

RACISM AND ROMANI STUDIES

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ABSTRACTS

Dr. Adrian Marsh - 'From Victorian Gypsylorism to Nazi eugenics': the Europecentric foundations of historical racism in Romani Studies

Keywords: historiography, Roma, Gypsies, Travellers, Orientalism, race theory

"History will tell lies again, as usual." G B Shaw, "The Devil's Disciple"

The founding of the *Gypsy Lore Society* in Edinburgh, in 1889, was a major step in the scholarly endeavours that had preceded the Society, in the 'matter of the Gypsies'. After a century of concentrated effort to 'uncover' the origins, language, traditions, and migrations of the Romani people, the advent of an entire collective of 'gentlemen' scholars (for there were almost no women involved in the earliest *GLS* activities), dedicated to establishing the field of *Gypsylorism*, as coeval and concomitant with folklore, ethnology, anthropology, musicology, and linguistics – all profoundly connected to the 'national awakenings' taking place, as a consequence of Romanticism and the emergence of 'scientific racism', across Europe during the nineteenth century – was nothing short of revolutionary.

Previous work had found its way into publications of the *Royal Geographic Society*, the *Royal Asiatic Society*, *Chambers Encyclopaedia*, and numerous individual papers and correspondence between enthusiastic amateurs, some of whom, such as Richard Burton, had already been engaged in the European 'discoveries' of peoples, places, and 'dark' continents. The *GLS* was a part of the attempts to categorise, catalogue, and control what were, or would shortly become through violent conquest or military adventurism like that of Cecil Rhodes, colonial territories, imperial provinces and vice-regencies. Thus, 'Gypsies' were incorporated into taxonomies of 'race' and hierarchies of ethnicities, cultures, and histories, judged and measured by 'racial types' such as the *Romanichals* of Britain, through attenuated lines of descent to Indian 'Aryan' populations, and narratives of migrations that demonstrated the superiority of the

West over the decadent and degraded Orient, albeit one that had been the origins of much ancient wisdom, aesthetics, sexuality, and philosophy as the ‘light of the East’, *ex Orient lux*.

Born in such circumstances, the perspective of these scholars could not be anything but dominated by an Eurocentric, racially infused, religiously fervent view of Romani people and their origins, history, and ‘the long march West’ (as I have called it elsewhere). In short, historical racism was intrinsic to the very nature of *Gypsyism*, and that heritage could not help but be passed down to Romani Studies, as an often unacknowledged *mentalité* that inhabited the discipline, even in the face of the anti-colonial movements of post-war (after 1945) Africa, India, China, Latin America, and elsewhere, when terminology though not underlying methodology, altered. European nationalism and its Soviet offspring bled into the *Romology* of Eastern European scholarship and research, as shifts away from the normative, Western European model of *Gypsyism* appeared to posit new notions of identity, culture, tradition, and language. However, these were co-opted into the national projects of state socialist societies where Roma, Sinti, Gypsies, and Travellers had existed for centuries, frequently emiserated and atomised by frequent attempts to exterminate them, most horrifically during the fascist period (1930 to 1945).

However, the Eurocentric, Anglocentric bias of *Gypsyism* (and later, Romani Studies) had always skewed perspectives regarding origins, ethnicity, identities, and cultures to obscure the critical experiences of proto and early Romani people in their formative periods, in the Asian lands. Conceptually, Romani ethnicity has consistently been ‘measured’, categorised, and ‘evaluated’ using metrics that harbour, whether covertly or overtly, racial bias slanted towards White, male, Europeans, with the result that ‘Gypsies’ according to scholars, were a European people with distant ‘Asiatic’ ancestry. The heritage of such is that Romani identities are implicitly bound to notions of ‘linguistic hierarchies’, hog-tied to ideas of nationalism and the homogenous nation-state, and warped by the terrible illogic of ‘purity’, ‘race’, and ‘exclusion’. As a result, division and fragmentation, reflective of the 17th, 18th and 20th century attempts at genocide that resulted in the atomisation of Romani communities into a myriad of linked ethnicities, have persisted amongst the Roma even in the face of generalised and profound political, social, and economic threats, combined with the erosion of Romani culture and psyches. Roma, Sinti, Manouche, Gypsies, and Travellers have become *minorised*, as some scholars have correctly identified, *ethnicised* to the point that poverty, exclusion and marginalisation are synonymous with the Romani community in policy, strategy, and seemingly ineffective ‘action plans’.

Addressing this underlying bias and *chthonic* racism that exists in Romani Studies requires a critical paradigm shift, built upon a seismic re-evaluation and re-presentation of Romani history, especially around origins, ethnicity and identities. Learning the lessons from other communities is crucial, such as Native Americans and First Nation Canadians, that are bound to non-indigenous recordings of their own histories, origins, identities, and pre-contact cultures. Evidence-based, imaginative practice in Romani historiography, without resorting to the kind of nationalist myth-making so much a feature of nation-state histories (particularly in eastern, central and southeastern Europe), where the notions of homogeneous ethnicities (actually concealing the anachronistic pseudo-scientific notions of ‘race’, ‘blood’, ‘land’, and ‘honour’), is the key to establishing an ontology that reflects a Romani world-view, a *Romanipé* that is informed, not dominated by *gorgio* conceptualisations of identity and driven by robust, rigorous and expert scholarship and research that engages with subaltern, hybrid, inter-textual, and processual approaches to the ‘archaeology’ of Romani ethnicity.

To do that, an interrogation of the earliest sources *in non-European languages* and sources that challenge and critique Europe-centric narratives of journey from Orient to Occident, must be applied to the topic of the emergence of Romani ethnicity, identity, and culture. The complex cultural matrix of Hinduism, Islam, Greek Orthodoxy, Protestant Reformation, and the advent of secular Nationalism must be understood, in the narrative of Romani migration, from Rajput states, the Islamic Ghaznavid sultante, the Armenian Bagratid Kingdom, the East Roman (Byzantine) Imperium, the Ottoman Empire, Balkan principalities, and European early modern nations. Refusing to be co-opted into reductive, non-Roma conceptualisations of

‘conflict of civilisations’ scenarios of Hindu against Muslim; Islam at war with Christendom; Protestants rebelling from Catholic hegemony; and magic, sorcery, and heresy in opposition to orthodoxy (whether Christian or Muslim) must be undertaken to establish a *Romani*, Romani Studies; histories and her-stories that echo and reflect concerns that reframe and refocus narratives, trajectories, and underlying tendencies to view our experiences through time and across space through the lens of *gorgio* academic preoccupations, even those that purport to examine the ‘Other’, as a theoretical and methodological foundation that actually further excludes, Orientalises, and *exoticises* Romani actualities.

For a revitalised view of racism in Romani Studies, *ex Orient lux* may actually provide the necessary illumination...

Dr. Annabel Tremlett - Challenging is not enough: denaturalising centuries of ‘Gypsy’ misrepresentations

At the heart of the history of racisms against Roma, Gypsy and Traveller people is their visualisation. The dominance of a certain set of visuals are very hard to navigate as same-old images of ‘the Gypsies’ are reproduced, albeit in different forms, to the point that they seem obvious, natural and go unquestioned. Such images are said to be entrenched in the ‘European imagination’. These images have mostly been produced and are consumed by non-Gypsies in a (westernised, racist) European culture for entertainment, titillation or power politics. This paper focuses how this ‘imagination’ has in fact a visceral reality, real in the sense that images of ‘the Gypsies’ are connected to specific as well as expansive histories of European heritage. This paper presents these images as not just the product of an ‘imagination’ but as very real and physical products of particular histories. This paper argues that challenging such images is not enough: it is only by understanding the depth of those histories, how such images became a part of the fabric of our lives, can we begin to not just challenge but *denaturalise* age-old stereotypes that paves a way to resistance and change.

Dr. Martin Kovats - Roma identity politics – a case of systemic racism

Not only in the past, but also in the present day, scholars have been essential to the development a racial conception of ‘Roma’ and its application in public policy. At the same time, scholarship has a vital role to play in producing the evidence and analysis necessary to explain this racism and help society challenge it more effectively. This paper illustrates this contention through a brief overview of the contemporary politicisation of Roma identity to conclude that this represents an example of systemic racism – understood as the integration of academia, civil society and public authorities to institutionalise racialised governance to perpetuate inequality. It finishes with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for scholars and activists.

Dr. Serena D’Agostino - Romani (Antiracist) Activism in Europe: from (De)politicization toward a Critical Turn

Anti-Roma racism – also known as anti-Gypsyism or Romaphobia – has been traditionally overlooked by antiracist movements in Europe. Despite the growing attention towards racial (in)justice in both European politics and academia, racism and discrimination against the Roma remain mostly invisibilized, depoliticized or even considered ‘reasonable’ (D’Agostino 2021a; Maeso 2015; Powell & van Baar 2019; Rovid 2021; van Baar 2014). The denial of race and racialization in the so-called ‘Roma issue’ has normalized and legitimized the scapegoating of and discrimination against the Roma, as well as shaped Romani activism. Critical Romani activists and scholars have recently challenged this ‘normalization’ and

contributed to positioning anti-Roma racism in broader discourses around race, racialization and racism. Riding the wave of discontent and protests launched by the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, Romani activists urge for structural and institutional racism against the Roma to be recognized and prioritized on the European political agenda. Through the hashtag *#RomaLivesMatter*, activists re-politicize race and make (anti)racism and intersectional discrimination central into their political action and strategies.

In this paper, I reflect on these new directions and critical perspectives by retracing the continuities and changes that have characterized European Romani (antiracist) activism in the last fifty years (1971-2021). Namely, I focus on three main phases: (i) the emergence and consolidation of a global Roma civil rights movement, (ii) the Europeanization of Roma representation, and (iii) the ‘critical turn’, where post-colonial, feminist, intersectional and queer voices emerge. Revisiting the key historical developments and exploring the current evolutions of Romani politics, I intend to relocate anti-Roma racism and Romani antiracist activism at the very centre of the ongoing (political and scholarly) debate on racism and racial equity in Europe.

Keywords: Anti-Roma Racism, Equity, Europe, Race, Racial Justice, Racialization, Romani (antiracist) Activism, Romani Politics.

Dr. Dezso Mate - Academic Anti-Gypsyism from Grellmann’s Gypsyologist Schools (1783), until the end of the short XX century (1920)

In this paper, I am going to place under debate the international development, different eras, and positions of Romani people in social science with the lance of academic anti-Gypsyism from Grellmann’s Gypsyologist Schools (1783) until the end of the so-called short XX century (1920).

The foremost argument is that anti-Gypsyism is a transhistorical, transnational, and transgenerational phenomenon that comprises special forms of racism and intolerant attitudes that directly affects Romani people. Anti-Gypsyism deprived and repressed Romani people’s identity politics, practices, and memories, which is based not only on the day-to-day “otherings” and pejorative thoughts towards those who are known as “Gypsy” in the public imagination, but also grounded on social distances, physical actions, and violations. Romani people are facing normalized anti-Gypsyism in the forms of structural racism, public scapegoating, national and international integration, and assimilation politics and practices. The second argument is that Romani academic narratives are often (even with good intentions) vanished, and their memories are silenced based on the patriarchal status quo, and power relations. Romani scholars lack of their own academic institutions across Europe and beyond, therefore their decolonial critical scholarship is challenged with epistemic knowledge production violation and recognition. The third argument as, historical inquiry as a way of making the past less distant is by default, a process of building awareness of the unrecognized narratives, reviving forgotten voices, and elevating common remembrances. Romani cultural heritage is influential across the globe, however, in the mainstream academia their knowledge production and self-representation are lack of recognition.

Since the Enlightenment thinker Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann published his work in Göttingen in 1783, with the title “Dissertation on the Gypsies, being an historical enquiry, concerning the manner of life, family economy, customs and conditions of these people in Europe, and their origin”, Romani people are constantly subjected to international scientific racism, which not only embodied several manifestations of the “Gypsies” but also subconsciously assembled their identities and vanished their narratives from the history of. More precisely, they are facing academic anti-Gypsyism that has normalized: racism, social-distances, intolerant attitudes, and several forms of oppression in society.

Hundreds of years the various manifestations of anti-Gypsyism, have shaped and damaged the Romani identity politics and obliterated their records from the past. In the era of “Gypsyology” with the first “Gypsy experts,” Romani people were scientifically got characterized, labeled, and administrated, which later significantly influenced country-specifically across Europe everything between assimilation and genocide.

In the presentation, I am going to offer an overview of academic anti-Gypsyism, with the approach of the history of social science and racism, based on Grellmann's and the GLS's discourses between 1783- 1920.

Keywords: anti-Gypsyism, racism, sciences, Grellman, Gypsy Lore Society

Concetta Smedile - Structural Racism among Teachers in Italy

The Italian educational system is recognized as one of the most inclusive in the world, despite the data on the failure of Roma children's schooling. The transition from a system of segregated classrooms for Roma to a system of inclusion in classes does not, in itself, guarantee the absence of discriminatory treatment.

The main objective of the article is to disseminate effective ways to unmask and combat anti-Roma racism in contexts where racism, though maximally denied, harms young members of discriminated groups the most.

An interdisciplinary approach inspired by Essed's (1991) concept of everyday racism was adopted in order to analyze the historical-structural and individual empirical levels of racism. This approach makes it clear that the racism revealed in a teacher is never trivial, since their thoughts and actions continually activate the racial inequalities that historically exist in the system, and that prejudice and discrimination are one and the same. In this study, which combines critical race theory and social psychology, racial ideologies have a role in bringing out the hidden structure of racism. On the one hand, Goldberg's (2002) theorizations of naturalist and historicist racial traditions were followed, and on the other hand, Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) scale of blatant and subtle prejudice was applied in order to understand the racial device in the Italian state against the Roma and how it manifests itself in individuals.

Taking into consideration Italy's colonial past and the history of Roma oppression, racial attitudes were measured in a sample of 305 middle school teachers in 15 schools.

The empirical results show that in institutional contexts in which the open expression of racism is forbidden, and in the social group represented by teachers, in which respect for the norms of equality is more deeply rooted, the presence of subtle racism in the facade is statistically more widespread. However, this historicist conception based mainly on perceptions of cultural differences, and an ethnocentric point of view, oscillates with a naturalist dimension based on fear of the other, in which the Roma represent a threat. Teachers also bring forms of overt prejudice into the classroom, and there is a proportion of teachers with a high level of blatant racism in the sample. The coexistence of naturalism and historicism makes possible the normalization of everyday school practices, such as the 2009 project called "Soap and Water," which provided showers for Roma children before entering school. If racist practices under fascism were carried out in the colony under the "civilizing mission," nowadays they are perpetuated for the integration of Roma children, rejecting any accusations of racism.

Finally, the article suggests the type of training to be developed to reduce racism on the basis of the different profiles of prejudicial attitude detected among teachers and on the significant outcomes that the variable of contact between teachers and Roma pupils in the classroom reported on different forms of racism.

Natascha Hofmann - How to combat racism against Roma in the role of a researcher – The relevance of deconstructive discourses and methodological research design in Romani Studies

Scientific research has often contributed to racist patterns and reproduced antigypsyism in the last centuries and still does today. Reputedly knowledge that had been marked as „scientific consolidated“ and has been used to legitimate societal exclusion and persecution of Roma (e.g. Kaya/Rhein: 2021 or End/Herold/Robel: 2009). In the last years the relevant turn from hegemonial and subaltern discourses emerges through scientific studies and publications, though (e.g. Jonuz/Weiß:2020). This proposal takes the named developments up and discusses ways of how researchers could contribute to combat racism against Roma by focusing deconstructive research approaches (e.g.

Derrida 2004). Especially in Romani Studies, it is relevant to question and reflect how social differences and social orders are produced and reproduced, how and when those differentiating categories occur and become relevant in which function in societal relations.

On basis of a realised research study focussing educational biographies of Sinti*zze and Rom*nja with a reconstructive approach (2018-2021), those aspects are exemplarily worked out with an analyzing model (e.g. Riegel: 2016) on different levels and perspectives on the study: The research results are analysed as well as the methodological design and the role of the researcher are critically reflected. Whereas the research results reveal e.g. discriminatory experiences and individual strategies to cope with these experiences, the methodological design aswellas the reflecion on the role of researcher seem to be a significant key to combat racism against Roma in research processes.

Anna-Sophie Schönfelder - What is the position of Roma in ‘racial capitalism’?

The fact that European Roma are overrepresented in poor working conditions has recently been highlighted again by sociologists and human rights advocates (Durst et al. 2022; Vincze et al. 2019; Ladányi 2016; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2016). It is not only on the basis of this work that one can refute the claim that the confinement of many Roma into hazardous working and living conditions is due to chance, or even self-inflicted. But do theories of global capitalism also take the high precarity risk faced by Romani minorities into account and integrate it into their frameworks?

I would like to assess the theoretical consequences that arise once we problematise the still widespread notion of capitalism as the ‘great equaliser’. Research on labour sociology shows that the basic functioning of capitalism consists of differentiating and sorting populations along ethnic lines (Virdee 2014; Breman/van der Linden 2014). Can this diagnosis help to refine the theory of capitalism as a whole and thus also emphatically deny the beneficial nature of this economic system?

In my presentation, I will take up the concept of ‘racial capitalism’ and examine whether it can be related to the specific situation of Roma. Since the 1980s, economic historians and critical social thinkers have been discussing whether racism has a substantial share in the stratification of the labour market and in allocating labour power Authors such as Bhattacharyya 2018, Fraser/Jaeggi 2018, Robinson 1983, and Becker 1973 point out that fictions of embodied otherness continue to play out in an economic system that reduces people to opportunities for value extraction. The insights gained from the discussion about ‘racial capitalism’ support my concern in three ways: When investigating the ethnicization of the low-wage sector, the USA is no longer the dominant reference point; economic-geographical constellations besides historical colonialism are also taken into account; and finally, theses come into play that emphasize the exclusion of entire groups even from low-paid work, implying an existential neglect of relevant sections of the population. I seek to show how the paths of Roma into socio-economic marginalization differ from the paths taken by other precarious populations.

But, in the context of such considerations, how can scholars prevent that they, even with good intentions, ultimately depict Roma as passive victims again? To this end, I propose to shift the focus away from the

behaviour of those affected, towards the fact that social inequality, to the extent that it is needed in the European labour market, is reproduced in the education system as well as by political institutions tolerating business strategies to circumvent employment legislation. Anti-Roma racism in particular is often underestimated as a factor in the cheapening of labour, since the discriminating stereotypes that perpetuate the social devaluation of people identified as ‘Gypsies’ are so deeply entrenched in social norms. Critical scholarship can contribute to debunk these stereotypes by de-idealising the theory of political economy: It is not tenable to assume the formal equality of all market participants.

Camilla Salvatore - “Well, I am a Gypsy. It is not a problem to say that I am a Gypsy!” Discursive and Artistic Strategies against Antigypsism Elaborated by the Roma Inhabitants of Kotel, Bulgaria.

Antigypsism or Antitsiganism has been defined by Piasere (2015) as a « social, psychological, cultural and historical phenomenon that makes all those who are identified as Gypsies an object of prejudices, negatives stereotypes, discrimination and violence (direct and indirect). Antygypsism fights against Gypsies but for fighting against them it needs to having invented them before » (Piasere, 2015, p. 11, translation mine). As we can see, socially shared beliefs are a starting point in shaping the phenomenon and its functioning, but can these beliefs and stereotypes be re-signified (Butler, 2006) by the individuals concerned in order to elaborate a counter narrative and react to Antygypsism? In this paper we are going to illustrate how, on a local level, some of the Bulgarian Roma living in Kotel, a small town which is often presented as a “successful model for partnership and an example of the Roma integration in society” (Kotelnews, 08.04.2023), are elaborating strategies for overcoming Antigypsism. As a matter of fact, despite the fact that the town is presented as a “model for integration” (cit.), many of them are still living hostility and discrimination in their everyday interactions with the majority of the “ethnic” Bulgarians. We will see how through these strategies they are able to redefine their position in society and to “reinvent” themselves by showing their “Gypsiness” in an ongoing “performance” which is made mainly by the means of art and culture, education and language. As a matter of fact, some of the Roma in Kotel, are proud to say that they are “*chisti Tsigani*” (litt. “pure/clean” Gypsies) because of the similarities that their language, considered as “*chisto Tsiganski*” (litt. “pure/clean” Romani), has with the Bulgarian one. We will see how, in elaborating these discourses, the individuals have internalized some ideologies about the “purity” of language and of the nation that were elaborated in the past and are still circulating today. However, we will try to argue that it is not through the search for “purity” and for an “origin” that the most effective strategies are elaborated but rather by using, both in everyday interactions and in the artistic field, the tools that a “mixed” language and culture can provide. One example of that is how the Roma inhabitants of Kotel are performing “on stage” (during the “Festival of the carpets, ethnicities and traditions” which is organized every summer by the municipality) their “traditional way of life” but at the same time showing and reclaiming their historically grounded attachment to the territory where they live and to the other populations they interact with. Some of the tools used for doing that are music and poetry. We will thus rely on a corpus made of extract of videos and tape-recordings collected during my fieldwork (summer 2021 and spring/summer 2022) and also, with their concession, on poems and stories written (both in Romani and Bulgarian) by some of the inhabitants.

Stefania Cotei - Old Blouses, Old Houses: Folkloric Nationalism and Racism in Romanian Neoliberal Ideologies

This paper challenges the ideology of multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusivity in so far as it is mobilized by international organizations to enable neoliberal and nationalistic governmentalities in post socialist

Eastern Europe. It specifically looks at the knowledge produced in the context of UNESCO's admittance of the Romanian hand embroidered blouse, *ia cu altiță*, on its Intangible Cultural Heritage list. The author does this by symptomatically reading a pseudo-academic research project coordinated by Eugen Vaida, an influential architect who is internationally famed for his work restoring cultural heritage sites in Romania. Along with a team of Romanian scholars and scientists, government support and EU funding, Vaida claims that a traditional, material symbol of Romanian nationality and culture, the hand embroidered blouse, was preserved and "saved" throughout time by Romani women who (or so he claims) valued it for its aesthetics and national importance. The paper argues that Vaida's project, tragically named "Saving the Other's Culture," engages in a selective erasure of the historical oppression and exclusion Roma (and in particular Romani women) have had to endure, by validating the subaltern's experience only through their safekeeping of nationalistic elements of the dominant culture. The essay uses archival resources and engages in historical critique surrounding the legacy of nationalism in Romania and the presence of international organizations in the country post 1989. By looking at the transition from capitalism to socialism after World War II, and then back to capitalism after Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime fell in 1989, the paper historicizes the legacy of Romanian nationalism by questioning the way power is institutionalized and weaponized against the Roma throughout time. Through discourse analysis, the author makes conscious the unconscious intentions not only behind Vaida's project, but also behind the ideology of international standards such as those imposed by the UN, EU, or NATO. The paper problematizes the way heritage politics are applied in Romania, and the way they are rooted in the nationalist and racist ideology that is shaped by the context of Romania's aspirations to the West and modernity as a post socialist country. Through her critique of these conditions, the author not only addresses the often marginalized, provincialized and otherized Eastern European spaces in academia, but also brings to the fore the untold history of Romani people's oppression in Europe.

Dr. Marko Stenroos - The different forms of racism against Roma in Finland and the equivocal call-out

First, this study introduces data regarding discrimination against Roma in Finland. As a point of departure, this article derives from the data collected in the Finnish Roma Wellbeing Study (ROOSA), during 2017-2018. The ROOSA study consisted of structured interviews, self-administrated questionnaires, and clinical health checks. The total number of participants was 365 (61% females) and they participated in at least one part of the study. The ROOSA study indicates that close to 50% of the Finnish Roma face discrimination in some parts of life. Furthermore, the studies published by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (2019), the Ministry of the Environment (2018) and the Finnish National Agency for Education (2020) indicate struggles of equality. Ten years ago, a police project called Discipline1 to track, trace and register Roma persons living in the capital area was revealed. Now, ten years later, the police authorities provided a written response regarding Discipline1 due to the demands of the ombudsman for equality. The second part of this study examines the reactions of the Roma population to racism and discrimination and thus enters the theoretical basis of agency, victimhood and resilience. This article elaborates on the contradicting equivocal views of calling out and the embedded emotions of fear and/or empowerment.

Dr. Nora Tyeklar - Discursive exposures of exclusion through the figure of the traitor

In this paper, I consider the figure of the *hazaáruló* / traitor and offer a historical conceptualization of the term while contextualizing it within the emigration of Roma from

Hungary to Canada and their subsequent return from Canada. Through modifications to Canada's refugee determination system in late 2012, Hungary was designated a "safe country," suggesting, on an institutional and policy level, that Roma refugee claimants from Hungary were not plausible.

In other words, despite fleeing a "safe country," Roma from Hungary could still submit a refugee claim, but it had become all the more challenging to attain a positive decision. Under such circumstances, Roma refugee claimants who had migrated to Canada faced the very real possibility of having to return to Hungary. Often, if they were deported, they returned to hostile environments and to circumstances made more difficult through their migration.

I discuss the place of Roma in Hungarian society through the figure of the *hazaáruló* / traitor, a term often employed in political debates to delegitimize opponents, but also directed at Roma who had returned from Canada both by Roma and non-Roma. In Hungarian, the word *hazaáruló* translates as traitor. In tracing the concept historically, I take into account its legal definition and usage as codified in the Hungarian Criminal Code and contexts in which, for example, rulers operationalized calls of treason as a linguistic device for disarming a political opponent (Cornwall, 2015). Then, I describe a prominent contemporary example of the discursive usage of the term *hazaáruló* in the case of the Roma from the town of Zámoly who fled Hungary to seek asylum in Strasbourg, France. Several Hungarian intellectuals wrote an open letter to the Prime Minister of France thanking him for granting asylum to the Roma from Zámoly. The comments of one particular member of the Hungarian Parliament are a political maneuver to make illegitimate the act of solidarity by the Hungarian intellectuals with the Roma who received asylum in France. During my fieldwork, Roma families frequently recounted instances of being named a *hazaáruló* / traitor for having moved to Canada. Such usage of the term is paradoxical in the sense that it was being used as a slur against Roma, yet one must be a citizen to commit treason. So, according to the non-Roma majority, Roma only become "citizens" insofar as they have "betrayed" Hungary, but it is precisely their lack of protections as citizens that motivates their asylum claims in the first place. As such, I contend that the very act of Roma from Hungary seeking asylum were public exposures of the normalized relations of exclusion. The claims of refuge Roma submit in Canada or other countries are acts that ultimately expose the everyday inimical conditions Roma have to face and survive every day. Thus, Hungary risks being publicly reduced to a "sending" nation for refugees according to those non-Roma (and Roma) who encounter former refugee claimants returning to Hungary and at whom they direct the racializing "traitor" pejorative.

Dr. Aurore Lecomte - How can geography lessons help to reduce anti-Gypsy stereotypes? The example of Travellers in France.

What approaches to reduce anti-Gypsy stereotypes in schools? This is the question we propose to answer by presenting the results of a research in geography.

The production of the city and the status of Travellers in France is the result of a historical construction of otherness and a policy of control (About, 2020; Cossée, 2016; Filhol, 2013; Meints, 2008). We wish, with students, to question the contemporary logics that lead to consider that these populations are subject to spatial injustice and an absence of right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968; Spire, 2017). The term "right to the city" is understood as an absence of decision-making power and participation in the process of constructing space.

If the study of students' spatial representations has been the subject of scientific literature, (André, 1998; Audigier, 1994; Barthes et al., 2016): the way they seize issues of spatial justice can, be a point of support for this proposal. The research methodology leads us to consider the students' social representations (Moscovici, 2004) and the origin of knowledge.

We seek to measure the evolution of these representations through an experiential didactic situation (Leininger-Frézal, 2019). The research therefore involves two vocational high schools: one of them is located opposite a field designated for Travellers, which leads to an ambiguity: the students do not distinguish their "Traveller" neighbors among the inhabitants of the district; but they have representations about them; influenced by sources outside the school. For example, the caravan is a core of these representations. This is why, in this high school, the students were brought to meet the inhabitants of the « field », and then in class to map it taking into account the possibilities of justice in the space (Barthes et al., 2016; Fournand, 2003; Warming, 2022).

We will comment on the results of the experiments. The relationship with the Other affects the representations of space: thus, by mapping a space designated as "ideal", the students define the Other on the basis of a sedentary belonging, and the spaces represented on the paper are designed in support of this logic: individual housing, functional discourse on the city. By meeting the Other, they grasp the issues of justice that emerge from their observations.

The comparison with other courses aimed at reducing anti-Gypsy stereotypes can be discussed as an extension of this paper.

Rafael Buhigas Jiménez - "Anti-Gypsyism Does Not Exist" And Other Assessments. The Romani History By A Roma Historian To Be Evaluated At The Gadje Academy.

Based on a particular case, this contribution aims to reflect on the dichotomy "Roma representation vs. Roma self-representation in the Academy". This case is based on the experiences of the author, a Spanish Roma historian, in two evaluation processes during the early stages of his research career: the examining board responsible for assessing the degree's work and the examining board responsible for assessing the master's thesis. Two different papers related to the history of the Spanish Roma were defended in the two examining boards. In both evaluation processes before members from outside Roma Studies, they constructed part of their critique based on the stereotypical representation of the Roma. Moreover, they incurred in contradictory and misguided opinions as a product not only of the anti-Gypsyism attached to the very figure of the professor-citizen but also of the historiographical vacuum and the scarce roots of Romani Studies in Spain. The latter will also be a good excuse to critically characterise the Spanish academic scene "focused" on the study of Roma communities, mainly from the humanities and memorialisation projects. This will also allow us to explore how the self-representation of a Roma academic who focuses his work on the critique of these representations and the usual interactions that it generates in the general structures of the Academy.

For all these reasons, this contribution will be organised around several points. Firstly, as stated above, it will critically characterise the Spanish academic scene that works on the history of the Roma, but which is somewhat distanced from Romani Studies and much more from Critical Romani Studies. These projects, which are usually devoid of Roma researchers and are criticised by social movements, in turn relate more to old structures of Roma knowledge production and/or paternalistic awareness-raising campaigns.

Secondly, the two experiences of evaluation will be addressed by organising some of the court's comments into modules and analysing them in order to expose the root of their expression or directly the contradiction they constitute with each other. For example, the assessment that "anti-Gypsyism does not exist" or the contradiction between "wanting to see a history of the marginalised" and "having a duty not to make a history of victimisation" will be addressed.

Finally, a small space will be devoted to assessing self-representation from research nuclei centred on the community of belonging itself. This not only has a positive influence on the construction and dissemination of Roma situated thinking, but also —not so positively for the Roma scholar— on uncovering the tension between power-grabbing and representation. The latter is due to the fact that, on the one hand, there is a danger of pigeonholing by quotas and, on the other hand, animosities are created as a product of an academic anti-Gypsyism that takes on new faces.

In conclusion, this contribution is based on recent experiences that are increasingly present in the dialogue between young Roma researchers and whose initial analysis must necessarily start from this kind of "egohistory" or "embodied anthropology" in order to explore the interactions between representation-autorepresentation and also to prevent new forms of academic racism based on the tradition of denial and invisibilisation.

Adrian Furtuna - The Memory – History relationship in the case of Roma slavery from the Romanian Principalities

It is less known that Roma from the Romanian territory were slaves for more than four and a half centuries. Roma slavery lasted for five centuries, double the period of slavery of African Americans in United States of America, being the darkest chapter in Roma history. In fact, first documentary attestation of the Roma on the Romanian soil, in 1385, is as slaves. They belonged to the ruler, monasteries, and boyars (nobles). The abolition of Roma Slavery was a long process, that lasted between 1843-1856, being adopted an abolition law for each category of slaves in both countries. Roma Slavery is a quite new subject for the field of memory studies. We are currently in a process of building the public memory of Roma slavery in the Romanian Countries. By public memory I mean the way it is represented in school textbooks, monuments, street names, etc. My work aims to treat history as one of the social frameworks for the formation of this memory. I thus question the limits imposed on the memory of slavery by the historical framework, which is in turn influenced by the political ideology in which it is produced. Through the technique of content analysis, I determine the extent to which the topic of Roma slavery was included in the main Romanian history works from the beginning of the 20th century until now.

Demetrio Gómez Ávila - Collaboratives Approaches to the Study of Racism in Spain: A Conversation about Gitanos

Like any other social group, the Roma are internally diverse and inhabit a varied spectrum of socioeconomic and cultural realities. However, a highly significant number of them suffer from intense pressure to assimilate into the majority and face stigma and severe discrimination. Accounts of Roma groups facing a severe degree of rejection, isolation and marginalisation are ubiquitous in the Romani Studies (Bancroft 2005; Fox and Vermeersch 2010; Grill 2012; Guy 2003; Lancione, 2019; Nacu 212; San Román 1997; Stewart 2013). In Spain, the Spanish Roma -known as Gitanos or Calés- find themselves in a similar position vis-à-vis non-Roma majorities. Indeed, the Spanish Gitano's collective experience is shaped by their ostracised position in the ethnic and class hierarchies. Furthermore, as a social group, they embody notions of marginality and play a stellar role in the popular Spanish imaginary of what uncivilised, poor, and backward people look like.

In this paper, we -a scholar and an international Roma activist- analyse the structural and historical roots of racism in Spain and discuss cotemporary intimate association between Gitanos and antisocial behaviour in the Spanish popular consciousness. Additionally, we discuss the role of academia in reinforcing or

questioning (mis)representations of Roma groups and offers insights into how Roma activists and scholars interested in the field of Romani studies may work together in joint endeavours.

Integrating collaborative initiatives into research designs and approaches is a growing ethical concern in producing scientific knowledge about Roma groups. The paper builds up on collaborative methodologies and creative writing techniques to facilitate the exchange of knowledge between scholarship and activism. Featuring a dialogical form that mirrors our cooperative working methodology, the paper reads as a textual conversation between the authors. Voices are kept distinctive yet intertwined, which add authorial richness and depth to the analysis. We argue that co-production of knowledge is a key activity that enhance the agency of local actors to shape social perceptions and increase positive self-representation.

Keywords: Roma, Covid-19 pandemic, collaborative initiatives, activism, knowledge, ethics.

Gaetan Cognard - Gypsy, Roma, Traveller communities (GRT) in Great Britain and Ireland and the Gadjo gypsyorists, or the theft of Gypsy History

kon mangel te kerel tumendar roburen chi shocho phenela tumen o chachimos pa tumare perintonde, "He who wants to enslave you will never tell you the truth about your forefathers." (Ian Hancock).

This paper aims at studying a few myths that have been disseminated through the arts and since the Renaissance about the *Gypsy, Roma and Travellers*. It will focus mainly on the GRT of Great-Britain and Ireland. In the 16th and 17th centuries, painters and playwrights depicted them as thieves and sometimes as monsters or inferior beings, displaying a dubious morality. To the Romantics and 19th-century writers, they were either positive symbols of the resistance to newly born capitalism and rampant industrialization, or they were associated with the occult, being ascribed mysterious powers, which turned GRT women into witches of sorts. Today, authors and directors seem to relentlessly show them as proponents of violence and scams.

In all cases, they seem to have been shown as somewhat uncivilized primitive beings, very much attached to their own traditions: the "Orientals within", as H.M.G. Grellman (1756-1804) put it. It is indeed a kind of gypsyorism - an orientalism about the so-called "Gypsies" - which imposed a vision about them, now deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of the Gadjos. GRT subjects and characters of fiction have been created and re-created to finally inhabit in the Western imagination foreign territories yet situated inside Europe. Until today, they can be found in books and movies wandering other spaces, or « espaces-autres », as Michel Foucault put it speaking of his heterotopias (« hétérotopies »), on the margins of the dominant societies of the countries in which they settled centuries ago, as if constantly bringing along with them, in the fantasies of the Gadjos, their own frontiers which would isolate them from the rest of the population, or living in exotic islands inside the very west: there is a "glamour that enwraps the Gypsy race."

Behind the myths, it is also the societies which created them which reveal themselves, as in a mirror. From pastoral symphony to science-fiction, a "Gypsy" palimpsest appears, written and re-written over and over again, constituting a huge reserve of imagination, « une grande réserve d'imagination ». The aim of the research conducted being also to counterpoise the dominant discourse(s), interviews were conducted in the UK and Ireland, and so this paper would also suggest to investigate what members of the GRT communities themselves have to say about it all.

In the last decade there has been an alarming rise of xenophobic, racist, and authoritarian leaders and parties in the Balkans. Neo-fascist politicians specifically target Roma, labelling them criminal, foreign, and dangerous. Demographic panic causes alarm about Romani women's birth rates; Muslim Roma are presumed to be terrorists; and neo-Nazis call for the defense of "European White Christian normalcy" on marches. How are Romani musicians responding to violence, evictions, and discrimination? Investigating recent music media in Bulgaria, Serbia, Kosovo, and North Macedonia I ask: what forms have Romani projects taken, who produces them, why and how, what genres are employed, and what affect do they have? In short, what are the challenges in merging activism and Romani music?

Although Roma are revered for their musical talent, they are racialized and deemed outsiders to the nation/state. Offstage, they frequently face xenophobia and racism. Simultaneous Romani culture is exoticized, extracted and commodified through festivals, commercial music, and mainstream media, where non-Roma are often the producers. With this contestation of representation, activism merits a deeper treatment than merely "protest songs." Given the context of persecution, racialization, and exoticization, what are the possibilities and limits of musical activism? Activism may emerge in texts and images as well as declaring identity in non-stereotypical ways, managing your own career, or changing unequal structures of music production.

One current trend is NGO sponsorship of music projects. For example, in 2021 ERIAC helped produce 3 videos with the same text in Serbia, North Macedonia and Bulgaria as part of its Proud Roma project. These clips feature protests against police beatings plus pride in education but do so in three different ways. They were designed to air for International Roma Day to encourage Roma to declare their ethnicity in the upcoming census.

A second trend is the emergence of new genres such as rap. The Serbian/British NGO GRUBB (Gypsy Roma Urban Balkan Beats) initiated rap workshops and in 2020 female group Pretty Loud captured public attention. With striking clips depicting oppression of Romani women by both Romani men and non-Romani society, Pretty Loud strives for female empowerment through education and independence. This points to a third trend of exposing gender inequality in the family, in the community, and in music production. Pretty Loud, however, is sponsored, managed and branded by non-Roma, raising the issue of power imbalances.

I compare these NGO top-down projects to those that originate with Bulgarian celebrities (Azis and Roksana) and grassroots artists, (Neno Iliev in Bulgaria and Sutka Roma Rap in North Macedonia). Grassroots performers are challenged by lack of funding, sponsorship, and distribution. In contrast, celebrity projects are well funded but risk falling into stereotypic exotic and poverty tropes. In addition, the danger of displaying "ghetto porn" always looms large in Romani visual/aural art. This presentation is based on recent fieldwork in Serbia, North Macedonia, and Bulgaria, and on digital analysis, supported by 40 years of music and human rights scholarship. I also contextualize my examples within the literature on music and human rights.

Dr. Andra-Octavia Drăghiciu - Not another "gypsy-themed" movie? Traces of Antigypsyism in the period drama Peaky Blinders

Since the 15th century, European dominant culture has developed an iconography around the figure of the "gypsy" (Bogdal, 2011), which has proved durable and adaptable to modern technology. From the postcards of the early 20th century to the newest video games (Korff, 2021), this symbolic figure has remained a

steadfast construction of collective memory. It has served as a surface for projecting the fears and longings of the dominant culture, as an anti-norm to what was perceived to be bourgeois, i.e. white, society (Mladenova, 2022).

The fact that visual media plays a crucial part in the re(production) and perpetuation of antigypsyist stereotypes (Reuter, 2014) combined with streaming services having taken accessibility of visual images in the form of period drama (Woods, 2022) to a global level, the potential to spread antigypsyist prejudices through this medium has taken unprecedented dimensions.

Acclaimed for offering visibility to marginalized groups within early 20th century British society while at the same repudiated for employing antigypsyist stereotypes (Brittnacher, tbp 2023), this series was extremely popular and has reached millions of people worldwide.

And so has its image of the “gypsy”.

Based on the theoretical framework for the analysis of “gypsy-themed” films elaborated by Radmila Mladenova in her book *The “White” Mask and the “Gypsy” Mask in Film* (2022), this paper asks to what extent the series does (or does not) reproduce and perpetuate antigypsyist stereotypes.

Mladenova defines the “gypsy” construct as a “universally recognizable figure with an ethnic tag”, “color coded as non-white/black” (Mladenova, 2022). She stresses that, aside from referring to skin color in what is described as racializing “epidermal black”, there are three other dimensions of *blackness* to be considered: the “archetypal black”, implying lack of light, ergo darkness, the “religious black”, symbolizing the occult, the devil, and the “psychological black” which stands for the subconscious. In her view, the “gypsy mask” is a “conceptual shorthand that describes a symbolic position within society” and the attributes associated with this position, which, in film, manifest by way of certain artistic conventions (Mladenova, 2022). Building on her methodological approach, we ask how the “gypsy mask” is shaped in this particular case, where it stands vis-à-vis the “white mask” and to what extent the series reproduces “a centuries-old regime of seeing” (Mladenova, 2022).

In other words, the aim of the paper is to lay out the essence of the “gypsiness” Tommy Shelby refers to in the affirmation quoted above and the way is it expressed in this series, how it manifests through and within its characters, costumes and plot.

Krisztina Varga - The Hungarian Roma Cultural Emancipation Movement and the African American Cultural Emancipation Movement in the USA- Possible parallels

At what points can the Hungarian Roma cultural emancipation movement in Eastern and Central Europe be linked to the African American cultural emancipation movement in the USA? Is it possible to draw a parallel between two exhibitions that were spatially distant but very close in time and theme, in the sense that an oppressed minority expressed itself through culture in the exhibitions? In the USA, the concept of Black art was defined through the exhibition *Two Centuries of Black American Art* (1976), in Hungary the existence of Roma art was declared by *The National Exhibition of Self-taught Gypsy Artists* (1979).

In my paper I examine two minorities, which have been oppressed, silenced, neglected. From their neglected position, minorities defined themselves through culture and created their own counterculture to the mainstream. In comparing the early beginning of the two art scenes - curators, art organizers, artists, artworks, exhibitions, and cultural events - I find similar patterns and imprints, but what could be the reason for this? Can the application of these tactics in Eastern and Central Europe be seen as a "colonial legacy"

and interpreted as Spivak's talking-back strategy? (Kóczé - Trehan 2011) By highlighting parts of the comparison, it is possible to demonstrate how the notions of Black art and Roma art are defined by the network of museology, art history, postcolonial studies, critical whiteness studies and critical Romani studies.

As a "breakout" from systemic oppression, the minority is demanding a place and space for itself not only in art scene but also in national history, as well as adequate representation in museum spaces. The aim is to create their own narrative and assert their right to access their own culture. Can the National Museum of African American History and Culture in the USA fulfill its objectives, or can it be seen as a kind of symbolic reparation? Could such an institution be an example for the "belated" Central and Eastern European countries in terms of Roma museums? In my paper, I analyse these strong parallels between the Roma cultural emancipation movement in Hungary and the North American example.

Natali Tomenko - Mapping of Roma Cultural Heritage in Ukraine

In a scope of the research topic, previous lack of investigation done in area of Roma heritage creates space for establishing a frame for heritage making process which may contribute to the general European cultural canon¹. During my exploratory research of representations of the Roma Cultural Heritage in Ukraine, I have noticed that there is no clear understanding, in particular among Ukrainian society, what can be regarded as the Cultural Heritage of Roma communities in Ukraine. The process of defining is captured by the concept of heritagization because it shows that heritage can be everything, both tangible and intangible, authentic and modern. I understand the process of gathering opinions of community members of their own heritage as essential part of heritagization because it gives a prospective on how individual values can be a part of shared collective legacy. During investigation I found many proofs that hate speech and antigypsyist (racist) attitude towards the Roma minority is still present in Ukraine, manifested even in pogroms and murders against Roma people in the past few years.³ I take into consideration this factor while analyzing the Authorized Heritage Discourse in Ukraine. In line with antigypsyism I observe an aspect of commercialization as influencing factor on the perceptions of Roma Cultural Heritage in Ukraine. On my opinion, the heritage under commercial influence can be misinterpreted, misused and transform under mainstream demand, when the actors in power take profit over selective subjects of arts and culture. Some scholars argue that marketing may contribute to Intangible Cultural Heritage safeguarding, as traditional cuisine practices and elements of arts and crafts. I may agree with the assumption, but also consider essential to involve community members into management process, in order to prevent appearance of cultural appropriation.

During the research I apply the 'subaltern' approach to heritage which goes beyond dominant discourse and famous for community participation in heritage management and conservation activities. It is pertinent in relation to Indigenous people that I draw parallels to the Roma communities in Ukraine, whose voice was suppressed and silenced for generations. On my opinion, community engagement will make it possible to manage the meanings and values attached to heritage, which could prove crucial in the fight for political and cultural recognition.

When I use the term of community engagement, I am attaching the concept of cultural selfrepresentation, which refers to the ability of community members who have been invited to take part in the process of heritagization, to express their values in public space and to describe particular traditions, songs, poems, tangible objects, or physical spaces that are significant to them. Also, the cultural self-representation helps community members to have a stronger sense of belonging and allows feel more confident about their own heritage. With relation to Roma cultural self-representation, I place a strong emphasis on diversity both

within and between communities. I also make use of the concept of identity, which has been politicized and causes conflicts between the portrayal of a distinct Roma cultural identity

Liliana Ene - The Interwar Romanian Eugenics Movement and the Racist Influences on the Roma Minority (Romania) in Contemporary Times

The paper highlights aspects of the eugenics movement in the Romanian space in the interwar period and analyzes from a qualitative and discursive point of view articles that were published in a series of pseudo-scientific journals such as *Eugenics and Biopolitical Bulletin* and specialized magazines or interwar press, with explicit racist mentions against Roma. Also, the work tries to portray the most radical Romanian eugenicists of the interwar period, such as Iuliu Moldovan, Sabin Mănuilă, the Făcăoaru brothers (Iordache and Gheorghe Făcăoaru), Traian Herseni etc., but also to highlight articles with profound influences and racist considerations discovered through the documentary research of various archival funds within the National Institute of Public Health, the Library of the Romanian Academy, National Council for the Study of the Security Archives, etc.

Theoretically, the paper highlights the racist ideas promoted in various interwar Romanian intellectual fields and environments, which produced reverberations over time, whose racist influences on the Roma minority could be observed especially in the recent period of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: eugenics and biopolitics, interwar, Roma minority, scientific racism, Covid-19

Dr. Bogdan Chiriac - An Early Effort to Document Roma Deportations to Transnistria

This paper examines some of the earliest testimonies of Roma Holocaust survivors, published shortly after their return from the camps in Transnistria in the pages of the Romanian newspaper *România Liberă*. These testimonies were collected by Pasana Giosanu, a Communist writer and journalist, who conducted a series of field investigations in the impoverished district of Ferentari, home to one of the largest Roma communities in Bucharest. While doing fieldwork, she talked to three Roma residents willing to share their personal stories about the losses and sufferings they had endured in Transnistria. Large excerpts from said interviews were included in a front-page article entitled “The Gypsies”, published in the pages of the daily *România Liberă* in late October 1944.

The article paints a compelling story of the hard life of Roma survivors by weaving together a series of interconnected descriptions of the impoverished Ferentari district, with its desolating makeshift dwellings and dirt roads, social commentary about the failure of the local authorities to solve the infrastructure problems in this suburban area, and three first-hand testimonies about the recent deportations to Transnistria that added another layer to their suffering and misery. These stories were inserted in the article in the form of three interviews, recorded and steered by Pasana Giosanu in such a way as to articulate a coherent chronological narrative that stressed the sheer arbitrariness and brutality of the initial round-up operations, transportation, forced settlement in the villages and camps in Transnistria, cruel exploitation and mass-murder of Roma deportees.

Despite being a compelling piece of investigative reporting, this article had its limitations, as it was influenced by the journalistic conventions of the time that favored edited transcriptions of interviews instead of verbatim accounts, a strong editorial bias that favored oversimplifying monocausal explanations and the polarized political context dominated by the Communist press campaign against fascists and war criminals. Nevertheless, its importance lies in the pioneering effort to interview Roma survivors in order to document their sufferings and call public attention to their vulnerable situation. By attempting to expose the full range

of crimes and abuses of the Antonescu regime based on victims' testimonies, Pasana Giossanu was among the first to portray the Roma deportees as victims of state-sponsored persecution and to integrate their stories within the emerging narrative about the wartime genocide perpetrated by the Antonescu regime in Romania. In doing so, her article raised some important questions about the role of Roma deportees' testimonies in writing the history of the Holocaust from a victim-centered perspective.

Keywords:

Roma deportations, Transnistria, survivors' testimonies, Pasana Giossanu, *România Liberă*.

Dr. Danijel Vojak - Forgotten heroes of the resistance, or from the history of Roma participation in the anti-fascist resistance movement on the territory of Croatia (Yugoslavia) during the World War II

The history of Roma in the countries of the former Yugoslavia—referring to the area of today's countries of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro and North Macedonia—is still an insufficiently researched area. One of the under-researched aspects of the history of Roma suffering in the World War II certainly refers to their participation in the anti-fascist resistance movement of the partisan units, which was led by Josip Broz Tito. Within this anti-fascist resistance movement on the territory of the occupied Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which some scholars consider to be one of the most important movements of resistance to the Axis Powers in Europe, Roma joined and actively participated during the War. Some Roma joined partisan units after escaping from deportations to camps, or became partisan fighters after escaping from numerous camps where they were detained, tortured and many members of their family have been killed. Some Roma particularly stood out for their courage in the fight against the Nazi occupation authorities and their allied regimes in certain countries. This paper analyzes the question of how the post-war authorities in socialist Yugoslavia treated the participation of Roma in the Croatian (Yugoslav) anti-fascist resistance movement, and at the same time answers the question why this aspect of Roma history was insufficiently known to the general public and insufficiently recognized by the Croatian and Yugoslav political authorities. In particular, this paper analyzes the development of the Roma political movement in Yugoslavia led by Slobodan Berberski and other Roma intellectuals, in the political context of Roma advocating for wider social and political recognition of the participation of Roma in the partisan movement in Yugoslavia. In the 1970s, this very aspect had been one of the key arguments for the systematic regulation of the position of the Roma as a national minority in Yugoslavia.

Key words: Roma, Croatia, Yugoslavia, World War II, Resistance, Roma movement

Diana Aburas - Cultural Shock: Trauma, Dissonance, and Resilience of Roma in Higher Education

This paper is based on research I am conducting that explores whether some Roma academics face cultural shock or trauma and or identity crisis and challenge in higher education and how this together with resilience, coping mechanisms and institutional support via affirmative action might shape identity.

Recently, a growing phenomenon has emerged, minorities worldwide are voicing their long-silenced narratives. This research, with its qualitative approach and efforts to collect testimony from Roma, seeks to give voice to an under-researched minority who is highly marginalized in higher education as with other aspects of society.

Roma communities form Europe's largest ethnic minority, estimated to be 12 million. However, they are also one of the most marginalized groups and face similar challenges in all countries, including, racism,

poverty, precarious housing, underemployment, and low educational attainment, less than one per cent graduate from a higher education institute. This suggests there are approximately 10.000 Roma students in higher education in Europe.

Although a strong international commitment to foster the inclusion of Roma communities has been observed from 2005 onwards with initiatives like the Decade for Roma Inclusion and or the EU Framework for Roma Inclusion, the overall situation has not significantly changed. Regarding education, some important achievements have been reached, mainly in terms of literacy rates. Yet, Roma students still lag behind and are often the most excluded group.

This paper discusses whether there is “Anti-gypsyism” in academia, Anti-gypsyism is a deeply rooted, historically stable and multi-dimensional specific type of racism towards Roma, Sinti, Travellers and those who are labelled as “Gypsies”. If there is racism in higher education or perceptions of it, what coping strategies do the Roma employ, do some assimilate or adapt identity do some become more rigid in identity formation (reactive ethnicity). What coping mechanisms do Roma devise alongside affirmative action to manage their situation?

This paper seeks to bring up the issue of equal access to education in the public discourse. The key innovation in the paper is to examine the representation of Roma not only as consumers of education academically, but also as part of decision-making system of the higher education institutes and or role as public intellectuals and its role in identity formation.

In responding to marginalization and developing coping mechanisms **Resilience** is an important component. The American Psychological Association defines resilience as the process and outcome of successfully adapting to difficult or challenging life experiences, especially through mental, emotional, and behavioral flexibility and adjustment to external and internal demands.

The paper will attempt to answer questions such as: Have Roma students developed bridging or bonding forms of social capital as coping mechanisms? How has resilience assisted? Do Roma in higher education feel liminal? How does being in a higher education environment and or as beneficiaries of affirmative measures impact on identity performance? The paper will explore the research methodology for my doctoral research and present some tentative answers to the questions posed.

Dr. Laura Soréna Tittel - Statehood and Statelessness as Topics of Early International Police Cooperation

The International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC), the predecessor organization of Inter-pol, started the first international central collection of data on “gypsies” in Vienna in the 1930s (cf. Selling 2017). Building on the work that has already been done on the national policing context and antigypsyism (cf. Lucassen 1996; Willems 1997) and on general studies about in-ternational police cooperation (cf. Jäger 2006), I analyze the early political and institutional dimensions of antigypsyism within the European policing context. Therefore, I look at legisla-tive texts and the documented work of the criminal police and the ICPC in the beginning of the 20th century. While interpretations of institutional antigypsyism on the national level have shown that the image of the “gypsy” often functioned as a counter-image in the nation building processes of the 19th century (cf. Patrut 2014), similar investigations in the function at the international level are still missing.

This paper addresses the question, how international police cooperation was able to develop in times of growing nationalism. It suggests that the image of the “gypsies” was useful or even needed as a common enemy for a different purpose than nationalism alone: The creation of a counter-image served as general threat against divergent behavior for the members of majority society and was used to normalize a bourgeois

culture and regulate nomadism/sedentariness. Moreover, it functioned as a glue for international police cooperation and led to a standardization of policing techniques on the national level – pushing antigypsyist

Tobias Neuburger - Institutional Antigypsyism in Municipal Practice Empirical Findings, Conceptual and Methodological Considerations

This paper deals with the phenomenon of institutional antigypsyism, which is based on the concept of institutional racism. It draws a line from the 19th century to the 2000s and shows, using the example of the legal institutions of welfare and freedom of movement, how legal instruments, though being neutral, can become a gateway for the exclusion of Roma. Antigypsyism refers to a centuries-old tradition¹ and accompanies the history of modernity like a secret shadow. From the very beginning the figure of the ‘Gypsy’² — with leitmotifs like restless wandering, unproductive idleness or criminal deviousness — served as a projection.

This figure represented “from the beginning the flip side of the self-creation of the European cultural subject.”³ Antigypsyism, however, does not only consist of such patterns of thought, but it is a “scheme deeply ingrained in social life” that also has its effect “on the political-legal level” by “pushing towards the exclusion of the Sinti and Roma from the community of citizens and citizens of the state.”⁴

Dr. Markus End - Expert Knowledge in Policing An Element of an Institutional Antigypsyism

The presentation is situated at the triangle of academic discussions regarding police racism, institutional racism and antigypsyism. Recent academic discussions of police racism focus mainly on two topics: They either study right wing or otherwise racist police personnel – oftentimes researched via ethnographic approaches (Fassin 2013; Howe u. a. 2022) – or discuss police racism as a result of larger forms of social domination, such as capitalism, neoliberalism and colonialism (see for example Vitale 2017; Vanessa Eileen Thompson 2020).

Equally, discussions regarding institutional racism in general either focus on structures of the institutions itself (Gomolla und Radtke 2009) or on the „collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin“. (Macpherson, quoted by Baroness Casey of Blackstock 2023, 331–32).

Based on my own explorative research regarding antigypsyist police practices (End 2019), I will offer a conceptual reflection of those debates – with a focus on Germany – and argue that they miss important elements of contemporary institutional antigypsyism. These include racialized expert knowledge and its materialised forms – i.e. databases, terminology, special police units, and criminological expertise – that are situated on an analytical level in between individual police officer and the institution of the police as such. Including these elements will thus help to better understand and analyse a variety of interwoven yet distinguishable forms of institutional antigypsyism in German policing.

Magdalena Freckmann - “Social Benefit Abuse” and the “New Mobile Precariat”: On the Role of Antigypsyism in the German Migration and Labour Regime

In the course of the integration process of the European Union, which intensified from the 1990s onwards, a series of social rights were generated for EU citizens that go beyond freedom of employment and freedom of establishment and, for example, also grant non-employed persons entitlement to welfare state benefits to a certain extent. This development has been linked to the hope of the emergence of a transnational European citizenship (Buckel 2013). This contrasts with a heated debate, especially in Germany, on the negative

consequences of the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU, both for the labour market and for the welfare state system. This debate started at the municipal level, where immigration from the new EU member states was problematised under the heading of "poverty migration" and with recourse to antigypsyist stereotypes. The emergence of so-called "problem houses" and "day labour markets" as well as the (alleged) danger of an "organised abuse of social benefits" were discussed. In response, municipalities developed securitizing regulatory policies and social policy concepts aimed at "integration", while at the federal level legislative changes were enacted that considerably restricted the possibilities for EU citizens to receive social benefits. Overall, this development can be characterised as a restrictive approach to EU migration, for which antigypsyist patterns of interpretation were the guiding principle (Neuburger/Hinrichs 2021; Künkel 2018; Riedner 2019). At the same time, internal EU migrants, albeit under very precarious conditions, are firmly integrated into certain sectors of the German labour market, for example as seasonal workers or posted workers, and contribute significantly to high profits. Selective border openings for seasonal workers during the corona pandemic from spring 2020 onwards show that the German economy is dependent on intra-European labour migration, especially into the lower segments of the labour market (Birke 2022). Drawing on Étienne Balibar's concept of the "national-social state" (Balibar 1990), I will argue that the exclusion of "poverty migrants", which is inextricably linked to antigypsyist dispositifs, contributes to the stabilisation of a racist segmentation of the labour market and at the same time functions as a kind of "crisis management ideology" in times of eroding social rights due to a neoliberal restructuring. In this way, I would like to contribute to a better theoretical understanding of the institutional and structural dimensions of antigypsyism and its interactions with class relations.

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