Casa-Nova, Maria José (2004a) "Gypsy culture, children, schooling and life opportunities"

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Portugal and Immigration

For the last five years, with particular incidence in the years 2000 to 2002, we have seen an extraordinary increase in immigration in Portugal, fundamentally originating in the Eastern European countries (mainly, from the Ukraine, but also from Moldavia and Romania) and in South America (mainly, from Brazil). This fact has transformed Portugal, traditionally a country of emigration, into a country simultaneously an 'exporter' and 'importer' of a workforce that, in the majority, will work in unqualified functions in the field of agriculture and civil construction.[1]

If, from 1975 to 1999, one saw a gradual increase in the contingent of immigrants (from 30 thousand to 191 thousand, with no great migratory outbreak), between 2000 and 2002, that number doubled, constituting, at present, more than 4% of the Portuguese population (more than 400 thousand legalized individuals in 10 million inhabitants), not including, in that number, the immigrants in an illegal situation (which is estimated at around 50 thousand) and the minority ethnic group of Gypsies (totalling between 40 and 50 thousand). This minority group is not considered an immigrant group, but an 'endogenous minority' (Habermas, 1998 [1994]) since it has been part of the Portuguese society for more than five centuries[2]

The first numerically significant immigrations registered between 1975 and 1999 were from the African Countries with Portuguese as the Official Language (the so-called PALOP — Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Principe and Guinea-Bissau). Especially, the Cape Verde Islands, up to the end of the year 2000,

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[1] One must stress that the Portuguese citizens that emigrate will occupy, in the so-called 'welcoming' countries, the same type of work positions that immigrants occupy in Portugal, but with a significant difference in relation to the wages levels.

[2] Though one has also seen immigratory phenomena of Gypsy citizens from Romania, the numerical expression has been relatively low at present.

constituted the exporter of the greatest number of immigrants, totalling, at that time, around 50 thousand Cape Verdeans residing in Portugal, though later surpassed by the Ukraine and, now, by Brazil.

Therefore, citizens from almost all the countries of the world are presently part of the Portuguese society, with particular numerical relevance to the citizens from (in a decreasing order) Brazil, the Ukraine, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, the United States, France, S. Tomé and Principe, Romania and Mozambique that, globally, reach more than 350 thousand individuals, making Portugal an even more ethnically and culturally heterogeneous country.[3]

Public Social and Educational Policies, Immigrants
and Ethnic Minorities[4]

In spite of immigration being a phenomenon existing for several decades in Portugal (though initially with less representativeness), the fact of the first contingents of immigrants being from the PALOP (countries of Portuguese colonization) and having, in the majority, Portuguese nationality had, as a consequence, the not paying attention to difference, since those immigrants were considered to be knowledgeable about Portuguese culture and language, once they had been socialized in school in that same language and culture. When the children of those immigrants reached school and started to become, year after year, repeated failures[5] , Portugal began to gradually 'wake up' to the multicultural reality of its society and, therefore, the 'myth of cultural homogeneity' dissolved (Cortesão and Pacheco, 1991).

However, while in countries, like the United States or England, this movement had its origin "from the bottom up", resulting from reivindications originating in immigrant groups, in Portugal, this movement originated "from the top to the bottom".

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[3] One must report that, in professional terms, a significant part of the citizens from the European Union countries and from the United States are qualified workers, superior staff of companies, intelectuals and scientists. The immigrants from the Eastern countries, in spite of partially presenting higher level academic qualifications, get employment where a workforce is most needed, *i.e.,* men in agriculture and civil construction, women in domestic work or in restaurants.

[4] The policies and legislative measures mentioned, here, are the result of a selection undertaken by the author following research in this field, having in view to try to understand in what way the policies and legislative measures undertaken by the Portuguese governments reveal a concern about cultural difference.

[5] At present, the Cape Verdean ethnic minority is still the one that presents the higher rates of school failures at the level of the 1st Cycle of Basic Schooling in what student children of immigrant minorities is concerned. In terms of globally considered minorities, Gypsies are the ones that present lower passing rates, mainly in the 1st Cycle (see annex one, charts 1 and 2)

It started from governmental and university institutions towards the end of the 80s, beginning of the 90s, of the XXth century.

Indeed, from the government's point of view, it was only at the beginning of the 90s that one witnesses, in Portugal, the creation of organizations under the tutelage of ministries with the objective of working with cultural diversity. They wanted not only (though fundamentally) to resolve and prevent problems resulting from the interaction of minorities with the diverse Portuguese institutions and with the society in general, but also to pay attention to cultural difference.

The first organization, established in 1991, was the *Coordinating Secretariate of the Multicultural Education Programmes,* which presented competencies in a strictly educational sphere.[6] This organization is responsible for, among other things, the collection and treatment of data in relation to school attendance and progress of all the children and young people attending Basic and Secondary school. It produced several supporting handbooks towards pedagogical work in classrooms, though some of these handbooks sometimes present and transmit stereotyped images of minorities, namely in that which concerns gypsies.

Its principal objective consisted in trying to understand and to reduce the causes of school failure that certain ethnic minorities presented at the level of the 1st Cycle of Basic Schooling (the first four years of schooling), mainly the Cape Verdean minority (an exogenous minority, resulting from immigration processes) and the Gypsy minority (an 'endogenous minority', internal to the Portuguese society). The main initiative of this organization consisted in the development of a project, the 'Intercultural Education Project',[7] which began in 1993 and ended in 1997, having, for that purpose, selected a group of schools of the 1st Cycle mainly frequented by ethnic minorities that presented high rates of school failure[8]. In order to reduce the rate of failure, some areas of intervention were selected, which proceeded through the socio-cultural characterization of the school population, through the constitution of multidisciplinary teams to reflect and act on the problems found, through the construction of specific pedagogical material and through the development of training activities for teachers in the sphere of intercultural education.

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[6] Normative Despatch nr.63/91 of the 13th of March, under the Ministry of Education.
[7] Despatch nr.170/ME/93 and 78/ME/95.
[8] See, for this purpose, Leite, 2002.

However, one of the problems found and that partially obstructed the success of the mentioned project derived from the existence of great economic needs detected by the on-the-ground teams (with repercussions at the level of nourishment of the children), leading the teams to try to reduce, first, the problems of an economic nature.

We can consider that the construction of this organization constituted the *first measure of positive discrimination* realized by the Government, though it turned out to be inefficient in the fight against school failure. What helped towards this inefficiency (besides the economic needs mentioned above), was the treating of cultural difference based on stereotypes and not on an approximate knowledge of the diverse cultures present and also an activity based on the assumption that each ethnic group constitutes a homogeneous, uniform block, neglecting, therefore, its internal differentiations.

As Almerindo Afonso (1999) refers, we can "consider these programmes of Multicultural Education as political measures generally referenced to the working of the Welfare State", although, "the contribution of these programmes [had been] important, but simultaneously fragile when thought of in terms of the formulation of the principle of equality and the expansion of social and cultural rights", maybe signifying the expansion of the portuguese Semi-Welfare State, but not the construction of a Welfare State[9].

This Secretariate was substituted, in 2001, by the *Inter-Cultures Secretariate.*[10] One witnessed a widening of competencies, namely at the level of collaboration in the *defining* and the *stimulating of* active policies of fighting against exclusion in relation to society in general and not only to school.

This Secretariate, since January (2004) became part of the *High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.*

Still in view of school education, in 1996, a *Despatch* was elaborated, in relation to the creation and implementation of *Alternative Syllabuses*[11] in Basic Schooling, with the objective of reducing the abandonment of school and school failures, fundamentally at the level of the 3rd Cycle (7th, 8th and 9th years of schooling). These *Alternative Syllabuses*, according to official discourse, had the aim of keeping a greater number of

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[9] Because it doesn't fit in the scope of this chapter, the role carried out by the globalization processes, by Portugal's joining the European Union and by the politico-economic supranational context in the development of these policies, will not be, here, object of analysis.

[10] Normative Despatch nr.5/2001 of the 1st of February.

[11] Despatch nr.22/SEEI/96 of the 19th of June.

young people in the educational system and being successful in the obligatory schooling, contributing to inclusion, in the educational system, of young people that traditionally would be excluded from it through repeated failures in the national syllabus. However, with the implementation of this document, these students began to be *inserted* in the educational system (and *not integrated,* since they are unsuccessful in the national syllabus), but in an unequal system, since "the designation of 'alternative syllabuses' and non-'equivalent syllabuses' already demonstrate a subordinate condition in relation to a standard syllabus" (Casa-Nova, 2002). Its elaboration and implementation, eliminating from the list of disciplines to be attended by the students, like Portuguese Language and Mathematics (or reducing substantially its contents) obstructs, in practice, the framing of successful schooling in relation to the continuation of studies on the part of these students. And since the students that frequent these syllabuses are young people that belong to disfavoured social classes and ethnic minorities, the teaching of the "standard student", the "ideal student", is not changed; "what changes is the «way» by which the students is «measured» for the so-called «active life»" (Stoer, 1994: 9), thereby *perpetuating inequality under the cover of positive discrimination*.

From the point of view of *non-school public social policies,* in 1996, the *Statute of High Commissioner*[12] for Ethnic Minorities was created, altered, in 2001, to *High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities*[13] with the widening of functions. This organization consists of an "interdepartmental structure of support and consultation of the government on matters of immigration and ethnic minorities", having, under its sphere, the *Observatory of Immigration*, the *Committee for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination* and the *Work Group for Equality and Insertion of Gypsies* and, recently, as we said before, the *Inter-Cultural Secretariate*

The attributions of this High Commissariat (art.2) are, among others: "to contribute to bettering the conditions of life of immigrants in Portugal, so that their integration in the society is afforded, respecting their social and cultural identity; to contribute to all citizens, legally[14] resident in Portugal, being offered dignity and

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[12] D.L.3-A/96 of the 16th of January, directly dependent on the Prime Minister.

[13] D.L.nr.251/2002 of the 22nd of November, dependent on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

[14] Our stress, this means that illegal immigrants have a 'status' of 'non-citizens', without rights, since they do not exist before the law.

identical opportunities; to promote the study of the theme of insertion of ethnic minorities; to collaborate in the definition and to cooperate in the stimulation of active policies of social integration and of fighting exclusion."

The High Commissariat offers legal aid to immigrants and ethnic minorities, having created, in several parts of the country, National and Local Centers for immigrants to help them in their diverse problems.

This organization, through the *Observatory of Immigration*, has had an important role in what the production of studies on immigrants and ethnic minorities is concerned, with impact at the level of bettering their social image

One can consider that the policies it develops in trying to promote equality of rights (but only for immigrants residing in the country legally) and some *positive discrimination* in what respect of the cultural specificities of minorities is concerned, either endogenous minorities or exogenous ones. Those attempts are, however, not always successful, namely in regard to the activity of the *Committee for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination,* since this Committee has not shown continuous activity and the *Work Group for Equality and Insertion of Gypsies* appears to have marginal importance, since it does not have deliberative power and its suggestions are not always accepted in political action. This signifies an absence of significant practical repercussions at the level of implementation of measures that aim at bettering the living conditions of Gypsy ethnic groups or the knowledge and preservation of their culture.

In 1996, the *Guaranteed Minimum Income*[15] was instituted, with the fundamental objective of contributing to the struggle against poverty and social exclusion, including, beyond the attribution of a pecuniary subsidy, programmes of professional insertion.

The family members, to benefit from this subsidy, have to send children and young people to school to attend obligatory schooling (until 15 years of age) and the adults, when illiterate, should attend *Recurrent Schooling* at night.

However, the effects of this obligation haven't been revealed up to the present time, very positive. In relation to the children's and young people's schooling, this measure had, as a consequence, in the first year of its implementation, the schools being 'flooded' by children of relatively advanced ages attending the first year of schooling, *i.e.,* children traditionally removed from school and adolescents that had abandoned

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[15] Law 19-A/96.

school a long time before. This resulted in high rates of failure, since the schools and the teachers hadn't been previously prepared for this new reality.

In what adult schooling is concerned, this teaching how to read and write was not, or has not been, successful, since it had not been foreseen inside an *adult education*. For this population, "access to educational offers specifically oriented according to its characteristics and preceding experiences and according to its needs and interest has been made considerably difficult" (Lima, 2003). Underlying this way of (not) thinking of that schooling inside an adult education, there is an "absence of a public policy for adult education" (*Ibid.*). And "In it's absence (…), problems relative to education and training of the majority of the adult population and of the active population in Portugal in terms of democratic citizenship, of education in general and training for the world of labour will remain unsolved" (*Ibid.*).

The insertion programmes included in that measure also proceed through initiatives in the sphere of health (namely, vaccination and family planning) and also through offers of training activities towards professional qualification.

Since it is a measure that fundamentally aims at fighting poverty and social exclusion (not only benefiting, from it, national disfavoured social classes, but also immigrants and ethnic minorities, mainly those from the PALOP and Gypsies), wanting to promote greater social justice, it has also realized some *positive discrimination,* namely, when it develops activities for specific ethnic groups.

We can, therefore, consider that either this measure or the preceding one constitute *hybrid measures,* that principally want to create equal opportunities and also accomplish some *positive discrimination* activities in what attention to cultural diversity is concerned, not only in the sense of reducing injustices originating in cultural differences, but also in the preservation of that diversity.

This Law was revoked in 2003; it became the *Social Insertion Income*.[16] To this change of designation corresponds a change of content more in harmony with a Centre-Rightwing coalition Government. The former Law was created by a Socialist Government with social cares, namely, in the attribution of social and cultural rights. In the present designation, it is implicit that the attribution of this subsidy can cease at any moment, leaving extremely disfavoured family members unprotected (it is for that reason that it is named "insertion": when that insertion is not accomplished for reasons,

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[16] Law 13/2003 of the 21st of May, with Rectification Declaration nr.7/2003 of the 29th of May.

defined on a higher level, attributable to the beneficiaries, this subsidy is removed). Besides this aspect, the alterations introduced in the document aimed at limiting the list of covered individuals, reducing the possibilities of attributing this subsidy. As one can read in the introduction of the document, "the main changes introduced in relation to the former regime go in the direction of accenting the transitory and subsidiary character of the attribution of the subsidy (…)."

In 1999, the Law of *Defence Against Racial Discrimination*[17] was created, aiming, namely, at fighting discrimination at work or in the offer of work, discrimination in the access of buying or renting houses, discrimination in access to public places or open to the public, discrimination in access to exercising an economic activity or discrimination in the construction of school classes that has, as a consequence, the forming of minority ghettos.

This Law, constituting an important advance in legislative terms in what equal rights is concerned, has not had great practical implications, since most immigrants and ethnic minorities do not know of its existence and, when they have knowledge of it, they do not know which organizations to go to, to assert their rights or they still fear the repercussions of their action.

a) The Local Level

In spite of the importance of the options taken by governments in issues on the conception of public social policies, the effects of those policies will be null and void or very reduced if, simultaneously, divulging and sensitizing actions are not developed close to the local populations, with the intention of effectively incorporating them in the daily lives of the citizens. These two levels being out of phase has, as a consequence, the existence of relatively advanced laws in several dominions, and social practices marked by suspicion and conservatism.

It is what happens, for example, at the level of the Law of the Defence Against Racial Discrimination. In spite of its existence, individuals belonging to the Gypsy ethnic minority continue to be profoundly discriminated against, either in the access to the labour market or in relation to the renting or buying of houses; they see their applications constantly refused with the pretext of being "all sold". The buying of

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[17] Law nr.134/99 of the 28th of August.

houses is only achieved through strategies that these individuals build as a way of reducing/surpassing this discrimination.[18]

Even in relation to the construction of buildings, one also witnesses, sometimes, at a local level, the intention of Mayors in building Town Hall Quarters with characteristics that they think are adjusted to the cultural characteristics of Gypsies. In this way, they try to build apartments or semi-detached houses in agreement with what they think are those characteristics: the construction of ample spaces, with few rooms, in order "to look like" the tents where, traditionally, Gypsies lived.

This way of acting brought about protests by various Gypsy families, that demanded "houses like those of other people", argumenting that "we do not live in the wild any more".

Therefore, one verifies a homogenization at the level of treating each minority, not paying attention, as we mentioned before, to its internal differentiations and/or modification of its culture, seeing it as something unchanging and not in constant construction. *The "knowing" the culture is taken for granted, but one acts based on stereotypes, presupposing "knowing" what "the other" feels and needs, not constituting them as partners in this process*.

Therefore, it seems, to us, necessary to jointly think of ways of realizing a "horizontal integration, unsubordinated, of mutual inter-ethnic influences" (Casa-Nova, 2002), that would include "the visions and positions of the interested parties themselves on integration, through a profound analysis of their strategies, relations and projects (…)" (Carrasco, Ballestin, Bertran & Bretones, 2001).

Ethnic Minorities, Status and Life Opportunities

For several reasons (namely on a cultural and on a social organization order minority/majority), some of these minority immigrants (mainly those from the PALOP)

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[18] These strategies go through asking a Gypsy, whose physiognomy and linguistic accent are similar to a non-Gypsy Portuguese, to make the buy in his name. When this strategy is successful and, later on, the Gypsy family moves into the urban area, the rest of the residents usually rise against this situation and try to pressure that family into moving or they themselves try to move, even knowing that the value of their house, in a potential real estate transaction, is substantially reduced because of "Gypsies living in the ur-ban area".
This negative discrimination, sometimes, is also visible in relation to immigrants originating in the PALOP (see, for this purpose, Fernando Luís Machado, 2001)

were also transformed into ethnic minorities[19], fighting, in different ways and according to their own survival strategies, for a *place* (*provisional, because it is changeable*) in the "welcoming" society, conquered and/or yielded in the unequal struggles and negociations between socio-cultural groups with different types and amounts of power that, in their turn, originate unequal opportunities and ways of life. These immigrant and ethnic minorities are normally viewed as homogeneous by the welcoming societies. They *disregard their internal differentiations of a classist or cultural scope and the importance that these differentiations assume in the search for/conquest of diversified opportunities of life.*

To the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups originating from immigration, we should add the culture of the Gypsy communities that, though Portuguese, are the ones that have shown more mutual communication difficulties with the Portuguese society in general and with some of its institutions, namely, the school system. We will now focus on this ethnic minority.[20]

Those difficulties of minority↔majority communication frequently derive from negative social representations (*cf.* Afonso *et al,* 2000) and from *inter-ethnic relations of power/ /weakness, based on status differentiation* (economic, cultural) and of *roles* (professional, of gender, generational) played by the different social actors-subjects in their projects and daily lives, influencing, *in what Gypsy ethnic groups is concerned*, a *marginalized way of living* and an *inclusion-excluded.* In fact, the actors-subjects of this ethnic group, mainly children and young people, but also adults, are frequently

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[19] We think that the fact of these immigrants being from countries formerly colonized by Portugal is linked to this phenomenon, resulting from more pronounced relations of subordination of minority → majority, *i.e.,* they are still viewed in the logic of colonizer → colonized. However, we have no empirical data about this.

[20] The data and reflections developed here about the Gypsy ethnic group derives from an on-going research project in a specific community, based on ethnographic fieldwork. This work is being realized with recourse to participant observation with around 170 individuals (in work places — fairs — and residential area — a Town Hall quarter on the outskirts of the city of Porto, in the North of Portugal) and to semi-structured interviews. These 170 individuals are distributed into five extended families that share a common ancestry, each of which is constituted by several nuclear families.
The fieldwork took place, in the first phase, between 1997 and 1999 and, at present, it has been going on since the beginning of 2003.
The (re)opening of the research, *i.e.*, the (re)approaching the Gypsy community, was realized through contact of the researcher with some of the families that had already participated in formers researches. This familiarity with some elements of the community offered acceptance of the researcher by the other elements, allowing for a precious collection of data since the first day of research.
Among the aims of this research, we highlight the analysis of the *meaning of the social category of work* for this community and the importance of *family socialization and education in the construction and maintenance of ethnicity* and the life styles and life opportunities that they present, namely, the relationship established with the public school and the labour market.

confronted, in a more or less conscious way, with the dilemma of being potential or real socially excluded people (either in terms of access to diversified opportunities of life or in terms of active participation in the diverse spheres of public life), but included in their own group *or* considering themselves socially included, but excluded from their community of origin with everything that this exclusion can imply, namely at the level of intra-ethnic loss of solidarity.[21]

The social and cultural status of this minority was gradually constituted by an unfavourable status, subordinated (*a specific kind of subordination*)[22] with a closure in a certain socially-constructed image: they are problematical, noisy, dirty, aggressive, bad-mannered, with no respect for others... In short, *everyone seems to know what they are like, but very few have actually had relations with them.*

In what intra-ethnic and intra-community experiences of life of the Gypsy children are concerned, one can see, in the developing research, an intra-ethnic inequality of the socialization processes that is shown in a greater inter-ethnic inequality. Indeed, the *intra-ethnic experience of inequality of gender,* the *family and community protection* they are the target of (that, deriving from the suspicion they feel in relation to the global society, constitutes a *defensive strategy*), and the *Gypsy system of values,* make these children deprived in relation to children of other ethnic groups. Taking into consideration these factors, we believe that these children need[23] (inside

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[21] Without the support of their own group, these actors-subjects *know* and *feel* (in a more or less conscious way) that they are alone in a society whose social representations condemn them, to a great extent, to isolation.

[22] The subordination of this ethnic group presents specificities when compared, for example, to the kind of subordination presented by immigrants from the PALOP. The first generation of these immigrants, mainly, the individuals belonging to desfavoured or middle social classes, present a relationship of subordination in relation to the greater society, which implies the acceptance of work that places them on the lowest levels of the social hierarchy, constructing, at the same time, a subordinate social relationship. In relation to Gypsies, they present themselves as "proud", "haughty" — "if someone closes a door in my face, he won't do it again" — refusing, generally, the development of salaried work that implies subordination to a boss entity; a subordination to "other" belonging to the greater society. But, at the same time, they are kept socially and culturally apart from that same greater society, which does not develop, in the majority of cases, relationships of sociability with this minority**;** *here lies its subordination:* "we keep them in their place". On the other hand, on the part of the Gypsy ethnic minority, there exists a feeling of ambiguity in relation to the greater ethnic group: at the same time that they present themselves as superior to the others — "our culture is better than yours" — and as an unsubordinated people (and as a people that can not be subordinated) they refer to the others belonging to the greater ethnic group as "*sirs*".

[23] The expression "need" or other similar ones do not have the intention of constituting an imperative of action, nor is viewed as a paternalistic and/or charitable attitude in relation to the "other". Comprising a normative component, but not a prescribed one, of the action of the social actors-subjects, it intends to signify the preconization of a fairer and equal standard. Taking into consideration that the whole discursiveness, though it may be very progressive and transgressive, always encompasses a standard component (that can present different gradations), we consider that what is important to excuse are the

their own community) a *double* or *triple liberation* (relative to gender) that would make them, at least, equal in the inequality experienced by children of other disfavoured socio-cultural groups in what the wider society is concerned. It would be a liberation enabling the construction of "utopias, whilst places of construction" (Casa-Nova, 2002), that diminish the distance between the *dream* (what I would like to be) and the *reality* (what I have the possibility of being).

Some of these actors-subjects live an *internal process of tension between structure and agency* (on the part of the children, of *agency, sometimes, without consciousness*) in what the necessity of obedience to the so-called *Gypsy Law* [24] and the desire to change are concerned; one witnesses intra and inter-generational conflicts in what the preservation and the changing of values are concerned. *Children*, *young people* and *adults* try to protagonize some of those changes.

> On the mourning level:
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> "In mourning, there are certain things that don't make, or ever have made, sense, never. They never made sense. Certain things, like not being able to eat meat, watch television, hear the radio, going out for entertainment, take a bath. A person also seems to die. It doesn't make sense. I don't follow this in this way."[25]

> In the choice of a male or female companion:
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> "I am promised. [He] is 15 years old. If I liked [a non-Gypsy boy], I would marry. I wouldn't mind at all. (...) I don't like him. (...) I am wooing another, but my father doesn't know. (...) He is also wooing another girl of your race. (...) I don't know why some commit themselves to others. If they don't like them and they can't talk; afterwards, they grow up and undo everything (...) I don't like this law."[26]

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discursive and human-action components in what the substitution of a certain social order for another is concerned, which can constitute a factor of human and social emancipation.

[24] This *Gypsy Law* constitutes a kind of *conduct code* that is orally transmitted from generation to generation, structuring the socialization of children and young people of the Gypsy ethnic group.

[25] A Gypsy man, 47 years old, married, considered the official "spokesman" of the community with the exterior.

[26] A young Gypsy girl, at present, 19 years old, married to a young Gypsy man that is not the young man to whom she was promised. She has a three-year-old daughter. At the time she said those words, she was 14 and was attending the 5th year of schooling. She abandoned school in that year (school year of 1997/98).

"When, sometimes, a young Gypsy man is committed to a young Gypsy girl and the families really want them to marry and he doesn't want to, he runs away with the girl he likes and, then, the parents end up accepting things, after much strife."[27]

The desire for change is manifested in constant speeches, also in relation to the female gender:

In matrimonial commitments:

"It should be permitted like with you [divorce]. That rarely happens here. It is not accepted for the woman. But, I'm used to it. Twelve years have gone by."[28]

"Here, separation is still not accepted, principally for the woman. But, there are already women that are separated. If there are strong reasons, she isn't going to remain her whole life attached to her husband!"[29]

In relation to school:

"I wanted to be a teacher, you know. Mathematics teacher. I wasn't able to. My sister was born, my mother needed me at home and she also didn't want me to study. She has those ideas. She was afraid I would be talked about."[30]

For reasons related to constraints derived from the system of values of the *Gypsy Law* in what the feminine gender is concerned, her mother did not let her remain in school:

"It wouldn't do. She would be talked by the Gypsies. I would have liked it, but it wouldn't do. I considered it, but, when it became time to... [change schools, leave the Quarter] Someone has to break with this, but no one [in the community] wants to be the first."[31]

"I liked school, I wanted to continue, but I knew that my father wouldn't let me. He would only let me do the 4th grade. I didn't pass the 4th grade for three years to be able to

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[27] Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, single.

[28] Gypsy woman, 45 years old, married, with four children, living with her husband in the same house, but like two strangers. In schooling, she only attended the 1st year.

[29] Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, single, engaged to a young Gypsy man of 18. In schooling, she attended the 4th year.

[30] Young Gypsy girl, 14 years old, single. She attended school up to the 6th year and was considered a good student by her teachers.

[31] Gypsy woman, 33 years old, married, with two daughters and one son. She attended the 4th year of schooling.

continue in school. The teacher perceived that I was failing on purpose. I knew things, but, when I did the exam, I made mistakes on purpose in order not to pass. She [the teacher] told me: 'I already know that you know and you're making mistakes on purpose. But, if next year you do the same, I will pass you anyway.' So, I passed and my father took me out from school. When I passed to the 5th year, he took me out. (...) If I were able to study, what I would like to be would be a lawyer."[32]

The adopted strategy by this young girl, when a child, like others that she used "to skirt (without confronting) parental authority" (Casa-Nova, 2002) is the expression of a desire for change which, in the impossibility of concreteness for herself (since her way of acting constituted, at the present time, a *resistance without production*), it may happen in the future of her children.

This desire and attempt at change does not signify, however, a loss of Gypsy identity. In our perspective, signifies the *reconfiguration of its primary habitus, i.e., a constantly restructured structure, that, in its turn, constitutes the basis of a new or renewed structure that originates security for action,* enabling adaptations to social changes and to individual interests and expectations.[33]

Ethnic Habitus **and** *Ethnicity locations*

The heterogeneities and homogeneities that one finds in this community seem, to us, explainable *through* and explainers *of what* we designate as *ethnicity locations* (Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002), *movable locations,* according to the dynamics, the diversity of individual strategies and local contexts, national or supra-national ones, *not remaining, therefore, unchangeable.*

These *ethnicity locations* are constructed, starting from an intra-ethnic differentiation, having as a basis a self-differentiation realized by different actors-subjects, constituting intermediate places (*not necessarily hierarchised or producing*

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[32] Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, recently married. In schooling, she has the complete 4th grade (1st cycle of basic education). We were present at her first failure and, even then, we knew, like the teacher did, that that failure was intentional.

[33] In Bourdieu's conception, *habitus* can be either structuring of the individual's thought and action, or structured, which means that the unchanging character of *habitus,* presupposed by the concept not to exist, makes it thus possible for this concept to be altered throughout the actors-subjects' existence. In the author's words, *habitus* is "the product of history, a system of open dispositions, continually confronted with new experiences, and, so, continually affected by them. It is durable but not unchanging" (1992: 108-109), although, in the author's perspective, this mutability does not imply any degree of consciousness by the social actors-subjects, being rather the result of a certain maladjustment between past embodied mental structures and present social structures (*cf.* Bourdieu, 1977).

hierarchy) within what we designate, already in 1999, as *ethnic habitus* (Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002).

In fact, in the unfolding of the fieldwork, the overlapping of an *ethnic habitus* over a *class habitus* has been gradually seen, since the latter has not revealed itself as a conditioner of social and cultural practices of the researched actors-subjects. This is, the actions of these actors-subjects seem to be influenced by the *ethnic belonging* and not, for example, by possessing more or less economic resources (*i.e.*, the social class category seems present low heuristic value to understand the gypsy way of life).

As we mentioned in former papers (Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002), the *ethnic habitus is constructed during the primary socialization processes*, *in a family education strongly influenced by ethnicity, and in the relationships of intra-ethnic sociability among young people and adults*, and "can be defined, not on the basis of the possession of economic capital, but rather on the basis of important homogeneity with regard to lifestyles and life opportunities, having underneath a certain "philosophy of life". This philosophy is a conditioner of their ways of acting, moulded by a transversal and common *ethos,* in relation to which the attitudes and behaviours of this community are greatly defined with respect, namely, to cultural capital in the *institutionalised state* (Bourdieu, 1977) and the school institution, and also the wider work systems of the society." (Casa-Nova, 1999)

This *ethnic habitus* is embodied (and exteriorised) in cultural practices, responsible for the lifestyles and life opportunities of the members of this community (which manifest signs of a collective identity), conditioning its social and cultural practices independently of their class belonging, as *cultural determination* surpasses *economic determination* in the structuring of the *habitus.*

This *ethnic habitus* becomes visible, for example, in the existence of *cultural continuities* in the community, as far as the preservation of certain values is concerned,

> "(...) we don't have, in the neighbourhood, totally progressive families, nor totally
> conservative ones. We have conservative and at the same time progressive families and
> we have families that are mainly progressive. But none of them is totally progressive. All
> of them show signs of conservatism: if not with regard to marriage, then with regard to
> the burial rituals; if not with regard to this, then with regard to the defence of honour and
> dignity; if not in these, then with regard to other values,"[34]

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[34] Gypsy man, with a strong influence in the community.

as well as with regard to a refusal to carry out salaried work, in the sense of having an employer:

> "(…) The employers, or whatever it may be, have their rules which are not the rules of the community (…). They are not able [the gypsies] to accept the rules imposed by employers. They want [to keep] their independence (…)."[35]

> "I like selling in fairs. I've already been a bricklayer, but I didn't like it much. We always have to be on time and if we are not in a good mood and the person in charge, or the boss, tell us to do something and we tell them to do themselves, we are fired. In the fairs we are in charge; we don't have anybody telling us what to do. And it is a family business, it's tradition; almost all the gypsies sell in fairs."[36]

> "If you ask a gypsy, any gypsy, what is more important in the work they do, all of them will answer in the same way: to be free, to have no boss, to be their own boss, to not be subject to anyone. This is the most important." [37]

The values still prevalent are those values that constitute and make up the *ethnic habitus*.

This *ethnic habitus* may be stronger (structuring) or weaker (structured) in accordance with the bigger or smaller degree of openness or closure of this ethnic group in relation to the other ethnic groups with which they coexist or interact. This bigger or smaller degree of openness or of closure, associated with the *existence of a gradual consciousness*, would be the cause of the existence of *ethnicity locations.*

In this sense, these *ethnicity locations* seems, to us, to be constructed from the existence of different levels of consciousness relative to the ethnic group that, in their turn, originate *reconfigurations of the primary habitus*. This gradual consciousness would present successive and gradual approximations of what Giddens (1984) "called 'discursive consciousness', which refers to everything the actors can express orally or in written form. Giddens differentiates 'discursive consciousness' from 'practical consciousness', the latter including all that the actors are aware of and capable of doing in social life, without, however, being able to express what they know and do in a discursive way.[38] In Bourdieu's perspective, the primary habitus is structured on the

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Gypsy man, 36 years old, married, three children.

[37] Gypsy man, married, 28 years old. In terms of schooling, he has the complete 2nd cycle (first six years of schooling).

[38] In this study, we considered that the reconfigurations of the *habitus* can have a conscious origin or a non-consciousness or, yet, a gradual consciousness.

basis of the unconscious incorporation of rules and norms carried out by subjects during the process of primary socialisation. In our perspective, this habitus (past) is later manifested in a non-rationalised way (which doesn't mean in an unconscious way), undergoing changes on the basis of the actors-subjects' life experiences. The changes that may result from the construction of a gradual "discursive consciousness" and/or of a "practical consciousness" give rise to the restructuring (in the sense of updating) of the *habitus*" (Casa-Nova, 2002b).

The existence of *ethnicity locations* allows for the understanding of the relative heterogeneity and homogeneity found in the community, namely with respect to the way school is seen by some families, and with regard to their intentions and/or practices for supporting, or questioning, the maintenance of their children in school (see Casa-Nova, 2002, Chapter 3)

The *ethnicity locations* would be explainers, in this specific case, of the differentiations of positioning of the Gypsy families in what their sons' and daughters' schooling is concerned and also of the different ways of being facing the global society.

Gypsy Ethnicity[39] and Schooling: The Two Sides of a Problem

a) The Relationship of the Gypsy Community With School

Family education, alongside school as an organization and the measures of educational policy have functioned as catalysers or inhibitors of school attendance and success for children and young people of a Gypsy ethnic group.

In what the Gypsy community is concerned, during our research, we frequently heard teachers saying that Gypsies "do not like school", because "the families do not teach them to like it".

As we said in other paper (Casa-Nova, 2003), "we could say that a significant part of the Gypsy communities *is not interested in school,* which we consider to be substantially different from saying that it doesn't like school, *though that disinterest cannot be generalized,* either in relation to different communities or inside each community. Based in our research, we can say that *those elements that demonstrate interest in school* also do so by the *attribution of different meanings:* for some, school

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[39] Ethnicity is understood by the author as "ways of expressing in an ethnic group, *i.e.* an ethnic group in action" (Casa-Nova, 2002).

seems to have value through its usefulness to the daily life of the community and *this usefulness itself presents various degrees of meaning.*"

The importance of learning how to read and write in order to be able to decode the written language symbols:

"School serves for everything. (...) a person that doesn't know how to read is completely... he doesn't see anything. A person goes somewhere unknown, if a person knows how to read, he's halfway there." [40]

The possibility of getting a driver's licence:

"School serves for the future, to know how to read and such, to know how to write... to get a driver's licence and to know the answers and to know all the signs (...)."[41]

For others, it seems *to be valued from the point of view of its contribution to exercise an appropriate social interaction:*

"(...) I'm not saying that anyone can, in this way, 'squeeze out' words, but school also teaches how 'to squeeze out' words, how to say something. In my way of being, it's this. To enter any society and to know how to speak with anyone."[42]

For even others, it seems like a way of *elevating social status:*

"To attend school, to learn, to know things is very important. We gradually learn more and more different things, History, English, Sciences... That is very good, because we get to know things and we can have a profession different from that of a fair merchant, which is what the majority of Gypsies are. But I wouldn't like to have any sort of profession, I would like to be a teacher... to be a teacher is to be very important..." [43]

And the families that demonstrate the least interest in school also do so because "they still haven't found, in it, the necessary meaning and interest in their own system of values and lifestyles. This is so, because *there exists a valuable gradation of mass activities that they develop, expressed in a hierarchy, in which school frequently appears as a residual form, in the lowest levels of that hierarchy*" (Casa-Nova, 2003).

Indeed, and "in what family socialization is concerned, Gypsy children are, in the majority, socialized in a family atmosphere that is not very sensitive to school (though

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[40] Gypsy man, 56 years of age.

[41] Gypsy girl, at the present time, 19 years of age, but that, at the time of the interview, was 14.

[42] Gypsy man, 41.

[43] Gypsy girl of 14. She failed the 4th year of schooling four times because of high absenteeism, because of having the responsibility of caring for her younger brother while her mother was at the fairs and becausee of her father being a drug addict and not providing economic maintenance to their home.

is also not hostile) and its role in the education of young people for a *critical active citizenship* and for their future insertion in the labour market. This is, their primary *habitus* is still, in the majority, structured in a family ambiency, favourable to certain behaviours and attitudes of the children in relation to school, since the latter often appears *strange inside their family universe,* provoking a certain *discomfort* at the level of school attendance" (*Ibid.*).

On the other hand, *the kind of work that they do* does not need high level schooling, appearing, in the eyes of the community, as non-specialized work, undistinguished, for which knowing how to read, write and calculate is enough.[44]

As a Gypsy woman referred, during the fieldwork, in reference to the "lack of skill" of the researcher in selling the exhibited articles:

> "Look, this thing about [selling in fairs], everyone knows how, one doesn't need schooling".[45]

In fact, Gypsy family education, in what respects to the relation school/labour market, has a fundamental role in the way children and young people end up viewing their academic and professional future in terms of real opportunities, since they are precociously 'led' towards a specific professional route (a fair merchant), that they also consider alluring, since no vigilant employer exists (they are, as we said before, their own bosses) and it is relatively compensating work from an economic point of view.

The children, since they are babies, are transported to the fairs by their parents, being daily socialized in the professional atmosphere of their parents; they help them, from the time they are five years old, put up and take down the tents and in the selling of stock.

On the other hand, since marriages are realized at relatively early ages, permanence in school is also, for this reason, impractical.

When their sons or daughters are married, the parents, in general, yield a part of their place in the fairs and buy the first stock to sell, thereby initiating the young couples in their effective professional life.

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[44] With regard to the importance, attributed by Spanish Gypsy communities, to school, see Teresa San Román, 1984 and 1997.

[45] Gypsy woman, 33. The families under study are all devoted to selling in the fairs (they, therefore, exercise the profession of fair merchant), though, sometimes, they accumulate with other accupations that are presented as subsidiary to the principal family income.

For all these reasons, school ends up having a marginal role and importance in their lives, influencing their relationship with this institution.

It is also for these reasons (and for the reasons that we will advance later when we reflect on the relation of school with the community), we often hear said that *"Gypsy children present high school failures".* "Indeed, Gypsy children, for the mentioned reasons and others, attend school intermittently, not giving the teachers sufficient elements of *assessment inside the exigency standards of a school shaped for a certain culture.* They view success from an ethnocentric perspective, not considering the 'other's' perspective, that is, that the *Gypsy community can present another conception of success:* knowing how to read and write and do simple exercises of arithmetic is understood, by the community, as a form of success, since they constitute essential elements for their personal and professional daily lives" (Casa-Nova, 2003). Also for that reason, they often abandon school when they consider that they have perceived what is essential for them.

Even only taking into consideration the school's perspective, since failure derives from an assessment process where children fail after having given 'proof' of the knowledge effectively transmitted, although not understood, we cannot say that these children really fail. In accordance with the data collected in the school that serves the community studied, the failure of the Gypsy children had, as the first cause, not the so-called learning difficulties, but the absence of data to assess, motivated by their high absenteeism. Indeed, of 129 boys and girls enrolled, only three effectively failed, having as a basis *learning difficulties, as these are presently and academically defined.*

Once again, even only taking into consideration the school's perspective so that the idea of "high school failure" *be empirically sustainable,* it would be necessary for these children to attend school at the levels of assiduousness of the rest of the children, making the necessary data possible in order to assess the knowledge transmitted. And if that happens, the professionals of education cannot forget that "Gypsies learn, like everybody else, based on work realized on themselves, starting from their knowledge and experiences" (Canário, 1999).

b) The Relationship of School With the Gypsy Community and the Ethnic Group As a Whole

If it is true that the Portuguese Gypsy communities have generically shown a certain suspicion and distancing in relation to the school institution,[46] the first question that appears in this analysis on schools as an institution and, as an organisation, is: *whom does school serve at the present time?*

In view of the actual "reconfigurations of the labour market (Casa-Nova, 2003), originating in the transition of the Ford regime to the "flexible accumulation capitalism" (Harvey, 1992 [1989]), the structuring of the school organisation and the transmission of knowledge that it effects does not seem to satisfy none of the socio-cultural groups, including the favoured social classes (with regard to the *new mandate of the middle class,* see Magalhães & Stoer, 2002).

At present, those social groups (favoured social classes) are conscious that the knowledge they need to maintain their socially privileged situations is not found in school, though the latter continues to be necessary to guarantee certification that they need. But, the *(un)suitability of school to the different publics that attend it presents a hierarchy expressed in terms of distancing/approach to the different socio-cultural categories* (social classes, ethnic groups and genders) *that classify the students.* Though some groups are presented socially and culturally closer to school culture (favoured social classes and some ethnic minorities), and other groups are presented socially and culturally more distant, with the Gypsy ethnic group placed at the extreme end of that distancing, we, nowadays, also verify an approach or a distancing in relation to the significance that school has for the different socio-cultural groups, though these, as we saw above, in relation to Gypsies, also *do not present an internal homogeneity in the way of viewing and of relating to school.*

However, *parents and teachers seem to structure, more than agency, the possible field of action of the Gypsy children and young people* in their daily social and

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[46] In spite of this observation, one can record the fact that, *from the school year of 1992/93* (the time when Portugal began to have a state organism responsible for the gathering of this type of data — the Inter-Cultures Secretariate) *to the year 1997/98* (the last year in relation to which the treatment of the gathered data exists, up to this time, in what the school attendance of Gypsy children and young people is concerned), there has been a gradual increase in school attendance in the diverse cycles of Basic and Secondary Schooling (see Charts 1, 2, 3 and 4, annexed). However, the number of Gypsy children and young people with the right age to attend Obligatory Schooling and Secondary Schooling is unknown.
We thank Dr. Ana Braga, of the Inter-Cultures Secretariate, for the furnishing of data that allowed us to ellaborate the charts annexed.

school life, with the teachers constructing *classifying systems, facilitators and justifiers their pedagogical activity:*

> "Everyone knows that one of the flaws that Gypsies have is lying, they have an imagination... let me tell you! (...) they all suffer very much from the head, they suffer from the head all the time and they have to leave to take care of their heads, (...) She [a Gypsy girl] did not want to work because they are outdoor little birds (...)[47]

The teachers, as other socio-professional and cultural groups, seem to ignore or neglect the fact of *lying,* in the Gypsy ethnic group, being constructed as a *survival strategy* that originates a necessary discursive capacity to confront situations of disadvantage and social and cultural inequality experienced by them. It is not an innate category, as it is frequently presented; it is socially constructed, functioning as an *ethnic marker[48]* of the Gypsy population as a whole, including children, either in what the establishment of relations of inter-ethnic sociability is concerned or in relation to the schooling processes of which they are the target. That is, the children *experience the consequences of the negative social representations associated with the group they belong to,* either in relation to the global society or in contact with specific institutions, principally, the institution of school.

In the teachers' perspectives, the children do not constitute good students, because they are not induced through their families. School rarely appears referenced, by the teachers, in the heterogeneous universe of constitutive reasons of the unadaptation of the children to school. They neglect the importance of *understanding how the experiences of schooling are processed in these children* and see them as deficient systems, as needing "compensatory education" or "alternative curricula" that, frequently viewed as positive discrimination measures, are nothing more than ways of deepening the pre-existent and educational social stigmas and inequalities, revealing the absence of "official school justice" (Estêvão, 2002).

These children are considered *difficult in school,* because *they provoke noise, even when they are silent or silenced, because they disturb people in their unadaptation to school;* this disturbance is disguised, by the teachers, through the attribution of failure

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[47] Teacher of the 1st cycle of basic schooling (first four years)

[48] We were inspired in the expression "an apparently irreducible marker" by Sílvia Carrasco (2002), when the author refers to what the so-called welcoming societies designate as "language problems" presented by minorities.

to the children, to the families and to the socio-cultural context in which they live and develop relations of intra-ethnic sociability.

More than curricular contents (but also because), we believe it is the form of school organisation that greatly underlies the disturbance of the Gypsies in the presence of school. This disturbance motivates them to construct a multiplicity of pretexts and strategies to abandon the schoolroom in the middle of a class, or to miss classes the next day: headaches, sick relatives, a younger brother, etc.. It is not perceptive to the teachers that *these strategies of running away from school hide a deeper problem, related to the uneasiness these children feel in school, the way it is found shaped at the present time.*

And, if we can consider, as Enguita (2000) refers, that school was not thought of as a construction hostile to new groups that attend it (disfavoured social groups, female gender and ethnic minorities), "but was simply previously shaped to measure for others (...): the middle and high classes, male gender, and the ethnic majority", the fact is that *school, whilst a foundational idea*, *was naturally constructed as a belonging-territory for the socially dominant groups and as a maintenance strategy of that domination.*

Having gradually opened to all social classes, genders and ethnic minorities, more for the necessity of modernization of the different countries rather than for equalitarian ideas, school is still an institution and a fundamental organisation whilst a "tool of change, in spite of the recognition of its key role in the reproduction of inequality" (Carrasco, 2002). This is so, because, *for certain socio-cultural groups* (disfavoured social classes and some ethnic minorities), *school continues to be the only possibility of access to a certain type of knowledge,* to make the construction of diversified opportunities of life possible.

For that reason, one should ask: *what mimicries* and *what contrasts does school need* (confronted with different socio-cultural groups that attend it) *to become an agency of a gradual approach to social and cultural democratization* and to the construction of citizenships simultaneously critical, emancipatory and plural.

It is important to think of a school change and not so much of an alternative to school.

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ANNEXS

Chart 1

Portugal Continental – 1st Cycle of Basic Schooling (first four years) – Passing rates at the end of 4º grade

School year	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Origin nationality/ethnicity of students	1º to 4º grade	4º grade	% (1)	1º to 4º grade	4º grade	% (1)	1º to 4º grade	4º grade	% (1)	1º to 4º grade	4º grade	% (1)	1º to 4º grade	4º grade	% (1)
Luso-português	470..351	134.400	88	444.232	131.559	86	422.564	117.074	86	414.956	111.409	86	411.514	108.522	88
Cape-Verde	6.680	2004	78	6.613	2116	79	6.349	1953	75	6001	1721	74	6170	1754	79
Angola	4.383	1164	86	4.972	1400	85	5.080	1400	85	5377	1481	84	5649	1503	88
Gypsies	4.294	614	**59**	4.671	860	**51**	4.753	859	**53**	5026	831	**48**	5420	764	**55**
Guiné	1.128	301	83	1.211	337	87	1.235	325	79	1340	338	83	1057	348	85
Mozambique	1.041	1041	92	1.049	344	91	1.092	334	91	1037	302	89	1099	274	91
S. Tomé e Príncipe	728	220	86	782	235	83	768	206	83	804	214	84	897	222	81
Índia-Pakistan	378	105	92	558	150	88	560	129	92	569	164	93	541	130	95
Macau	46	8	100	62	18	88	60	17	100	92	23	96	90	26	91
Timor	127	35	84	110	29	77	100	42	90	119	32	77	136	38	94
Brasil	1.127	354	95	1.059	328	92	990	306	94	920	277	91	841	254	91
Union European	2.003	550	90	2.196	666	88	2428	671	89	2132	523	87	2250	594	87
Ex.Emigrants	11.016	3278	91	11.843	3813	90	9.991	3035	91	7598	2322	90	7029	2107	91
Others origins	4.876	1401	89	3.088	917	87	2.606	773	87	2720	724	88	2915	782	90

(1) passing rates at the end of 4º year

Chart 2

Portugal Continental – 2º Cycle of Basic Schooling (two years) – Passing rates at the end of 6º grade

School year	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Origin nationality/éthnicity of students	5º to 6º grade	6º ano	% (1)	5º to 6º grade	6º ano	% (1)	5º ao 6º grade	6º ano	% (1)	5º to 6º grade	6º grade	% (1)	5º to 6º grade	6º grade	% (1)
Luso-português	240.459	124.932	97	226.526	113.222	91	218.396	107.206	90	208.733	104.856	93	200.140	101.255	89
Cape-Verde	2.102	1.084	95	2.499	1.106	79	2.991	1.318	78	2.939	1.385	77	2.663	1.224	72
Angola	1.733	906	94	2.346	1.139	86	2.385	1.191	88	2.518	1.222	84	2.565	1.223	85
Gypsies	167	55	**93**	210	72	**75**	259	61	**66**	327	83	**71**	374	85	**75**
Guiné	259	127	94	454	198	82	478	208	84	513	225	83	612	264	84
Mozambique	585	339	98	807	397	92	776	407	86	670	323	87	763	399	86
S. Tomé and Príncipe	237	118	93	329	138	86	420	188	88	460	205	84	416	191	83
Índia-Pakistan	87	37	100	162	86	94	191	85	89	195	95	86	258	100	89
Macau	16	8	100	26	17	100	34	18	94	43	18	100	50	23	100
Timor	46	27	100	58	30	94	52	33	87	54	25	81	52	29	89
Brasil	469	236	97	647	323	93	651	325	91	636	308	93	595	292	89
European Union	1.367	768	98	1.434	704	92	1.508	765	88	1.669	854	90	1.911	887	86
Ex.Emigrants	6.011	3.034	98	6.682	3.326	92	5.773	2.771	92	4.104	2.113	91	4.199	2.140	92
Others origins	2.490	1.267	97	1.730	838	88	2.102	994	87	1.498	707	88	1.849	929	90

(1) passing rates at the end of 6º grade.

Chart 3
Portugal Continental – 3º Cycle of Basic Schooling (three years) – Passing rates at the end of 9º grade

School year	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Origin nacionality/ethnicity of students	7º to 9º grade	9º grade	% (1)	7º to 9º grade	9º grade	% (1)	7º to 9º grade	9º ano	% (1)	7º to 9º grade	9º ano	% (1)	7º to 9º grade	9º grade	% (1)
Luso-português	363.251	111.241	95	367.657	120.612	91	322.935	97.813	90	323.305	97.039	86	320.769	100.329	87
Cape-Verde	1.582	351	86	2.138	562	82	2.228	551	78	2.544	602	78	2637	708	79
Angola	2.516	763	86	3.199	993	87	3.128	970	87	3.264	969	83	3.327	1.036	79
Gypsies	27	4	**67**	66	12	**92**	68	10	**75**	79	10	**89**	102	11	**64**
Guiné	305	85	88	422	114	89	487	125	79	555	131	76	643	189	79
Mozambique	1.031	362	85	1.462	551	87	1.317	438	86	1.259	434	83	1.169	393	82
S. Tomé and Príncipe	208	52	89	349	95	91	408	118	86	524	159	84	521	151	80
Índia-Pakistan	145	38	84	192	60	87	229	57	92	258	80	86	244	69	84
Macau	21	9	100	39	12	94	30	8	80	54	12	93	64	18	100
Timor	22	3	67	92	30	78	90	33	91	88	27	65	75	26	83
Brasil	678	187	91	1.007	319	89	975	335	90	1.039	328	85	1.056	344	90
European Union	2.352	751	91	2.434	805	90	2.951	983	86	2.656	794	85	2.931	956	86
Ex.Emigrants	9.036	2.563	94	10.572	3.403	91	9.526	2.903	87	8.037	2.429	86	7.816	2.495	89
Others origins	2.807	810	90	2.177	744	89	2.827	827	90	2.438	808	85	2.647	822	86

(1) passing rates at the end of 9º grade.

Chart 4
Portugal Continental – Secondary Education (three years) – Passing rates at the end of 12º grade

School year	1993/94			1994/95			1995/96			1996/97			1997/98		
Origin nacionality/éthnicity of students	10º to 12º grade	12º grade	% (1)	10º to 12º grade	12º grade	% (1)	10º to 12º grade	12º grade	% (1)	10º to 12º grade	12º grade	% (1)	10º to 12º grade	12º grade	% (1)
Luso-português	-	-	-	271.853	93.846	86	272.015	92.238	72	281.235	93.868	69	264.413	87.995	66
Cape-Verde	-	-	-	395	134	83	908	245	76	788	206	60	921	108	62
Angola	-	-	-	1.978	934	67	3.062	1.373	63	2.981	1.324	52	2.582	652	55
Gypsies	-	-	-	4	0	**0**	12	2	**50**	25	7	**100**	16	4	**100**
Guiné	-	-	-	202	92	67	365	174	65	397	177	58	388	83	52
Mozambique	-	-	-	1.106	572	68	1.620	731	67	1.512	643	57	1.339	376	65
S. Tomé and Príncipe	-	-	-	90	39	64	233	102	65	267	124	54	299	60	69
Índia-Pakistan	-	-	-	71	23	96	133	38	66	148	42	80	122	39	65
Macau	-	-	-	26	10	70	45	19	69	50	26	85	41	10	67
Timor	-	-	-	58	23	86	81	32	46	62	22	58	66	5	100
Brasil	-	-	-	612	223	72	931	303	77	988	356	65	1.043	320	61
European Union	-	-	-	1.796	579	72	2.950	964	75	2.907	1.041	63	2.892	911	66
Ex.Emigrants	-	-	-	5.634	1.869	78	7.619	2.374	71	6.081	1.842	64	5.850	1.831	61
Others origins	-	-	-	1.088	315	77	1.428	457	72	1.828	565	64	2.139	673	57

(1) passing rates at the end of 12º grade.

Chart 5
Gypsy children and young people in Basic and Secondary Education in Portuguese schools - **Rates**

Education cycles	1st Cycle			2nd Cycle			3rd Cycle			Secondary		
School Year	t. n.	gy.	%	t. n.	gy.	%	t. n.	gy.	%	t. n.	gy.	%
1992/93	534388	4072	0,76	259256	156	0,060	370262	47	0,013	218153	-	
1993/94	508178	4294	0,84	256028	167	0,065	383981	27	0,007	279894	-	
1994/95	482446	4671	0,97	243910	210	0,086	391806	66	0,017	284913	4	0,0014
1995/96	458576	4753	1,03	235894	259	0,11	344202	68	0,020	287192	12	0,0041
1996/97	448691	5026	1,12	222297	327	0,15	342444	79	0,023	293884	25	0,0085
1997/98	446058	5420	1,21	210447	374	0,18	344001	102	0,029	282111	16	0,0056

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