy parents who transferred their children out of the school. *White flight* was legitimised by the history of conflict between the two populations, as well as by the *cultural incompetencies* of the Roma/Gypsy population, as explored in the next section.

The segregation was seen as being agreed to by the parents of Roma/Gypsy pupils, so as to avoid confrontations, bad influences and further racism:

> "The parents of the children I had also preferred it this way, curiously enough. (…) they would say, just like this: 'it's that those from your race teach them very bad things, smoking, drugs, playing truant, and they are racists, and so we have to defend ourselves and sometimes they are a bit more violent'. So it's always us, we make the Gypsy kids and young people have that kind of attitude. And so they prefer it, and they really tried to keep the school open, and wanted to keep it going. The kids did not want to change school and that's how they liked it. To themselves." (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda)

It is significant that the only time that racism was ever mentioned in interviews was when non-Roma/Gypsy people guessed how the Roma/Gypsy population interpreted the situation. The other actors we interviewed were wary of framing the situation as such. Racism was thus trivialised and seen as an argument available to the Roma/Gypsy population as an excuse for their 'unwillingness to integrate'. Nonetheless, some of the social workers interviewed did recognise that such a solution

was a means of appeasing the non-Roma/Gypsy parents – maintaining *white privilege* (King, 1991):

> [Keeping their children enrolled in Aguda] "let's say that that was the preference of the Gypsy community. At a certain time they said, yes, they liked the Aguda school , and they liked their children to go there (…) The other parents, I think they ended up allowing this situation to continue, because, well, there were only a few pupils and they could easily fit them into other schools, and so the focus of the tension was lowered. There is no, let's say, no contact, so there is a group of children who attend one school and other children go to a different school, and the source of the tension ceases to exist." (Isabel, social worker at a local association)

During the period in which the school was segregated, some activities were organised to foster occasional 'contact' with pupils in other schools or locations. This initially took the form of school visits by the Aguda pupils to Verdana, and later on specific holidays such as the Carnival parade, on school trips, or as part of initiatives taking place in a larger village nearby (close to Verdana). This *contact* was always one-way (i.e. the Roma/Gypsy pupils made contact with the other children, but not the reverse). Whilst acknowledging that relations were characterised by mistrust – reflecting the wider atmosphere between both populations - the teachers tended to emphasise the characteristics of the Roma/Gypsy population ('looking dirty', 'being suspicious', 'talking back').

Despite the three years in which the school taught Roma/Gypsy pupils only, a representative from the Regional Education Authority stated that this was not a national strategy:

> "the strategy of the Ministry of Education in relation to this issue is the common strategy (…) schools with fewer than ten pupils and inadequate facilities are to be closed, precisely to allow the children access to a broader context where they can develop the socialisation process as well as learning" (Manuela)

Again, it is also interesting to note how 'integration' is always defined as a one-way effort, despite all the political rhetoric on contact and intercultural dialogue.

The school was finally closed in September 2010 and the pupils were relocated to two schools in nearby locations (probably by age group). Social workers and teachers expected that when the school closed the Roma/Gypsy pupils would give up their education but this was not the case, with most of the children now 'being transported by their parents to their new schools' (Maria, social worker at a local association). Following the closure of the primary school in 2010, a class made up of Roma/Gypsy pupils only (aged 12 to 16) was enrolled in a *Integrated Programme of Education and Training* (PIEF) on site, despite concerns expressed by the Regional Education Authorities regarding such model of 'social inclusion' (Isabel, social worker at a local association).

3.2. 'They don't have a culture of schooling': defining the situation of
vulnerability through the construction of 'otherness'

While we are presented with a clear-cut case of segregation and white flight – a process clearly marked by racism - the actors involved in or familiar with the case framed it as resulting from the interrelated cultural and educational deficits of the population in question, together with their 'unwillingness to integrate'. In most of the interviews we carried out with teachers, social workers and mediators, as well as those involved in decision-making processes, the essentialisation of the Roma/Gypsy population and the naturalisation of difference emerged, thus making segregation a legitimate educational strategy.

The pathologisation of the Roma/Gypsies was a process that drew on the following assumptions about this population: 'nearly illiterate' (Maria, social worker), 'personal fulfilment attained by money only' (Maria), 'acquiescing in absenteeism' (Manuela, Regional Education Authority), 'lack of abstract skills and the ability to project themselves in the future' (Maria), 'excessively permissive or punitive' parental discipline (Maria), 'poor hygiene' (Ticha and Dora, both primary teachers, Isabel, social worker), no social skills, including 'table manners' (Ticha), 'behaviour problems' and 'indiscipline' (Isabel, Carina, social worker), 'lack of rules' (Ticha), 'difficulties in following timetables' (Carina), 'resistance to work' (Ticha), 'lack of interest in education' (Dora). The two examples below illustrate how the two teachers who worked at Aguda articulated this during the interviews:

> "the pupils had so many difficulties in following the syllabus, because I had to comply with the syllabus, the curricula, like other schools, there wasn´t, let´s say, an adjustment, the skills to be worked on were the same. And then they have a dialect, and communication was not very easy at first. And so I arrived there and had to explain to a Year 2 pupil a very basic Maths task which us… People in other contexts, must have had had to explaini that notion… But, for instance, to apply lipstick in a longer or thicker... It was very hard for them to understand these notions, because it was... They only understood after a lot of attempts to show it in a concrete way (...) and so it was very difficult to bring my usual methods down so much (...) and then, they are very resistant to work, right? They get tired easily, there's a lack of motivation, they don't go to school to learn, it´s because they are more than forced to go to school, to be there, and so it ends up being much more complicated reaching that type of pupil. (…) besides the learning difficulties that really are very acute, there were also other problems which I was not so… used to. Namely, the absenteeism, they are often absent, the lack of hygiene, some lack of rules in the class that I had. This is not due to a lack of education or bad behaviour, it's really about knowing how to behave, how to address me, ask permission or say thanks, good table manners, things that were there and really were very striking." (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda)
> "I did not want to change their customs or traditions, but there were things I thought needed to be changed. Especially in terms of hygiene. I don´t know whether, when you see Gypsies in the street, you see them looking clean and tidy… Well, there are some, right? Not there, it was horrific, they were dirty, had lice, really, really…. In terms of body hygiene, clothing hygiene… Very, very difficult in that respect. (…) Food… I don't think they have a healthy diet, they probably go to the supermarket and buy cakes or something like that. Their diet must be based on that." (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda)

It is interesting to note that although the teachers and other social workers pointed out – and were confident of having identified - the *deficits* of the Roma/Gypsy population,

in the interviews they were wary of being seen as racist and thus repeatedly stated that they were referring to a specific community, whilst quickly extending this to a larger population.

The contrast that those interviewed seemed to find between their assumptions of 'Gypsy culture' and the characteristics usually attributed to the 'ideal' pupil (Becker, 1952) helped foster the interpretation and essentialisation of this population as lacking a 'culture of schooling':

> "Some of the things I learned by working with the Gypsies, at least with this community in particular, is that – we cannot fool ourselves – that most, and there are a few exceptions, take two or three years at least to learn how to read and write. (…) Because, for instance, there were children with nothing, with no books… The school had to offer them books and they only worked during the time they were there [at school], they wouldn't even take the books home, because if they took them home, they would not be returned as they should. They would be dirty or spoilt. There was no support at home, there wasn't, the books weren't even sent home.(...) The Gypsy community, they don't have a culture of schooling, they aren´t interested, they were there because they had to be, or because somebody told them that that if they did not go to school the Social Inclusion Income could be cut (…) I think that the parents do not see school as something of value that can give them a better future; they don't have a culture of schooling and don't see schooling this way." (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda)
> "I wasn't expecting an easy job, for several reasons. In the first place, the information I had been given by the school and the group of schools was that the parents have some resistance to schooling, because they think – basically – that we are interfering in certain traditions of theirs and so there are certain things that, on the part of the school – as an institution –are not well accepted, are not well regarded." (Ticha)

The empirical work allowed us to verify how the presumed traditions of the Roma/Gypsy population are interpreted by teachers as the *antithesis* to school, an idea that actually pervades much academic work on this population, even when disclaiming intentions to make generalizations (e.g. Enguita, 2004; Aires, 2004; Casa-Nova, 2002, 2006). For instance, Casa-Nova (2002) concluded from her study that:

> the devaluation *of* and disinvestment *from* school knowledge cuts across a great part of the [Roma/Gypsy] population (independently of their financial resources), the majority of whom still do not express any interest in school as an institution, which might be explained by reference to the existence of an *habitus of ethnicity* (p. 107, original emphasis).

In the context of the interviews, assumptions about a *deficit culture* emerged alongside the condemnation of *segregation* as an abstract and universal principle. It was in defending educational objectives and purposes that the interviewees allowed themselves to legitimise segregation, in the name of future integration:

> "really, I think, everyone in Gypsy classes only, I don't think so. Because we are not working on integration (…) Because when they come here [to the Verdana school], they don't want to come and they don't like being where they don't feel comfortable, and those who are here also see them as a group apart, and so I think that in this respect the school should take another… Must have another approach, or in fact integrate the pupils into mixed classes and that, actually, I think is useful for them. Although the first year might be difficult, or the first months, I think with time they will be able to adapt, and parents, for their part, will adapt to new realities and have to, maybe at a Christmas party, be with other parents. Maybe they'll get on well with someone, and then in the future we'll have two [pupils] and so on, and so we're being more tolerant towards one another. So, although I enjoyed working with those pupils, and if they were still there [at Aguda], I would like to keep working with them, I don't think that we're integrating. It's easier this way. It's less problematic, because no one

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wants to have Gypsy pupils in the Verdana schools, because it always involves conflicts, there are always problems involved (…) and so it's easier to keep them like this, at the [Aguda] school." (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda)

Focusing on the *cultural inadequacies* of the Roma/Gypsy population – and assuming them to be educationally relevant – allowed for the naturalisation of white flight:

"[After being asked why she thought parents had removed their children from the school, the teacher replied] I would be speculating, because I have no concrete grounds. But I think that it has a lot to do with, with hygiene, because it really is not easy. And they often told stories about when they came into contact with these kids, even during lunch, for instance, that they don't have those... they had no ..., they didn´t use a knife and fork, so there were some kids who were very shocked and even disgusted. Also, there were some thefts, some things disappeared that might have just been lost… but then they were seen as being taken by those pupils. That tough intolerance among the pupils, physical conflicts between them during breaks as well. I think these are among the reasons." (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda)"

The Roma/Gypsy population was further characterised by their 'unwillingness to integrate':

"They live in a very closed atmosphere, even outside that school. They do not interact with anyone from outside. Only if they need to, maybe to beg [pedir] or buy, I don´t know... Because there is no everyday interaction with anyone outside" (Dora, primary teacher at Aguda)
"It is true that this community doesn't make things easy, because if the teacher imposes a rule, they might go and hit the teacher, and they might scratch the cars of the other parents, and they might even confront the other kids and beat them up." (Maria, social worker at a local association)

In short, the vulnerable situation of the Roma/Gypsy population was therefore not defined by the actors involved as related to racism, but rather to a set of cultural and educational deficits and an 'unwillingness to integrate', thus legitimising the solutions adopted.

3.3. Adding insult to injury: dispersing the 'other', celebrating difference and education for everyday life

The various solutions that were found for the Roma/Gypsy pupils once the primary school of Aguda was closed in 2010 were a mix of busing and dispersal to different classes, inter/multicultural education, and placing the older pupils in a professional training programme. As we argue, these solutions were as damaging as the vulnerability faced by the Roma/Gypsy population – with regard to school segregation – and have far from succeeded in reversing the racist assumptions that informed them. This has stemmed from a misrecognition of racism and consequently the absence of a clear anti-racist strategy.[22]

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[22] For a discussion of the construction of an anti-racist strategy involving schools and communities in Britain, see Gillborn (1995).

Rather than being fuelled by a belief in integration, the **dispersal of Roma/Gypsy pupils** to different schools (busing) and classes was carried out in order to 'control misbehaviour' (Carina, social worker), to prevent pupils from 'giving up investing in their school trajectory' (Carina, social worker), and to avoid them 'joining forces' (Maria, social worker). The deployment of dispersal as a strategy of *social control* is illustrated by the examples below:

> "Although at the time (...) they defended the idea of a class for local children with no more than two or three of Gypsy pupils in it. I think that's how one could... I don't know, I think, that maybe there would be integration. (...) I would support a smaller number of Gypsies, and a greater number of others (...) From what I've heard, and also imagining myself as a mother, I would perhaps also remove them [from the Aguda school]. Because what happened, what came to happen in Aguda? There were more Gypsies and fewer of the others and, whether you like it or not, associating the Roma community... with all those thefts. I don't know, you can imagine the rest, right? And then I think they ... I don't know if I can say that they can be violent, but I know that later there were many conflicts between the children, and as a way of solving the problem the parents ended up removing them [from Aguda]." (Dora, primary teacher at Aguda)
>
> "If, initially, they were placed in one school, we then adopted the strategy of dividing them amongst the schools, because we didn´t think it was beneficial either for the school community or the children themselves, as they have family ties, children and cousins all together. What happened was that when there was a problem at school, they all focused on it, then they have their own dialect, their own ways, and this was not beneficial to other children in the school community or the teachers, or even them, so we divided them amongst the schools." (Carina, social worker)
>
> "We drew the teachers' attention to the idea of distributing them in groups so that they were not too heavily concentrated in one class, so there were [Roma/Gypsy] children in almost every class, which also came to help. Because we know that when they are, when there tend to be two or three from the same family in the same room, they end up getting together. If there are only one or two, this makes them more open to others, and to making contact with other children (...) What happened in Aguda was that there was only a small number of students, Gypsies and non-Gypsies, which shows ... which favours a bit the parents coming together and organising themselves, and so on. As for the primary school, the Ferrarias school, we are talking about a school that has six primary forms with more than 20 students in each one. So we have over 100 students, right? This doesn't make it so easy... for people to organise and demonstrate. The issues are more diluted." (Isabel, social worker at local association)

What these extracts seem to suggest very clearly is that the issue was not merely an educational or cultural strategy – associated with the perceived deficits of this population – but also political, in the sense that racist ideologies served to maintain white privilege. Racism was seen as being solved by a mixed-class solution, which reduced the number of Roma/Gypsy pupils in each class so as to appease non-Roma/Gypsy parents. In other words, both segregation and the mixing of Roma/Gypsy pupils were solutions that were based on, and perpetuated, racism.

Inter/multicultural education[23] was also cited as a remedy for the conflicts that had been registered and was adopted at the new school that Roma/Gypsy pupils were to attend. The social actors were very confident that the activation of *difference* was a strategy for achieving 'respect', 'acceptance', and 'tolerance':

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[23]Interestingly, those interviewed used these terms interchangeably (actually more often deploying the term multiculturalism), which goes to show the spuriousness of much debate regarding the distinctions between these two models at national and European level.

"how do you manage - in the dominant culture - to promote such a stigmatised group, if you don't look for the positive side, the joy? Right?" (Maria, social worker at a local association) "And then, turning to what we do, each quarter we decided that we should have an activity at the Ferrarias primary school and we should work on helping to integrate these children into the normal context, let's say, a regular context. We have activities that aim to raise awareness in the school through games, through films, in which we work on this issue of multiculturalism, respect for differences etc. (...) We recently held an evening event, as part of a school evening, with Gypsy music and dance to show the community – that at one point dismissed the Roma community - the richness of that culture. We took the culture, we took the dances... We are thinking of holding an exhibition of the work done at some point so we use different strategies to work on this issue of multiculturalism. (…) I consider that there are different stages in the work of [sic] racism, so maybe we are at an early stage, because when we are encouraging, displaying cultural differences, we are doing that" (Isabel, social worker at a local association)

This liberal approach, designated by Troyna (1993) as 'benevolent multiculturalism' (epitomised by *the multicultural festival*), merely celebrates the exotic aspects of culture (so that minoritised students display their music and dance skills and establish their 'self-esteem') without prompting structural change (Araújo, *forthcoming*). It fails to tackle both the problem and its causes in any meaningful way.

Finally, regarding the schooling of the older pupils[24] who had been attending the Aguda primary school, the solution adopted was to enrol them in an **Integrated Programme of Education and Training** (PIEF). The PIEF programme aims to promote completion of compulsory schooling with professional certification for minors aged over 16. It is considered 'an exceptional remedial measure' applied when young people and their families have 'rejected other existing [measures] both in the education system and in professional training, or *after they have been rejected'* (PETI, 2011, our emphasis). Informed by the same remedial framework as that of many intervention programmes directed at ethnic and national minorities, such programmes fail to question basic assumptions (e.g. *rejection of education*), and perpetuate racism.

In the school year 2010/2011, a class of PIEF students began their training at the premises of the then closed primary school in Aguda, some of whom had made 'the complete trajectory' described in this section (enrolment at Aguda, Canal Grande, Ferrarias and back to Aguda) (Carina, social worker at a local association). The kind of activities promoted there reveals the low educational expectations ascribed to these pupils:

"So we had a weekly session with the PIEF class, in the Aguda school, where we worked with, with some teachers, we had a rota, we worked with the teacher of civic education, the art teacher, and the class tutor and had a weekly session aimed primarily at valuing the school and promoting active citizenship. We chose a set of actions that we organised into themes, so that one month we worked on food, another month on health, road safety, and here we were giving our...The sessions are always very different from the school curriculum, so to speak. We used much more active methods, group dynamics, games, and so on.". (Isabel, social worker at a local association)

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[24]In Portugal, pupils who do not succeed academically can be held back, which can result in 14 or 15 year olds attending primary school (normally attended by pupils aged 6 to 10).

Whilst the school and its PIEF programme were finally closed down in the last school year (2010-2011), it is important to note the disinvestment by teachers in the older Roma/Gypsy pupils, in the name of 'cultural integration':

> "I think that, parallel to teaching, there should be training for a practical profession that they should learn. So that they can integrate into the job market (…) there must be something lacking at home, because I could see as time went by that when they reach puberty, they don't want to work, they don't want to do a thing, and refuse to do so systematically. (…) teaching them things that we might think are redundant, but are practical in everyday life, in terms of hygiene and management, how to manage the little that they have, because it´s something that is not done. For instance, I thought that at the Aguda school, there should be a different kind of teaching. At least a kitchen, to teach them something, a laundry, the practical things in life that they don't know how to do and perhaps is the reason why they looked the way they did, always dirty'" (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda).
>
> "Well, myself, being a special education teacher, if the school hadn't considered it, we would have proposed an alternative curriculum for those pupils, because those working in the field know it's a matter of pupils who do not know, who will not continue at school, and they have to work on different areas of the syllabus, so for them... Some, for example, will not have any kind of interest, for instance, in whether a sentence is exclamatory or imperative, it's a bit irrelevant. Perhaps it would be more useful if they knew how to go to the post office, how to fill in a form for a registered, registered letter, go to the bank and know and understand the instructions they are given, something more related to everyday life. It would be more useful for them. Because there really are certain notions that mean absolutely nothing to them, because there is no expectation of further education. And so it is really a matter of learning how to read and write and with some effort." (Ticha, primary school teacher at Aguda).

3.4. Institutionalising racism and its misrecognition

As previously noted (Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010), contemporary political practices and discourses in Europe have been promoting an approach to racism that prompts the surveillance of *victim populations* in terms of their willingness to integrate, and naturalises racism as a *reaction of fear* to difference. This can be seen as the result of over six decades of a liberal, Eurocentric approach to racism as a matter of individual prejudice (Henriques, 1984; Hesse, 2004). Yet the case we examined is also illustrative of the production of the misrecognition of racism and points to its institutionalisation.

While most of those we interviewed expressed racist ideas about the Roma/Gypsy population, they participated in its misrecognition by proffering the socially more acceptable *historicist racism* (Goldberg, 2006) – framed in terms of culture and development. As a consequence, racism was attributed to the victims; it existed insofar as someone voiced it – with the victims of racism seen as having too much at stake to articulate an unbiased judgement. Constructing themselves as committed professionals, with no particular interests to defend – while tacitly accepting *white privilege* (King, 1991: 135) – racism was thus trivialised (Sayyid, 2004):

> "Maybe, sometimes, it's due to this cultural difference, right? They think we are being racist or intolerant, when in fact this doesn't exist. Because, for instance, last year there was an article in the Choices programme magazine that had been produced with the cooperation of Gypsy people, some from this camp, about marriage among the very young, and pregnancy among the very young. And my Year 4 pupils read it as:"This was written by a gentleman or a lady [non-Gypsies]!", "Because they're saying that it's bad we get married so early, like…"

> They did not have that as a fact and soon began to make observations, value judgments and I had to explain that it was not only written by a lady or a gentleman, but was also collaborative. And we saw the pictures, and saw everything. But then, there this is a bit of a tendency, the first question is that we are discriminating, being intolerant." (Ticha, primary teacher at Aguda)

Yet, the role of the teacher in maintaining white privilege was made explicit in fieldwork. For instance, whilst at no point wary of voicing racist remarks about the Roma/Gypsy population, one of the teachers was very cautious about discussing the opinions and attitudes of non-Roma/Gypsy parents: 'I'm not allowed to speak about that, but I believe that the conversations they have at home with their [non-Roma/Gypsy] parents would not encourage them towards integration and acceptance' (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda). This further suggests that the white interviewees sided with other white parents by virtue of 'race', although expressing the socially acceptable abstract *condemnation of segregation*.

Moreover, the interviewees actively reproduced a misrecognition of racism by encouraging pupils to overlook it and act submissively:

> "in these little festivities, where we come into contact with others, sometimes there were negative comments by the [other] children. Because if they [the Roma/Gypsy pupils] saw someone looking at them, they didn't react well either, "What are you looking at me for?"(...) I remember José reacting, I remember Sofia – who was more conflictive (…) And I used to say, 'Oh Sofia, you can´t act like this. Because if I, the teacher, see someone looking at me, I'm not going to react or say anything much, what I do is ignore it and that is what you ought to do.'" (Dora, primary school teacher at Aguda)
>
> "I heard at lunchtime…the pupils were out there, playing in the playground, and someone passed by, and there were accusations on both sides. Intolerance. We did not offend the mister, we were singing but in our language, but the person in the road, on the other side of the gate, thought we were insulting him, so there was a slanging match. Okay, we just had to deal with the issue, right? 'So we have to pay attention too. People do not understand, they can be misled into thinking that you are intolerant too, and we will prevent that by you playing there, at the back of the school rather than here.'" (Ticha, primary teacher at Aguda)

The unwillingness of some Roma/Gypsy children and young people to 'let go' was then interpreted as an additional sign of their 'unwillingness to integrate'.

Teachers played a crucial role in the reproduction of racism in schools, not only through their own discourses and the attitudes they promoted in front of the pupils, but also by sharing crucial information about the Roma/Gypsy population among themselves. Racism was thus shared institutionally in schools:

> "I knew of Aguda by hearing about it from other people, and I'd heard about the Gypsy community, and I also knew some teachers who had worked there. (...) I knew what I was going to find, I knew there would be a class with only Gypsy children in it." (Dora, primary teacher at Aguda)
>
> "We have a more, more informal way, which is when a teacher who has been there before and knows about will pass on the information. And then we have a more formal way, in meetings, right? Everything is recorded in terms of...And the directors as well, so... (...) the school management also gets information. "How is that group? How are you getting on with the parents/guardians?" (...) So, conversations with the teacher who was there in previous years the Centre committee meetings and the school management." (Ticha, primary teacher at Aguda)

Although in Portugal no official information is registered by schools regarding 'race' or ethnicity, it became very evident through empirical work that such variables were not only shared – thus informing subsequent teaching practices and discourses - but also have a very clear impact on school practices:

> [Concentrating pupils with a certain profile in one form] "That happened, perhaps it still does, it happened in larger schools where ... even where there was no one from the Gypsy community - younger people [teachers] always got the classes that ... had the worst students, so to speak. In Terreiro they used to say that sometimes people looked [at the class lists being drawn up] and said: 'He's the son of a doctor, Dr something...' And the class was made up. And then along came the people with less teaching experience: 'I've got all the blacks.' In fact, not long ago, a colleague of mine complained that all... even if they were local pupils ... all the ones on Social Inclusion Income were in her class." *(Dora, primary teacher at Aguda)*

Conclusions

> "We are treated like, like, like ... I don't know. Often like animals really, we are something really, really apart, really… And the latest studies say that the community that is hated the most, so to speak, is the Gypsy community. Because, for reasons that we're… associated with a form of resistance to a format ... to assimilation… That's also a factor, because the majority society says: "Oh, they aren't like us, why is it, why is that, why do that…?" That's it, a lot of the time. And because we are a little resistant, and because over those 500 years we've had to… We have defence mechanism because we have had to protect ourselves from everything that has happened throughout this trajectory. We are hated, hated or loved. Those who love us, have this romantic view: freedom... (...) But I think this view is disappearing completely, really. I believe that this issue [the idea of the Gypsies being dependent on state subsidies] makes the negative image even more comfortable, the negative depiction of the Gypsies, the issue of state subsidies. The fact that they see us as parasites, taking advantage, I mean, I think it's getting even worse, this myth, so to speak, will make the relative representation of the Gypsy communities worse. Because in a time of economic crisis, it seems like everybody attacks everyone else, there has to be a scapegoat." (Pedro, sociocultural mediator)

In this paper, we have examined the case of the Aguda primary school, which is illustrative of how the misrecognition of racism is produced. Such misrecognition not only operates on the level of individual practices and discourses; rather, as we have attempted to show, racism is institutionally misrecognised by the joint action and discourses of decision-makers, social workers and other representatives of civil society, teachers, and others.

The case of Aguda revealed how a vulnerable situation – the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population in schools – is perceived as being closely linked to the construction of 'otherness'. In other words, the vulnerability of the Roma/Gypsies is interpreted by a wide variety of institutional actors as resulting from their own *cultural and educational deficits*, namely a lack of 'hygiene and manners', of 'thinking abstractly', of 'working to a timetable' or 'for self-fulfilment', 'no investment in education' and an 'unwillingness to integrate' ,compounded in a scenario in which the Roma/Gypsies were deemed as *unfit for schooling* and segregation was legitimised by means of educational arguments.

The wider national domestic policy adopted – *intercultural dialogue and education* – has favoured this misrecognition of racism by emphasising *culture* and, significantly, evading questions of power. So-called *intercultural education* has been more of an aspiration or an idea than a systematic practice informing the structures of the Portuguese education system. In spite of a great deal of rhetoric on *contact* and *dialogue*, schools have tended to promote the celebration of minoritised cultures ('via the positive side') and the mere *activation of visibilities* as a form of *regulation* (Brighenti, 2007: 339). This attests to the ineffectiveness of much debate that sees *intercultural* education as a continental, improved model of the previous Anglophone *multicultural* education; both have failed to transform the structures of the education system and to take (anti-)racism seriously in schools. Yet the differences between both models – and the advantages of interculturality - have been sustained and endorsed by academia, without any evidence of the generalisation of such practices. For instance, in a special report on education published by the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* (EUMC), the Portuguese National Focal Point – with contributions by academics Luiza Cortesão, António Magalhães and Alexandra Sá Costa – it is stated that:

> Regarding multicultural and intercultural education in Portugal, the Portuguese NFP [National Focal Point] states that up until the 1980s, multicultural education was the predominant concept. The expression alludes to pedagogical procedures oriented towards a plurality of cultures co-existing in the same school setting. The notion of interculturalism, which was to develop later, encompasses the interaction of cultures beyond their simple co-existence. Whereas the multicultural approach fosters a preservation of identities and often places minority groups in a 'ghetto-situation', the intercultural approach emphasises the personal enrichment due to the exchange of experiences and knowledge with others. Several legislative measures in recent years influenced the promotion of intercultural education. (EUMC, 2004: 92).

Intercultural education – veering between a call for integration/assimilation and difference - has instead helped to pre-empt the demands made by minoritised groups. With political rhetoric stressing that intervention is not about 'the other' but about interaction, the existing framework renders the possibility of making certain political claims for difference illegitimate. This explains the absence of measures for bilingual education, the teaching of non-European languages and non-Eurocentric curricula and materials, and of arrangements for religious pluralism in schools, despite a model based on 'openness to the other'. Interculturality thus operates by 'doing good by doing little' (Kirp, 1979) - keeping international criticism at bay - and trivialising racism (Sayyid, 2004). By reducing racism to a matter of conviviality between *different* cultures, it shifts the problem onto the 'other', whose cultural competence is constantly under surveillance (Almeida, 2007).This domestic policy hinders any discussion of the

historicity of racism directed towards the Roma/Gypsy population in the Portuguese context and, most importantly, it is incapable of proposing an anti-racist strategy.

On a European level, while the commitment heralded by the launch of a number of agencies to monitor racism seemed promising, two questions remain particularly problematic. Firstly, although such agencies have been crucial for the denunciation of cases of racism in contexts such as the Portuguese, paradoxically they have also promoted the reproduction and misrecognition of racism. In other words, they reveal the absence of a historically informed framework that 'joins the dots' and places these cases of educational segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population alongside centuries of legislative efforts to keep this population outside its borders, or else to regulate their 'presence' – reinforcing the idea that they do not *belong* to *Europe*. Secondly, the reports by a number of different European agencies continue to reveal a *blind faith* in *knowledge* to overcome 'prejudice', thus excluding the debate on questions of power and privilege. Framed as a matter of prejudice and biased representations (Henriques, 1984), the discussion on racism is replaced by the language of (conflictive) race relations, which naturalises the 'attitudes of rejection and hostility' of the 'majority population' and demands a 'willingness to integrate' from the Roma/Gypsies.

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Attachment

Laws, regulations and administrative decision taking on Roma/Gypsy populations		
Date	**King**	**Sentence**
1526 **Law of 13 March**	D. João III	"[it is hereby determined] that gipsies are **not allowed into the kingdom** and those living in it are **to be expelled**"
1538 **24th Act**		"[it is hereby determined that gipsies] are to be arrested and **publicly whipped**" […] "[if twice] publicly whipped once more… and they **shall lose all property of their own**"
1557 **Act of 17 August**		Adds 'the **ship** sentence' [to serve in ships as rowers].
1573 **Law of 14 March**	D. Sebastião	A new 30-days deadline is established for gipsies to leave the kingdom; if not, women are to be whipped and men sentenced to serve in ships; **all former residence permits lose validity**.
1579 **Law of 11 April**	Cardeal D. Henrique	Grants new permits to those that "live well and work and are not harmful"; the nomads must leave the kingdom within 30 days" or are to be "whipped publicly and get **life sentence to convict exile in ships**"
1592 **Act of 28 August**	Filipe I	Within 4 months, if caught in groups or gangs: **death penalty**, "without appeal".
1603 **Filipe's Lawful Regulations**	Filipe II	"no Gipsies, Armenian, Arabs, Persians, or *Mouriscos* from Granada are allowed into the Kingdom"
1606 and 1608 **(Municipal Licences)** **1613 and 1614 (Acts)**		"**no *residence permits* are to be granted**" (sentence: to serve in ships for 3, 6 or 10 years; bans death penalty)
1646 **Legal Opinion of the Crown's Attorney on the petition of Jerónimo da Costa's widow**	João IV	"wife and children are to be **considered naturals of the kingdom**"; "is to be **knighted**"; "descendants won't work in mechanical trade", rather "are to serve as soldiers".
1674 **Municipal Licence of 24 October**		Fixes lawful residence to ten old prisoners, to wives and children of gipsies; makes it illegal to say 'geringonça', to wear gipsy clothes and to palm read (sentences: men are to serve in ships; women are to be sent as convict exiles to Angola or Cabo Verde without their children). Determines that gipsies' children are to be taken away from their parents at the age of 9.
1649 **Law of 5 February**		Proposes: "to extinct the name and ways of the tramp gipsy people", "to uproot the ways and memory of this tramp nomad people, without owner, without parish, without job trade, other than that of the crimes they subsist on"; they are to be "shipped and sent to serve separated in the conquered lands" "except for those serving presently along the frontier lines and that are not seen in groups (around 250, awarded)"
1686 **Resolution of 10 June**	Pedro II	"those from Castela, are to be exterminated"; "children and grandchildren of Portuguese, must have a fixed residence" or else "will be sent to Maranhão" (Brazil).
1694 **Provision to the Legal Representative of the State in Elvas District**		"all gipsies born in this kingdom that don't provide for themselves must leave this kingdom within two months, or face death penalty, (…) just as it is decided for all Spanish gipsies that have entered the kingdom"
1708 **Decree**	D. João V	Forbids nomads, their clothes, their language, their beasts trade and other scams (palm reading), or face the sentence of whipping and convict exile for 10 years (ship serving for men; Brazil, for women).
1718 **Decree of 28 February**		Sends to overseas conquests – India, Angola, S. Tome, Cape Verde, etc. – the numerous gipsy prisoners in Limoeiro prison.
1754	D. José I	Requests that many gipsies are sent to Angola, with their

Letter from Angola's Governor, Álvares da Cunha		wives, arguing that they are more resistant to the weather and didn't show bad behaviour.
1800 **Order by Pina Manique to the Legal Representative of the State in Elvas District**	D. Maria I	"Arrest those wandering around the kingdom"; "the children, of both sexes, are to be sent to Casa Pia in Lisbon and educated".
1848 **Ordinance**	D. Maria II	Determines that gipsy groups must use passport in order to travel around the kingdom.
1920 **GNR's [military police] regulation**	1st Republic	A chapter on 'Gipsies' prescribes a "tight vigilance", because of the "frequent acts of pillage".
1980 **Revolution's Council**	2nd Republic	The former rules are overruled, deemed unconstitutional.
1985 **GNR's regulation**		Prescribes a special vigilance over "nomads" (art. 81).
1989 **Jury's decision of 28 June**		The Constitutional Court considers non-unconstitutional [constitutional] art. 81 of the GNR's regulation, above.
1993 **(May 10)**		The City Hall of Ponte de Lima orders "the people of gipsy ethnicity" "to leave the Municipality within 8 days, being allowed to stay for a maximum of 48 hours from then on" (overruled by the Public Prosecutor and by the Ombudsman)
2003 **(July)**		The City Hall of Faro decided to forbid from entering the Municipality, and ordered to leave immediately, the nomad populations, particularly gipsies, that rob or show contempt for public order. This decision was affixed legally in public places.

Translated from Bastos, José Pereira (2007)