11

CULTURE

Although the GADŽE definitely appreciate individual elements of Roma culture, their life style has always been seen as being in discord with European culture. As a result Roma have been subject to measures which have aimed at either assimilating them, displacing them by force, or even annihilating them; and this has led to the Roma having withdrawn into a parallel society. Although they have taken on many of the cultural elements of those countries in which they have settled, the separation, which has not been entirely voluntary, has led over the centuries to the preservation of many of the traditions which they brought with them from India and thus to their cultural autonomy. Due to the lack of a written script, specific cultural techniques and the common cultural knowledge have been transmitted orally. One fragile but significant pillar of Roma culture is thus its language and through it all forms of narrative. Therefore communication should be especially painstakingly observed because if the communicative habits are changed through new media or technologies, there is a constant threat that this knowledge will be lost.

TELEVISION

Cultural transition is clearly visible in Gazela: The television has replaced parents and grandparents as a transmitter of culture. Of course certain skills are still passed on to the children, but many stories and traditions are now only known to the elderly. Televisions, however, are everywhere and are running in most of the houses the whole day, as long as electricity \(\existsin \) is available. Along with movies, athletic events, and music programs, the inhabitants follow the TELENOVELAS with passionate interest. Although the soap operas which have subtitles are often not understood due to the wide-spread analphabetism, their strong influence can be seen, for example, in the choice of names for their children. For this the Roma usually orientate themselves on the most respected and successful people in their circle of acquaintances so that their children can have these qualities. Since television is increasingly pushing the social network into the background, the charac-

Judith The question of whether this project is anthropology, and for this reason can't be considered art, seems to me to be more of an ontological nature, and I doubt that there is much point in pursuing it. I think that this project can definitely be seen as art; this becomes clear as soon as

one takes the context into consideration, for example, the funding institutions, but also Ivan's role in today's presentation. If this had been presented in a scientific environment then it would have been perceived as a scientific project and the discussion would have been about totally



different things, for instance, about the methodology of your fieldwork. Here, however, we are in an art context, and this determines whether the project will be categorized in this or that field.

Jelena I would find it interesting to reflect on the role of your financers. Why, for instance, is the European Cultural Foundation sponsoring your project? It is extremely difficult for persons from Serbia involved in culture and art to have their projects financed. Even

140