ROMA LABELLING: POLICY AND ACADEMIA

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For centuries in different countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe groups of people have lived who are all called by their surrounding population with different appellations, which is usually translated into English as "Gypsies". In the last quarter of a century, instead of these names, a new common designation has been established in the region's public discourse, based on their self-appellation "Roma". The processes of labelling and imposition of the new name on these communities did not stop in this region, and the label "Roma" is increasingly spreading in the remaining parts of Europe and even beyond. This process of imposing "from above" of a "politically correct" labelling, however, has led to, for some perhaps unexpectedly, to others predictably, an impact on the field. Some local communities labelled today "Roma" started to demonstrate publicly their reluctance to comply with the designation imposed on them from the "outside".

The proposed article will reveal the historical sources of labelling of these communities and main dimensions of these contradictory processes. More generally the article will pose the question on the necessity for change in the relationship between academia on the one hand and the political ideology on the other. In other words, the question is about the main task and responsibility of academia – is it about examining the reality and bringing new knowledge, or presenting the reality according pre-defined norms?

Key words: Roma, Gypsy, Labelling, Policy, Academia

INTRODUCTION

For centuries in different countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe groups of people have lived who are all called by their surrounding population with different

appellations, based in most cases on the Byzantine"Αθιγγανοι/Atsinganoi". Respective local designations in different languages were formerly automatically translated into English as "Gypsies". In the last quarter of a century, instead of these names, a new common designation has been established in the region's public discourse, namely their self-appellation "Roma", which is considered to be politically correct. The processes of labelling and imposition of the new name on these communities did not stop in this region, and the label "Roma" is increasingly spreading in the remaining parts of Europe and even beyond.In many cases, however, this labelling does not take into account the self-identifications and the respective self-appellations of the individual communities in question. The process of labelling impacts more or less strongly the labelled communities themselves and leads to reactions and transformation that are numerous and varied across time and space and are dependent on various factors and circumstances (cf e.g. Podolinská, 2017: 146–180).

The Roma labelling processes provoke numerous research questions related to the transformation of the communities themselves caused by such "outside" interventions from the point of view of their historical development and of current appearances. May be one of the most important questions among them is connected to Roma activism in the past and even more today, in terms of individual national states as well as, and to a much higher degree with its transnational (most often European) dimensions. All these issues deserve a separate and comprehensive study. In this text, we will confine ourselves only to examining these processes in a historical plain and in two main discourses – the policy and the academic ones – which are to some extent (but not entirely) interconnected, and more specifically we will be focusing on the relationship and collision between both discourses.

Within this approach, the topic of Roma activism remains largely out of the study because in practice it is instrumentalised and realized mainly within these two main discourses. Today, in the political discourse, this realization takes place both through the direct participation of Roma in political life and (which is much more frequent and more effective) through the lobbying and advocacy of Roma activists in front of national and international institutions and donor organizations. In the academic discourse, this occurs both through the direct participation of Roma scholars and (which happens much more often) through non-Roma scholars who, in their quest for civil engagement, often subordinate the academic values in their research into the struggle in protecting the "Roma cause" (in the way each of them understands it).

It is clear from the beginning that the chosen approach cannot exhaust (even less to solve) the wide range of issues set out in this text but we still hope that it will be at least some basis from which the research will continue to develop in the future.

The specific reason for writing this article was from our side our recent archival research on the topic Roma Civic Emancipation between the Two World Wars, which reveals numerous previously unknown or underestimated materials in regards of the labelling of researched communities. From the other side, the reason was the repeatedly reoccurring discussions at the last few annual meetings and conferences of the Gypsy Lore Society about the use of the designations "Roma" or "Gypsies", and the aim of the article is to contribute to future discussion by outlining the basic academic frames and dimensions of the issue.

1. THE POLICY DISCOURSE

1.1. Until 1989–1990

Since the Middle Ages Roma communities have lived in the region of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe, which, as said above have been designated with different names in the languages of the majority society in the region, which are usually translated into English (todays' language of global academia) with the noun "Gypsies". Over time, and especially after World War I, when the old empires collapsed and new ethnic-nation states emerged in the region, some of these names turned into "official terms" and became political denominations of the Roma communities in their respective countries. Such denominations are "Αθιγγανοι/Atsinganoi" (Byzantine Empire, Greece), "Kıbtı" and "Çingene" (Ottoman Empire, Turkey), "Цигани/Tsigani" (Serbia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia), "Cigani" (Yugoslavia), "Ţigani" (Romania), "Zigeuner" (Austro-Hungarian Empire, Austria), "Cigányok" (Hungary), "Cikáni" and "Cigáni" (Czechoslovakia), "Cyganie" (Poland), "Цыгане/Tsygane" (Russian Empire, USSR), "Čigonai" (Lithuania), "Čigāni" (Latvia), "Mustalased" (Estonia), etc.

With the onset and development of the Roma emancipation movement, the issue of changing the public, official name of their communities came to the agenda. Already the very first historical evidence of the beginning of this movement, in the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, demonstrates a collision between the public labelling of the community by the macro-society and the wishes for own, emic and decent denomination (which is not always the same as the community respective endonym) of community representatives. An article published in 1867 in the Bulgarian newspaper "Macedonia", issued in Istanbul, entitled "Letter to the Editor" was written in response to the article by Editor-in-Chief Petko R. Slaveikov entitled "Циганите/Tsiganite" [The Gypsies] (Slaveikov, 1866: 2–3). The "Letter to the Editor" is signed by "Един егюптянин/Edin egiuptianin" [One Egyptian] (Edin egiuptianin, 1867: 3). At that time, in a Bulgarian-language environment, Roma were named both "цигани/Tsigani" [Gypsies] and "гюпци/Giuptsi, агюпти/Agiupti, etc" [Egyptians] in different dialectal forms (cf the designations "Γύφτοι/Giphti" in Greek-language environment and "Jevg" in the Albanian-environment). For the author of the article "Letter to the Editor", Ilia Naumchev of Prilep (present-day Republic of Macedonia), the preferred name for his community is "египтяни/Egiptiani" [Egyptians] because his whole thesis about the glorious history of his community is based on its origins from Ancient Egypt from where they brought the civilization to Ancient Greece (Marushiakova, Popov, 2017a: 34–35).

Another variant of opposing the label "цигани/Tsigani" [Gypsies] appears in the independent Bulgaria in the early 20th century. In 1901, the majority of Roma (Muslims and Nomads) were deprived of electoral rights, and in response a congress was convened in Sofia, which the press calls "цигански/tsiganski" [Gypsy], but the organizers themselves preferred the adjective "коптски/koptski", i.e. Coptic (Marushiakova, Popov, 2017a: 40–41). In this case, the community's preferred name is the same which was used for their designation by the administration of the Ottoman Empire, namely the "Kıbtı" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2001: 19), and the rationale behind is again the supposed Egyptian origin of the community.

The same rationale is embodied in the *Statute of the Egyptian Nation in the Town of Vidin* from 1910 (n.a., 1910), which is a statute of an organisation that was, in all likelihood, the first legally registered Roma civic organisation in the world

(Marushiakova, Popov, 2015a: 191–195). This Statute describes in detail the organisation's public symbols, which are visible also on the stamp of the organisation. It is a circular stamp with the inscription "Coptic town hall in city of Vidin". The stamp depicts St George on horseback with a spear in his hand, point stuck in a crocodile, and behind him a king's daughter. As pointed out in the statute, the picture on the stamp illustrates "a girl who was doomed to be sacrificed to an animal, deified in Egypt, and who was rescued by St George in the same way as the people were saved from paganism" (n.a., 1910: 11–12).

In the period between the two world wars, the first attempts to change the official names of the community with its endonym ("Roma") appeared too. From a chronological point of view, the first proposal for the official use of the name "Roma" was made in the USSR, by a non-Rom, namely by D. S. Savvov, who was employed at The People's Commissariat for Education (known under abbreviation "Наркомпрос/ Narkompros"). In an article published in the Romani language journal "Романи зоря/Romani zoria" [Romani daybreak] in 1930, he wrote:

Тумэндэ исы пэскиро кхарибэ – "Ром", история ракирла со рома выгынэ Индиятыр. Авэлас бы мишто тэкхарэспэ "Индо-Ром", а тэкнахарэнпэ "цыган"/ Tumende isy peskiro kkharibe – "Rom", istoriia rakirla so roma vygyne Indiiatyr. Avelas by mishto tekkharespe "Indo-Rom", a teknakharenpe "tsygan" (Savvov, 1930: 9).
[You have your own name – "Rom", the history tells that Roma come from India. It would be good to call yourselves "Indo-Rom", but you call yourself "tsigan".]

This proposal, however, finds little resonance among the activists of the "Всероссийский союз цыган/ Vserossiiskii soiuz tsygan" [*All Russian Union of Gypsies*] which was founded in 1925 (initially in 1924, as "Союз цыган живущих в Москве и Московской губернии/ Soiuz tsygan zhivushchikh v Moskve i Moskovskoi gubernii" [Union of Gypsies living in the city of Moscow and the Moscow Gubernia]). They do not perceive the public denomination "цыгане/Tsygane" as insulting (as insulting is perceived the term "Фараоны/Faraony" – from Pharaoh), which is clearly seen from the article by the President of the Union, Andrey Taranov, "Дэшу-триту Октябрьско бэрш/ Deshu-tritu Oktiabr'sko bersh" [The Thirteenth Anniversary of October Revolution], which states:

Тагарискири Россия … узбекэн кхардэ "сарты", евреен "жиды", украинцен "хохлы", ромэн – "фараоны" и адякэ дурыдыр"/Tagariskiri Rossiia ... uzbeken kkharde "sarty", evreen "zhidy", ukraintsen "khokhly", romen – "faraony" i adiake durydyr. (Taranov, 1930: 1)
[The Imperial Russia... called the Uzbeks "Sarty", the Jews "Zhidy", the Ukrainians "Khokhly", the Gypsies – "Pharaohs"[1] and so on.]

The only reverberation to the proposal for a new public community name ("Indo-Rom") reappears in the 1930s, when at the time of funding the Gypsy Theater Romen possible variants of its title were discussed. Among the proposals one can find also a version connected with term Indo-Rom, such as Indo-Romani Theatre or Indo-Romskiy or Indo Romenskiy theatre (Bessonov, 2013: 454). The term was also included in the sentence

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1   All designations listed are pejorative names of the individual communities.

in which the founders of the theatre declared their "full readiness to participate in the merciless cleaning of Indo-Romen art" from the so-called "цыганщина/tsyganshchina", which was considered to be degenerated by bourgeoisie kind of Roma art (O'Keeffe, 2013: 217).

An interesting variant of the reluctance to use the public name "Gypsies" (цыгане/Tsygane) during this period was expressed by the Tatar-speaking community Demirdzhi in Crimea:

> In the Gypsy suburb ["цыганская слободка/tsyganskaia slobodka"] – is a holiday. Residents of this suburb received a room for establishing a *red corner* [красный уголок/krasnyi ugolok][2]... Quickly the inhabitants of the Gypsy suburb, the "demerdzhi" (blacksmiths), as they call themselves, became attached to their clean, bright corner ... Letters begin to arrive: "Why it is called Gypsy ["цыганский/tsyganskii"]? Are we not "Demerdzhi"? Gypsies is a nickname imposed on us during our wandering life, during our lawlessness ... Gypsy suburb residents gathered in the evening on January 24 in their red corner, to discuss how to call it. They discussed long, and finally decided: we will ask the city council to give it the name "a demerdzhi corner" (V. D., 1928: 3).

Ultimately, a compromise solution was reached, and the authorities affirmed the name "The Gypsy red corner 'the Demerdzhi'" (Useinov, 1928: 3).

In fact, there is a typical example of processes well-known also today for communities; Roma by origin, who have lost their Romani language and where the processes of adapting to the so-called "preferred ethnic identity" are flowing (public declaration or even experience of another, non-Roma ethnic identity) that may lead to the construction of a new ethnic entity, such as e.g. Balkan Egyptians (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016b: 17–18). As for Demirdzhi in Crimea, their descendants nowadays, along with other similar communities (former Gypsies), under the common name "Dayfa"/"Tayfa", are nowadays an integral (albeit quite detached) part of the contemporary Crimean-Tatar nation (Marushiakova, Popov, 2004a: 150–157).

It should not be a surprise that it was in the early USSR that for the first time the issue of replacing the public name of the community with its ethnonym was raised. Similarly, it should not be a surprise that this was done by a non-Rom (there are other such cases in Roma history when innovative ideas are offered for the first time by non-Roma). For the first time in the early USSR, other concepts also emerged, which are particularly relevant today to modern Roma activism. Such is the case with the concept of anti-gypsyism as a state policy of structural discrimination that has defined the whole history of the Gypsies. For the first time this term was invented by Alexander German in 1928, and as a complete concept was developed by Alexander German and Grigory Lebedev in an article in the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper in 1929 (Holler, 2014: 84–88), and by Andrey Taranov, the former chairman of the All-Russian Union of Gypsies, who in 1931 placed as a particularly important task "the war against anti-Gypsyism" (Taranov, 1930: 1–3). It was also in the early USSR, when the issue was raised about specific problems of the Roma women and the need to achieve full female

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2 Красный уголок/krasnyi ugolok – literally "red corner", originally used for designation of a small worship place in Orthodox homes; in Soviet times this was designation of space, most often special room used for cultural and propaganda activities.

equality, both in society and in the community, where their position was defined as "slave" (Grakhovskii, 1926: 2). In this respect, it should be noted that in the documents of the *All Russian Union of Gypsies*, one of the goals of the Union was the need to release women "from the yoke of family and man's supremacy" (GARF, f. 1235, op. 1, d. 27, l. 94). Similarly, in Romani language journal "Нево Дром/Nevo Drom" the title of the programme article is "Джяла нэви романи джювли/ Dzhiala nevi romani dzhiuvli" [The new Romani woman is coming] (Dudarova, 1931: 23–24).

The first real debate among Roma activists about the public name of the community however, arose in Romania in the 1930s. It was connected with the establishment of their community organisations on a national level. The General Association of Gypsies in Romania [*Asociaţia Generală a ţiganilor din România*] headed by Archimandrite Calinic (Ion Popp-Şerboianu), was created in the spring of 1933 in Bucharest. For the first time, the issue of the name of the community was raised in the appeal for establishing the Association "Către toţi ţiganii din România" [To All Gypsies in Romania], in which, although the address is "Fraţi ţigani" [Gypsy Brothers], we found also a clarification "our Roma kin-folk or as we are called Gypsy" (Natasă, Varga, 2001: 96).

On the 8th of October 1933 in Bucharest another organization was created, namely the General Union of Roma in Romania [*Uniunii Generale a Romilor din România*]. The Executive President of new organisation was Gheorghe A. Lăzărescu-Lăzurică, proclaiming himself as *Voivode of the Roma in Romania*, and the Honorary President was Grigoraş Dinicu, a well-known musician (Achim, 2004: 154–155). Already in the Constitutive Act of Statute and Regulations of this Union it is noted that the organization will be actively promoting that "our fellow citizens do not to call us 'ţigani', but 'romi' – our real name, meaning 'human', who loves freedom" (Natasă, Varga, 2001: 118) The rejection of the name "ţigani" [Gypsies], loaded with negative connotations, and replacing it with "Roma" became an important aspect of the activities of the General Union of Roma. Soon after accepting the Constitutive Act of Statute and Regulations a public campaign in the country to promote this idea commenced. At meetings of the activists of the Union they explained: "The transition from Gypsies to Roma is through organization. If we organize ourselves, we will no longer be called Gypsies. The term Roma comes from the 'liberty' and means 'to be good and honest'. The word ţigan [Gypsies] comes from Greek and means 'untouchable'. People unjustly call Roma Gypsies. People called Gypsies never existed anywhere." (Klímová-Alexander, 2005: 202).

In the autumn of 1934, Gheorghe A. Lăzărescu-Lăzurică was ousted from the leadership of the Union by Vice-President Gheorghe Niculescu, the latter in November of the same year secured state recognition of the organisation as a legal entity. The General Association of the Gypsies in Romania, once again led by Archimandrite Calinic (Ion Pop-Şerboianu) and Gheorghe A. Lăzărescu-Lăzurică, also managed to obtain legal recognition in 1935 (Achim, 2004: 155–156). In this way both names became legitimized ("Roma" and "Gypsies" as well), but the official term in state and local administration documentations as well as in the public domain as a whole remains "Gypsies" ["Ţigani"]. A certain breakthrough in this direction in the 1930s has only been found in some media (e.g. in the popular magazine "Realitatea Ilustrată"), where both names ("Ţigani" and "Rom") are used equally and with the same meaning (although the latter is used more rarely).

The same dual situation with the names "Roma" and "Gypsies" is repeated in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. On 19th November 1968, the Ministry of the Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic registered the Union of Gypsies –

Roma (*Zväz Cigánov – Rómov*) headed by Anton Facuna in Slovakia, and on May 30, 1969 the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic registered the Union of Gypsies – Roma (*Svaz Cikánů-Romů*) headed by Miroslav Holomek (Jurová, 1993; Davidová, 1995; Lhotka, 2000; Pavelčiková, 2004; Donert, 2017). Although the name 'Roma' (respectively "Rómovia" and "Romové" in Slovak and Czech) has been de facto made official through these legal registrations, solely the term "Gypsies" (respectively "Cikáni" and "Cigáni" in Czech and Slovak) remain in the mainstream public use.This public half-recognition of the name "Roma" continued until 1973, when both Unions were dissolved, and after then the only official public name remained "Gypsies" (in fact the term in use was "Citizens of Gypsy origin").

The problem with the official name of Roma appeared in the late 1960s also in Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At that time the Federation had a complex state legislation and hierarchic system, dividing the communities into three different categories – ethnic group, nationality, nation. In 1969 an article with an impressive title *Nismo cigani već nacija* [We are not Gypsies, but now a Nation] appeared in the *Večernje Novosti* [Evening News] newsletter in Belgrade, based on an interview with a Rom, Slobodan Berberski (with partisan nickname Lala), a Communist functionary of long standing, a Second World War resistance fighter as Political Commissar of a "чета/četa" [battalion] in the composition of the First Partisan Brigade of Šumadija (Stanković, 1983: 215). The article announced that Yugoslav Roma would create their own organization, which had the main aim to assist Roma to achieve the legal status of a "nation" instead of status "ethnic group", as it was at that time, or to say it with the words of Berberski himself: "my people want that what others have received – the right to be a nation" (Kesser, 1969: 3).

On 20th of April 1969 in Belgrade the Roma Association [*Društvo Rom*] was established (Acković, 2001: 29) and soon after the process of building up branches in the various republics began. In separate towns creation of other Roma associations started (cultural, sports, etc.). In the 1970s over 60 Roma organizations existed and their number was constantly on the increase. This process was not developing smoothly, and at the outset there were controversies within the community itself whether it is necessary to change its legal status at all and the official name, as it is visible e.g. from the statement: "We, the Gypsies [Cigani], are part of this society, so we do not need a separate nation" (Ubavić, Kesser, 1969: 3), or from the article with the expressive title "What kind of 'nation' Berberski wants" (Jovanović, 1969: 3). Despite this resistance, a Founding Assembly was held in Belgrade on June 1, 1969, with 110 delegates, who adopted the programme documents of the Roma Association (Programme and Statutes) and its leadership was elected (Acković, 2001: 29). A special brochure issued on this occasion begins with a letter to the Yugoslav Party and State Chief, Josip Broz Tito, where it is written: "...We assure you, Comrade Tito, that our action is a profoundly progressive, deeply humane, natural expression of self-managing socialism ..." (n.a., 1969: 14).

At the state level, there was also a debate about the need to change the status of the Roma, as evidenced, for example, from the letter of the Slovenian party functionary Aleš Beber to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who proposes that Roma be granted the status of "nationality" and from the subsequent public debates (Acković, 2001: 117–119). The official legitimatization of the designation Roma ("Romi" in the then existing Serbo-Croatian language) appeared for the first time in the Census of the Population in 1991, when the term "nation" is used for all ethnic

communities (Acković, 1992: 11–23). In a sinister irony of fate, this happens just before the start of the breakup of Yugoslavia and there was no chance anymore to positively influence the Roma position in the society. In the subsequent wars and ethnic cleansing, many Roma were victims, especially in Kosovo after NATO aggression in 1999, and many of them still hold the vague IDP (internally displaced person) status in Serbia or are refugees in Western Europe (mainly in Germany) under a constant threat of being deported to Kosovo.

In the 1970s, the issue of the "Roma" designation arose already on the international level which was in direct connection with the First World Romani Congress in London in 1971. One can read that at this congress the International Romani Union (IRU) was established, which accepted national attributes such as usage of the common name "Roma" for all "Gypsies" around the world, the Roma flag and the Roma anthem. Even though the congress reports, which were published immediately after the Congress (Kenrick, 1971; Puxon, 1971), do not confirm completely these sacred mantras of contemporary Roma national ideology, they are uncritically reiterated not only in journalistic articles and different kinds of policy and "expert" reports, but also in numerous academic studies, published in many different languages (listing all these publications would exceed the volume of this article).

The Congress in London (more exactly in Orpington near London) was organised by Comité International Tsigane (International Gypsy Committee). In the published congress reports, both terms "Gypsies" and "Roma" are used on an equal footing. In both texts, however, the words "Gypsies" or "Gypsy People" are used, and only sporadically appear the appellation "Rom/Roma People" or "Romanies" (Kenrick, 1971: 101–108; Puxon, 1971: 192–197). In any case, neither in the text of Donald Kenrick (which in fact is a complete protocol of the congress activities and adopted decisions) nor in the text of Grattan Puxon (a famous Roma activist who continues to participate actively in the international Roma movement also nowadays), there is no single mention of discussion about a common name for the communities, let alone taking a decision on this issue. There is no mention of this also in the article by Slobodan Berberski, the elected President at the London Congress, on the occasion of his first anniversary, published in the newspaper "Borba", the official body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Berberski, 1972: 12). Both terms ("Roma" and "Gypsies"), were used interchangeably, without opposing each other, also at the meetings of Social and Crimes Commission of the World Romani Congress in 1972 (Acton, 1972: 96–101).

In fact, Slobodan Berberski spoke for the first time in an interview, given about a month after the congress about a decision which supposedly was taken by the Congress in London to accept the common name "Roma" instead of "Gypsies". In this interview he described very emotionally and not very clearly the debates and the voting of such a decision (Mladenović, 1971: 15). In our conversations with several participants in the Congress on this topic, their memories were not so categorical, they answered e.g. "this question was also being discussed"; "the participants spoke in different languages and did not always understand each other", and none of them confirmed that there had been a vote and a decision taken. In fact, as already noted, the International Romani Union is set up de facto in 1978 (Acton, Klímová, 2001: 157–226; Kenrick, 2007: 126). At the First World Romani Congress in London, the following decision was made: "The next congress was to be held in Paris in 1973, if possible in the UNESCO building. The following congress would be in Yugoslavia in 1975. Mr. Vanko Rouda was elected as president of the permanent secretariat which would organize the next congress, with

Leulea Rouda and Grattan Puxon as joint secretaries. ... Dr. Jan Cibula was appointed representative of the WRC to the Human Rights Commission of UNO in Geneva." (Kenrick, 1971: 105). However, the planned congresses in Paris and Belgrade were not held. In 1977, as a result of active lobbying activity of Dr. Jan Cibula in the United Nations' structures in Geneva and with the active engagement of Indian diplomacy, the Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Economic and Social Council's Commission on Human Rights adopted a Resolution, asking all states to accord equal rights to "Roma (Gypsies)" (Kenrick, 2007: 284), i.e. for the first time then the name "Roma" gets some legalization on an international level.

In the academic literature, it is sometimes claimed that the International Romani Union was established just before the Second World Romani Congress (Acton, Ryder, 2013: 6), held in Geneva from April 8 to April 11, 1978. So far, however, no additional data, no documentary evidence has been provided, so it remains unclear whether there was any such preliminary meeting of Roma activists at all and who were the creators of the International Romani Union.

In the archives of the State Security in Bulgaria, however, an extensive report (Spravka, 1978) by "Secret collaborator Antonov" (agent's nickname of Dimitar Golemanov from Sliven) has been preserved and recently made publicly accessible. It describes in detail the course of the Second World Romani Congress and sheds light on the events in question. From this description, it is clear that the issue of the creation of the International Romani Union was not discussed at the Congress; it was talked of it as something that exists, which is not questionable.

The participants in the Congress, who represented Comité International Tsigane from France (Vanko Rouda, Leulea Rouda, Matéo Maximoff, Vanya de Gila Kochanowski, Stevo Demeter, etc.) were de facto isolated and publicly accused of misappropriation of funds granted to compensate Holocaust victims. They in turn accused the organizers of the congress of "Communism and Yugoslavism" (Oshte svedeniia, 1979).

This situation is easily explained given the fact that the delegation from Yugoslavia was the most numerous (22 persons), their trip was supported by the state, and in fact, more than half of the participants in the congress (together with representatives from other countries – Germany, Denmark, Luxembourg, etc.) were from Yugoslavia (Spravka, 1978). That's why the choice of the International Romani Union leadership is not surprising – President Dr. Jan Cibula, Vice President Shaip Jusuf from Yugoslavia and Secretary-General Grattan Puxon of Great Britain (Kenrick, 2007: 293). From now on, the old maxim is confirmed, that the history is written by the winners.

There is no evidence in materials from the Second World Romani Congress that the question about the name of the new organization and its name (International Romani Union) was raised at all. The designation "Roma" was not questioned in the discussions; it was accepted as an immutable fact. In this way, the International movement of communities, formerly referred to as "Gypsies", becomes part of Roma national narrative, and in this discourse of analysis are inscribed besides the common name "Roma" also the other symbolic elements of the new Roma nation, in particular its flag and an anthem, and in this respect, the historical truth falls into the background. Everyone seems to have forgotten that at the First World Romani Congress was decided: "The melody of 'Gelem, Gelem' with new words by Jan Cibula and Jarko Jovanovic was adopted as the song of this Congress. ... It was decided to have an international competition for the words and music of an international Romani anthem." (Kenrick,

1971: 105). At the Second World Romani Congress, however, the issue of anthem is no longer under discussion, and today, the song "Gelem, Gelem" with its text edited in the spirit of the Roma national ideology (with included topic of Roma genocide during World War II) is accepted as official Roma anthem by contemporary Roma activists, and respectively, this hymn is recognized as such in the contemporary public space.

Moreover, in the spirit of this new Roma national ideology a whole new national mythology about the origin of the song is currently conceived and developed, which traces the origin of the song in its author's personal experience of Roma genocide (Matras, 2015: 32). What is often forgotten is that in the original lyrics of this song, which became popular worldwide from the movie *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* by Alexandar Petrović, there is no word about Roma genocide during the Second World War, as it is a folklore love song widely spread in the Balkans. It was recast in sake of Roma national idea, but still often continued to be performed as an anthem with folklore words (Marushiakova, Popov 1995: 10–21).

To say in brackets, a specific repercussion of the widespread acceptance of the "Roma anthem" in Hungary separate hymns appeared of Hungarian- and of Romanian-speaking "Gypsies", namely a *Magyar Cig8ny himnusz* [Anthem of Hungarian Gypsies] in Hungarian (Cigány, 2018) and *Beás Cigányok himnusz* [Anthem of Beash Gypsies] in Romanian (Beás, 2018). The latter is a widespread traditional folk song among *Beash* in Central Europe (Kovalcsik, 1994: 20), which in the new social situation acquires new, symbolic dimensions, and becomes an important public attribute of community identity. The same process as in Hungary is also taking place in Croatia, (it is difficult to determine whether these are analogous, self-developing processes or a result of cross-border influences probably from Hungary to Croatia). There are many different versions of these anthems in both languages on the Internet but it should be noted that in the videos the performances are against the background of the Roma flag and/or Roma images, i.e. the Roma national ideology influence even those communities that distinguish themselves to a greater or lesser extent from the Roma. Naturally, in the text of the two anthems, the word Roma is not present. Similarly, representatives of the Bulgarian "Rudari" community (commonly perceived as "Gypsies" by the surrounding population) created two their own anthems. The first is related to the participation of their political party Rodolyubie 2000 [Love to Fatherland 2000] in the 2001 elections (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015b: 41), and the second one with their modern labour migrations abroad(Kopanarski himn, 2011). Both of these anthems are in their native Romanian language. However, unlike the case in Hungary and Croatia both anthems of Bulgarian "Rudari" community are without any Roma or Gypsy connections and their identity there is clearly expressed as a separate, clearly demarcated ethnic community of "Vlasi-Rudari" [Wallachians – Rudari].

In a similar way, as with the Roma anthem there is also an issue with Roma flag. For the first time, the "Gypsy flag" in a combination of two colours (blue and green, divided not horizontally but diagonally) was presented by the delegation of Comité International Tsigane at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in 1969 (Puxon, 2000: 102). The choice of these colours is not a continuation of the tradition of the flag of the General Union of Roma in Romania, adopted at the congress in Bucharest in 1933, as it is sometimes written (Hancock, 2002: 120). The statute of the new organization, adopted at this congress in Bucharest, clearly states that the Union flag is: "... bearing the arms of the country and in one corner an embroidered design representing a violin, an anvil, a compass, and a trowel crossed with a hammer (Haley, 1934: 185; Natasă,

Varga, 2001: 121–122). Among decisions of the First World Romani Congress is recorded: "The blue and green flag was adopted as the flag of the World Romani movement. A red fire, wheel or thin stripe could be added in individual countries if desired." (Kenrick, 1971: 105).

The red mark in the middle was added at the suggestion of Slobodan Berberski (Mladenović, 1971: 15), who wanted to include a red five-pointed star, a communist symbol that not all participants agreed on, so a compromise solution was made.

At the Second World Romani Congress, however, without any specific decision, an ancient Indian "chakra" was added in the centre of the Roma flag. As an official delegation from India was actively involved in the congress, and one of the main topics discussed at the congress itself was how Roma around the world can get the official status of an Indian national minority, the inclusion of this symbol (the red chakra) is fully understandable; and today this flag is accepted by everybody.

All of this development is completely legitimate. Every modern nation has, since its emergence, created its national history, which more or less became a fundamental national narrative. From this point of view it is clear that Roma cannot be any exception to other peoples in Europe. That is why both Roma activists and Roma scientists have the full right too to create their own national historical narrative (or, in other words their own national historical mythology) similarly to all other European nations. The interlacing of the efforts of activists and scholars in this direction is also quite legitimate, and it is well known from history of the emergence of modern nations in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. The study of the origin and development of the Roma nation (Marushiakova, Popov, 2004b) is not the focus of our attention now. In this text we are not exploring the Roma master narrative; we are only tracing, on the basis of data gathered, the process that contributed to the imposing of the "Roma" label in the political and academic spheres.

After the Second World Romani Congress the new organization under the name Romani Union was accepted in 1979 as a member of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) with the status of a nongovernmental organization (Kenrick, 2007: 72), which in practice was the next step in promotion of the designation "Roma" internationally.

The third World Romany Congress was held in Göttingen, Germany, in May 1981. This was the only Congress of International Romani Union, which was attended not only by Roma, but also by Sinti, and a Sinti representative, namely, Romani Rose entered the new leadership (as a vice-president). Very soon after the congress, in 1982, the "Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma", was established headed by Romani Rose, based in Heidelberg. Thus, the name "Sinti and Roma" was officially legalized in Germany, and in Austria at the same time the name "Roma and Sinti" came into official use. In May 1995, the "Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma" succeeded to achieve also recognition for "Sinti und Roma" as a national minority (Volksgruppe). Outside Germany and Austria, the designation "Sinti" is used only in the structures of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, where the *Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues* was established in 1994.

1.2. After 1989–1990

A serious breakthrough in the official use of the name "Roma" on a national level in the countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe came after the collapse of

communist regimes in the region in 1989–1990 and the break-down of the so-called socialist camp. The adoption of the designation "Roma" was considered to be "legitimacy of political correctness" (Petrova, 2003: 111) and perceived as an unavoidable part of the process of democratization and Euro-integration. The replacement of the old denomination "Gypsies" (in forms used in respective local languages) with the term "Roma" ran relatively fast and unproblematically, without big public debates, with only the exception of Romania, where such debates arise sporadically even today, the main reason for which is the mixing of the names "Roma" and "Romanians" abroad. The hopes that changing the name of the community will help to erase negative public attitudes have proved to be in vain, and now numerous examples for using the term "Roma" with discriminative connotations, such as graffiti "Románci do plynu" [Roma into the gas in Czech] or "Ромите на сапун/Romite na sapun" [Roma into soap in Bulgarian], etc. could be pointed to. In the context of the transition to democracy in the countries of the region, the massive anti-Gypsy public attitudes, suppressed or at least not admitted to public expression by Communist regimes, not only did not diminish, but grew and gained new dimensions, and in spite of the change of the publicly used name of the community, greatly expanding and deepening (Marushiakova, Popov, 2013: 183–194).

An extremely important factor for the official acceptance of the name "Roma" and its usage in the public space (the acts of state and local authorities, the media, etc.) was the rapid development of the non-governmental sector, where the usage of the "politically correct" term "Roma" was considered mandatory. The aspirations for the integration of most of the countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe into the European Union (EU) proved to be of no less importance. In the negotiation during the pre- and after accession process to the EU, the use of the term "Roma" in all official documents (and in their coverage in the media) was also considered a mandatory sign of adherence to European norms and values by the political elite in the region and was adopted by all of them, with the exception of some extreme nationalist formations. This was considered to be a part of the price that was most willingly paid in order to become part of the EU, which was viewed as subscription for membership in the club of the rich.

Palpable, in countries in the region where NGO sector and in particular external donors' activities were limited and European integration was not even set as a global strategic goal (Russian Federation and Belarus), these factors did not work. As a result, the issue of replacing the official terms (Цыгане, Цыганы/Tsygane, Tsygani) with "Roma" has not been put seriously on the agenda, including by the Roma themselves and their organizations, e.g. *Federal National Cultural Autonomy of the Russian Gypsies* (Федеральная Национально-Культурная Автономия Российских Цыган/Federal'naia Natsional'no-Kul'turnaia Avtonomiia Rossiiskikh Tsygan), which was created in November 1999 (registered in March 2000), and was one of the first national cultural autonomies (Marushiakova, Popov, 2018) preserved the term, which in other places was declared as politically incorrect and insulting.

The accession (or inclusion in the pre-accession process) of most of the countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe to the European Union impacted the European institutions and on the EU-wide labelling of communities, previously defined differently, e.g. in documents of Council of Europe as "Nomads" (1975), "populations of nomadic origin" (1981), "Gypsies and other travellers" (1983), "Gypsies" (1993), "Roma (Gypsies)" (1995), "Roma/Gypsies" (1998, 2000), "Roma/Gypsies and Travellers"

(2001), "Roma and Travellers" (between 2004 and 2010), and "Roma" since 2010 (Council of Europe, 2012). This process of European labelling, however, cannot be considered as completed, as seen e.g. from 2016 changing the name of the former "Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Roma Issues" at the Council of Europe to the "Ad-hoc Committee of Experts on Roma and Traveller Issues" (CAHROM, 2016), and only the future will show how many times the official European label will be changed again.

The best illustration of the development of processes of European labelling can be found in attempts to determine the content of the term "Roma" reflected in publications of the European institutions (primarily the Council of Europe and later the European Commission too). In 1987 the Council of Europe published the book of Jean-Pierre Liégeois, entitled *Gypsies and Travellers*; in 1994 its second revised and supplemented edition was published under the title *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*; in 2007 the third edition appeared, now under the name *Roma in Europe* (Liégeois, 1987, 1994, 2007). It is obvious that in the course of time the term "Roma" gained dominance, as a term considered to be politically correct (as the century old exonyms were declared offensive), and therefore as the only correct and admissible one. At the same time, however, it is obvious that this term is also problematic, thus gradually more and more documents of these two important European institutions start with a terminological clarification of what is meant by the politically correct term "Roma", and usually each such document offers its own interpretation.

Thus, today we see a mechanical replacement of the previously used designations with the term "Roma" and the issue of appropriateness or inappropriateness of the politically correct terminology is not on the agenda. Instead of this, on the level of policies we are observing hectic attempts to bring together the different types of communities generally labelled as "Gypsies" (or corresponding designations) in the past under one umbrella term. It is enough to quote some of the latest (for the time being!) "official" definitions in order to obtain an idea about the lack of relevance to the objectively existing realities and accordingly to the academic knowledge too. A legitimate question logically arises, whether it is possible at all to have a successful realization of national and supranational policies if they are based on strategies and programmes, in which it is not clear who is the main target.

For instance, the Fundamental Rights Agency in 2010 defines: "The term 'Roma' is used as an umbrella term including groups of people who share more or less similar cultural characteristics, such as the Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Ashkali, and Kalé. These groups also share a history of persistent marginalization in European societies." (Fundamental Rights Agency – FRA, 2010).

On the base of this definition the *EU Framework of National Roma Inclusion Strategies* from 2011 postulates: "The term 'Roma' is used – similarly to other political documents of the European Parliament and the European Council – as an umbrella which includes groups of people who have more or less similar cultural characteristics, such as Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Kalé, Gens du voyage, etc. whether sedentary or not." (European Commission, 2011).

This definition is misleading because, for example, the Roma living in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe have much more "more or less similar cultural characteristics" with their surrounding population in the respective countries than with Sinti and Calé in Western Europe or even more compared with the Irish and Scottish Travellers in United Kingdom and Ireland, and the "Gens de voyage" in France. It also remains unclear why no other nation in Europe is defined according to its cultural

characteristics (criterion, which opens the door for any free interpretations and disputes), and why it should be done only for Roma (whatever is meant by this term in this case).

In 2012 the European Commission started the process of implementation of the *EU Framework of National Roma Inclusion Strategies* and provided a new definition: "The term 'Roma' is used here, as well as by a number of international organizations and representatives of Roma groups in Europe, to refer to a number of different groups (such as Roma, Sinti, Kale, Gypsies, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Dom, Lom) and also includes Travellers, without denying the specificities and varieties of lifestyles and situations of these groups." (European Commission, 2012).

This definition includes even more communities such as *Dom* and *Lom* who live outside Europe, it brings no more accuracy in the issue, and on the contrary, it only further complicates it.

Neither better nor more precise is the definition in the *Declaration of the Committee of Ministers on the Rise of Anti-Gypsyism and Racist Violence against Roma in Europe*, adopted on 1st February 2012, and in *Descriptive Glossary of Terms Relating to Roma Issues*, published by the Council of Europe in the same year. It states: "The term 'Roma' used at the Council of Europe refers to Roma, Sinti, Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the Eastern groups (Dom and Lom), and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned, including persons who identify themselves as 'Gypsies'." (Declaration, 2012; Council of Europe, 2012).

This definition is misleading too, because on the one hand it puts under the cover term "Roma" not only European "Gypsies", but even more non-European communities, while at the same time it directly excludes large groups of European people who do not identify themselves as "Gypsies", but their surrounding population considers them (and refers to them) as such.

However, the extensive scope of available designations of "Roma" does not end here. In 2015 CAHROM (Ad hoc Committee of experts on Roma issues) adopted a new definition, where there is a very important and substantial change – the "Roma" label has been replaced by a new one "Roma and Travellers". This definition states: "The terms 'Roma and Travellers' are being used at the Council of Europe to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the work of the Council of Europe in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish, and the populations designated under the administrative term 'Gens du voyage', as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies." (CAHROM, 2015).

As can be seen, the number of communities included under the term "Roma" continues to grow. In the case of the "Abdal" added here from Asia Minor their ethnic (Non-Roma) origin and identity of this community are again not taken into account. The two main criteria for defining somebody as "Roma" continues to be in use simultaneously: from one side, it is the Indian origin of the communities in question, and from other side, the nomadic way of life (current or led in the past).

If the second line continues its current expansion it is logical to expect that to the communities covered by the term "Roma" will be added to even more, and we will be obliged to call "Roma" also such communities as "Burakamin" from Japan, "Batwa/ Abatwa/Abathwa" (Pygmies)from Rwanda, and "Midgaan/Madhiban" from Somali,

as proposed by some Roma activists in Turkey (Çingenelerin, 2009–2010), as well as many other nomadic and peripatetic populations from the whole world.

Other international institutions also strive to create their own definition of the term "Roma". This was done recently in the definition offered by the Human Rights Council at the United Nations: "The term 'Roma' refers to heterogeneous groups, the members of which live in various countries under different social, economic, cultural and other conditions. The term 'Roma' thus does not denote a specific group but rather refers to the multifaceted Roma universe, which is comprised of groups and subgroups that overlap but are united by common historical roots, linguistic commonalities and a shared experience of discrimination in relation to majority groups. 'Roma' is therefore a multidimensional term that corresponds to the multiple and fluid nature of Roma identity." (Report, 2015: 2). Based on this definition under the cover term "Roma" are included even more communities: "Roma groups are also present in Central Asian countries, where they are known collectively as Lyuli. While those groups are distinct from American and European Roma, they share the experience of exclusion and marginalization from local majority populations." (Report, 2015: 3).

Adding to the criterion "shared experience of exclusion and marginalization" in this definition opens new horizons for expanding the scope of the term "Roma" and only the future will show how many communities (ethnic, religious, social, sexual, etc.) will be covered with this umbrella term. In any case, the trend of linking Roma with LGBTIQ community is already visible (see Ryder et al., 2015), and finds its expression in the NGO sector, e.g. in the grants of Community Youth Fellowships of the Open Society Foundations (Kanicsár, 2017), as well as in the International Roma LGBTIQ Conferences Series.

Compared with other international institutions and organizations, the approach of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is distinguished by its pragmatism and the desire to avoid placing diverse communities under the label "Roma". This can be seen not only in the name of the specialized department (Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues), which retains the name "Sinti" on equal footing with "Roma", but also the most commonly used terminology "Roma and related groups/communities" – especially when it comes to the regions of South Caucasus and Central Asia. Moreover, instead of describing in detail the content of the common label following a more open interpretation is preferred: "The term 'Roma' is used in this paper as a common term for different ethnic groups of separate identities based on perceived similarities of their lifestyle, characteristics, occupations, appearance, and ethnic origin, resulting in similar treatment as a consequence of stereotypes and racial prejudices. The term and its scope should not be considered final." (Consultation Meeting, 2016: 1).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that in recent years many European countries have "formalized" in various forms (through state regulations or approved by public usage) various other (apart from "Roma") designations, e.g. "Sinti und Roma" in Germany, "Roma und Sinti" in Austria, "Jenische und Sinti" in Switzerland, "Rom, Sinti e Camminanti" in Italy, "Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities" in the United Kingdom, "Romi i Egipćani" (Roma and Egyptians) in Montenegro, "Romët dhe Egjiptianët" (Roma and Egyptians) in Albania (legitimized in Law of Protection of National Minorities in 2017, where instead of the traditional Albanian name "Jevg" the new name "Egjiptiane" is used), "Romët, Ashkalitë dhe Egjiptianët" (Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians) in the Republic of Kosovo (included in the Constitution in 2008), "Romi,

Aškalije and Egipćani" (Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians) in Serbia (legitimized by the Law on National Councils of National Minorities in 2014), "Цыгане/Tsygane" (Gypsies) in the Russian Federation (respectively Federal National Cultural Autonomy of the Russian Gypsies), etc.

Outside Europe, it is worth noting the specific situation in Brazil, where "Ciganos" is used as a general term, which includes two communities – "Calon" and "Roma". Perhaps the most original solution to this terminological mess has been found in Spain, where the name "Roma" is widely used only in translations from Spanish to English, e.g. Union del Pueblo Gitano vs. Union Romani, or Asociacion de Mujeres Gitanas vs. Roma Women Association, i.e. "Roma" is perceived as the community name in English. The same approach was used also until recently in Hungary, e.g. Országos Cigány Önkormányzat vs. National Roma Self-Government.

The situation with designation "Roma" in Turkey is more specific. Turkey is geographically not a European country but geopolitically seeks (or at least declared this desire until recently) to become part of a united Europe. At the beginning of the 21st century, when the negotiations with the EU intensified and the Roma topic became current in Europe, the transition to designation 'Roma' (in Turkish in the form "Roman" for singular and "Romanlar" in plural) in the official documents and in the media from "Gypsies" ("Çingeneler") was a relatively quick and painless process.

However, a heated public debate, arose between members of the community themselves, as some welcomed the new label "Roman", but others (mostly those who have lost their Romani mother tongue and are completely or partially only Turkish-speaking), refuse to accept it and insist on the usage of the old name "Çingeneler" (Aksu, 2003; Çingenelerin, 2009–2010).

The imposition of the "Roma" label in Turkey has raised another issue – on the relationship between the three main Gypsy divisions "Dom – Lom – Rom", whose representatives live nowadays in Turkey. Since Roma issues have become topical, dozens of Roma organizations have emerged but only one of them is created by Dom/Domlar (Diyarbakır Domlar ve Romanlar Kültür in Dayanışma Derneği) together with Roma (Diyarbakır, 2007). The explicit mentioning of the names of the two communities shows clearly that they distinguish from one another. As for Lom (called Poşa/Poşalar), they also set up their organizations, but as a separate community without any relations to "Roman" (Balyan, 2017).

In some of the definitions quoted above, under the "Roma" label is included also the Abdal community in Turkey. Abdals are population with unclear origin that made a living by begging. In our conversation with Abdals on the question about their relationship with "Roman" we received short and clear answer that "Roman" are "ayrı" (distinct, separate in Turkish). Mostly the Abdal themselves, however (with some exceptions) even do not know about their assignment to "Roman" and have no relationship with the rapidly developing Roma NGO sector in Turkey.

The further east from Europe, the more the problems with the label "Roma" appear. Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991, new independent states have emerged in the post-Soviet space, which are tied to the European institutions through various forms of participation in the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). In the new independent states in the region of the South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) there are communities on which the European institutions are also trying to impose the "Roma" label. This raises even

more questions about the inadequacy of such labelling, because the communities living in these regions, which are now subject to "Roma" labelling by European and international institutions, are many and diverse. There are representatives of the all three "Dom – Lom – Rom" subdivisions living in the South Caucasus region. The Lom division is represented by the community with the self-appellation "Lom" (or "Lomavtik", with the Armenian suffix for plural). The Lom are also known there by the names given them by the surrounding Armenian population. In the past (until the 19th c.) such a designation was "Gnchu" or "Knchu", but since then they are referred to as "Bosha" in Armenia and Georgia (in Georgia, because the Georgian language does not have a word for "Gypsies", they use the loan blended term "Boshebi"), and they are bearers of preferred Armenian identity. The Dom division use the self-appellation *Dom*, but are referred to by their neighbours as "Garachi" or "Qaraçiler" in Azerbaijani, and they are with preferred Kurdish or Iranian identity. The Rom division here includes only relatively new migrants in the region who have settled here mainly during the existence of the USSR (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a: 67–106).

In the countries of the Central Asia region, the diversity of communities identified by researchers as "Gypsy" and "Gypsy-like" is very large. The aggregation of Central Asian Gypsy and Gypsy-like communities can be represented schematically as follows:

1. Gypsy communities: "Lyuli/Jughi/Multoni/Ghurbat/Ghorbat" (self-appellation "Mughat"); 2. Intermediate communities: "Mazang", "Tavoktarosh/Sogutarosh, Agha/Kashgar Lyuli"; 3. Gypsy-like communities: "Kavol", "Chistoni", "Parya", "Balyuj" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a: 10).

The Gypsy-like communities are relatively new migrants in the region (18th–19th century), coming from India and Afghanistan, and some of them ("Parya" and "Balyuj") speak (or have spoken) of their dialects based on Indian languages, and others ("Kavol" and "Chistoni") are Tadjik speaking. The Intermediate and Gypsy communities are Tadjik-speaking (only in some cases Uzbek-speaking), and they are with preferred (or at least publicly declared as it is in the case of "Mughat") Tadjic (and only in some cases Uzbek) ethnic identity. All of these communities are largely "invisible" in the public domain, unlike the so-called "Lyuli" (in a Tajik-linguistic environment called "Jughi"), with self-appellation "Mughat", whose main occupation is begging, therefore also exactly for the local population they are considered to be the local "Gypsies" (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a: 9–65).

What unites, in the discourse discussed in this text, all communities mentioned here from the regions of the South Caucasus and Central Asia, is the circumstance that they all have already gone through a first step of labelling and, in fact, the attempts to include them under the "Roma" label, is actually a second step in this regard. The first step was in the 19th century, after the inclusion of these regions in the composition of the Russian Empire in 18th–19th centuries, when the scholars imposed on the respective communities the "Gypsies" label ("цыгане/Tsygane" in Russian). The very first scholar of Central Asian Gypsies, Alexandr Vilkins, had expressed doubts about the reasonability of linking "Lyuli" with Gypsies and preferred to designated them as "Богема/Bogema", in analogy with "Bohémiens", which is what the Gypsies were called in medieval France (Vil'kins, 1882).

Afterwards, however, all these communities in the regions of the South Caucasus and Central Asia defined in the general work of Kerope Patkanov (Patkanov, 1887) as "Gypsies" (цыгане/Tsygane), and this designation is included thereupon in all acts of the state and local authorities, including in the Population Censuses. This is continued

also by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and even now, and not only in the Russian Federation but also in the newly independent states of Central Asia and South Caucasus, where the Russian designation "цыгане/Tsygane" is translated into local national languages (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a).

In the new independent states in the regions of South Caucasus and Central Asia, the leading issues today are their national policies, where in the forefront are the problems of promoting new national ideologies. In this context, the local Gypsies' issues are put behind.Unlike in Europe, there is no "carrot and stick approach" of Euro-integration in play, and will not be even in the foreseeable future, thus compliance with European norms and values is in many cases only a formal one and is expressed only at international forums (at least in regards of "Gypsies"). A typical example in this respect is the reaction of the Director of the National Centre for Human Rights of Uzbekistan, who at the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting of the OSCE in his speech used the designation "Roma", but with the explanation "Roma, known among local population as 'Lyuli'", and along with this, he underlines that "Roma" in Uzbekistan have no problems in regard to their human rights and did not experience any discrimination in any sphere (OSCE, 2015).

At first glance, the Roma labelling is imposed quite smoothly in countries of the South Caucasus. They are members of the Council of Europe and have their own representatives in the Ad hoc Committee of experts on Roma issues (CAHROM), and so far, they have not objected to the use of the umbrella appellation "Roma". In Armenia, where in fact no Roma are living, in all official documents make the statement that currently "Lom" are almost completely socially and culturally integrated into the Armenian nation, and their ethnic identity is on the level of a subethnic or ethnographic group in the composition of the Armenian people (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a: 94). In Georgia, which is home of Roma, Dom and Lom communities, in recent years several international meetings were held with representatives of European institutions devoted to the Roma issue, but in spite of special efforts, the local Dom and Lom took part in none of them. Even direct invitation directed to the representatives of Lom and Dom in Georgia made by NGO's and donors' organisations to engage in Roma projects were strongly rejected, as Lom and Dom categorically refuse to be regarded as and mixed with Roma.

International institutions, which for decades have been repeatedly trying to explain and describe the contents of the general label "Roma" under which they seek to insert the designations of different ethnic communities, are clearly aware of the problems that arise within this approach. Evidence of this is the last, still unpublished document entitled Descriptive Glossary of Terms Relating to Roma and Travellers of 2018. It repeats the definition adopted by CAHROM in 2015 (see above), but some additional clarifications are made: "It should also be underlined that this is a working terminology for the Council of Europe which does not represent necessarily a common position of the various groups the explanatory footnote refers to. The Council of Europe is well aware that Egyptians and most of Ashkali present in the Western Balkan region do not regard themselves as Roma but as a distinct ethnic group. Irish Travellers and Yenish do not share with Roma the same ethnic background. Similarly, Dom and Lom are "eastern cousins" of Roma living in South Caucasus and Turkey and they are not the same as Roma." (Council of Europe, 2018).

While recognizing that it is about different ethnic communities, attempts to seek justification for inserting them under a common label continue: "Many of the

'associated' groups have often a mixed history or living experience with Roma; they are often associated by the majority under the term 'gypsies'; frequently subjected to the same treatment, discrimination and hate crime/hate speech. A number of issues (higher level of poverty and exclusion, illiteracy, school drop outs, lower life expectancy, higher unemployment rate, early marriages, etc.) are also common to all these groups. Therefore, there is certain logic – independent from their ethnic background – to associate them with the work on Roma." (ibid.).

It certainly will not be the last attempt in this direction, but how convincing the explanation for the necessity of such an approach sounds depends primarily on the reaction of Roma activists who must decide whether they agree their community be determined by characteristics which highlights their social and cultural marginalization.

2. ACADEMIA

In theory, the relationship between politics and the academia should be simple and clear – academia explores social and cultural phenomena, and politicians (on base of results of academic studies) determine the rules of their existence and functioning in the specific political, hence social and cultural context. In practice, however, at least in the sphere that interests us (imposing the label "Roma"), things are much more complicated and, in practice, these relations are rather reversed. In a historical and contemporary perspective as well, the leading role in the relationship policy vs academia is taken by policy; scholars present their opinions, and politicians can accept and apply them, or not. In the modern age, unfortunately, it is becoming more and more a common practice that policy determines the rules, and scholars through different mechanism are pushed to comply with them.

From this point of view, there are many and varied questions and even serious contradictions between the "Roma" label imposed and endorsed by politicians on the basis of a certain ideology (changing over time) on the one hand, and the scholars who study the communities in questions, on the other hand. This whole range of problems in the relationship between policy and academia can be grouped into two main subdivisions – firstly, problems related with gathering different communities under a common name, and second, problems related to the designation itself.

Traditionally the community of scholars of Gypsy-lore, as this field of study was called in the past, and of Romani studies, as it is called today for the sake of political correctness as imposed by policy, have studied in past and are studying also now all communities, labelled today with the umbrella term "Roma". It is only logical that the scholars too are trying to discover characteristics that unite all the researched communities in question, which will help to define also their field of research. In fact, the roots of the controversies are in the lack of a clear answer to the question "Who are Roma?", posed in academic discourse, which is a question without a single answer, or more precisely, different authors offer different interpretations of this question (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016b: 7–34).

Nearly all (may be only except Abdal) communities mentioned above in the past have been referred to in English as "Gypsies" (in translations of their local names). This is definitely not a fitting and accurate translation, and ultimately the scholars and politicians are lost in the translation. The designation "Gypsies" in the English-speaking world, including in the scholarly jargon is used to signify diverse nomadic communities

regardless of their ethnic origins and identity (Hancock, 2010: 95–96). In order to escape from this translation trap, more than decade ago a distinction between the terms "Gypsy 1" and "Gypsy 2" was introduced, as the umbrella term "Gypsy 2" is reflecting the common origins and underlying unity of the heterogeneous communities whose ancestors migrated millennium ago from the Indian subcontinent and opposed to "Gypsy 1", a far looser term, describing not origin and ethnicity, but the "social phenomenon of communities of peripatetics or commercial nomads, irrespective of origin or language" (Matras, 2004: 55–56). We can see that the English term "Gypsies" is an umbrella term for two categories (Gypsy 1 and Gypsy 2), which are built on different criteria and which include more or less differentiated and detached, diverse communities.

On the one hand, these are communities with a common historical ethnic origin, which Ian Hancock (2002) calls "Romani people" or "Romanies" to avoid the usage of notion Roma in two meanings (broad and narrow). These communities represent a heterogeneous entity, and are detached at different levels. At the first level, this is the "Dom – Lom – Rom" division, which took place already in the Middle East during their migrations from the Indian subcontinent to Europe, and on the second level this is the division of the "Roma", "Sinti", "Manush", "Calé", "Kaale", "Romanichals", etc. which appears after they settled in Europe. The circle of scholars who are dealing mostly with these communities do not usually have a problem in accepting the label Roma as an umbrella term, as it is presupposed that all communities in question have a common origin and common language (used now or in the past). In the work of these authors and as well for authors who put the usage of a "politically correct term" over academic accuracy, we can find such definition as Finnish Roma for "Kaale", Spanish Roma for "Calé" and even Roma for various Eastern communities of different kinds.

On the other hand, however, part of the research field of Romani studies' scholars is the communities that were formed in the transition to the modern age, as a result of changing social and economic context. They are this part of the local population that was stigmatised because of their itinerant way of life, and through their academic and political and administrative labelling as "Gypsies" (Okely, 1983; Lucassen et al., 1998; Willems, 1998). In current of time parts of these communities often interconnected social, economically, politically, and even in a marital sense with "Romanies". This distinction between the two categories (and even occasionally their mingling) in itself is not objectionable with regard to some communities living in Western Europe (Irish and Scottish Travellers, Yenish, Tatere, etc.), but the very combination of the two distinct categories, originally under the label "Gypsies" and now under the "Roma" label, raises a number of issues.

Particularly visible (and totally unsuccessful, we would say) are attempts made by some scholars to accept the second category of communities which originate on the basis of the way of life as the leading one among communities labelled in the past as Gypsies and today as Roma, and to extend its scope through inclusion within it also the "Roma" that live in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe by rejecting their Indian origin and denying the existence of their language at all, and to limit their language to a set of Indian-language words borrowed from Indian merchants in the Middle Ages (Okely, 1983: 12). This eccentric concept introduced by the authors whose primary source of information are the communities of current or former commercial nomads (Gypsy 1) was surprisingly joined by authors, whose research is based on Roma communities (Gypsy 2) and who argue that "Roma" as ethnicity were constructed

as a result of political, administrative and academic labelling (Emigh, Szelényi, 2001; Szelényi, 2001; Surdu, Kovats, 2015; Surdu, 2015; Law, Kovats, 2018). This made the terminological and theoretical mess even bigger. The same can be said about the attempts to define the "Gypsy" category through certain cultural characteristics, e.g. through the highly controversial category "brotherhood" (Stewart, 1997, 2002). In conveying this approach to defining "Roma" in today's political discourse, it lead to no less absurd results. One illustrative example is the Bulgarian National Strategy which defines Roma as follows: "... the name *Roma* as a summary for Bulgarian citizens in a vulnerable socio-economic situation, who identified themselves as Roma, and citizens in a similar situation, whom the surrounding population defines as such, irrespective of their self-determination." (Natsionalna strategiia, 2011). In other words, these personalities who are not in vulnerable socio-economic situation, regardless of their self-consciousness, origin, mother tongue, etc., cannot be considered as Roma.

The integration of communities that originate in the first category (Gypsy 2), such as Romanichals in United Kingdom, into the category of communities formed on their way of life also cannot unite both categories without problems, even if these communities have acquired ethnic characteristics that allow them to be associated with "Romani people" (Mayall, 2004). Such unification leads to the contemporary absurd situation when the "Gypsy and Traveller Communities" in the United Kingdom and Ireland received legally granted status of an ethnic community, which however, they lose when adapting a sedentary lifestyle. If the specific way of life is considered to be the basis of the ethnic category, then the situation with Gypsies and Travellers in UK is even more perplexed – only about a quarter of them still live in "Gypsy sites" and even not all of them are still leading a nomadic lifestyle, and the remaining part of them lives sedentarily without differentiating themselves significantly in their lifestyle from the surrounding population (Smith and Greenfields, 2013).

Also, unpersuasive are the attempts to extend the scope of the category under consideration to communities living in other regions outside Europe, e.g. inclusion in the category "Gypsy" in many diverse communities around the whole world, bounded on the basis of their ability to live according to "optio tsigana" on "social pasture" (Günther, 2016). In this specific case, there is no other reason to label "Roma" (or Gypsies in this specific case) the "Gypsy and Gypsy-like communities" living in Central Asia, apart from more or less general social and/or cultural parameters and apart from labelling them "цыгане/Tsygane" (Gypsies) in the time of the Russian Empire. Not all of these communities are with an Indian origin, and the first (more or less certain) historical testimony of presence of some of them in the region is from the early 16th century (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016a: 25), i.e. from the time when Roma ancestors had already reached Europe.

Thus, in the end, it turns out that, at least at this stage, the metaphysical attempts to define the community which is today labelled "Roma" through the creation of clearly defined fixed social and/or cultural parameters, e.g. "nomadism", "underclass", "culture of poverty", "brotherhood", etc., prove to be unsuccessful and academically non-sense. The attempts to find a mutually acceptable definition by which the various communities could be united in political discourse under the label "Roma" in academia is in principle, unattainable, at least until the individual authors put different content into the main label categories used that are listed by different criteria.

Another circle of problems in this regard is connected with the umbrella appellation itself, which is used for the labelling of unity of diverse communities. The rationale for

the use of the common label "Roma" is based on the existing distinction between the two types of ethnonyms that oppose each other – the endonyms (ethnonym used by the community itself in its own language) and exonyms (ethnonym given to this community by its surrounding population in their respective languages). Undoubtedly, it is logical (and correct) to use the endonyms as public ethnonyms, but in life things are not so simple and unambiguous. This rule of principle, due to a number of historical and contemporary circumstances, is far from common and generally valid. It is sufficient to list only the member countries of the Council of Europe whose "official" name in English does not correspond to their endonyms (national names in their languages) – Germany (Deutschland), Finland (Suomi), Hungary (Magyarország), Albania (Shqipëri), Greece (Ελλάδα/Ellada), Georgia (Sakartvelo), Armenia (Hayastan). From this point of view, the reasoning of the Roma activists in the countries of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe that insist on the public use of "Roma" (in their local language versions) instead of "Gypsies" (in the local languages), because "we are calling ourself Roma" is not particularly convincing. Much more convincing in this direction appears the argument that the name "Gypsies" (in the local languages) has received already many negative connotations and in many cases, may reinforce anti-Roma stereotypes and public attitudes.

The problem with the supposedly unambiguously negative and therefore perceived insulting meaning of the designation "Gypsies" (in the local languages) is also not so simple and unambiguous. From one side, as pointed out above, the same negative connotations started to be discovered also in the word "Roma". On the other hand, the very negative meaning of the term "Gypsies" (in the local languages) is also not so unambiguous and ubiquitous. In many cases, it is contextual, i.e. in certain situations it can have not only negative but also positive connotations. From this point of view, the situation varied in different countries and regions, and hardly anyone is in the position to present all possible options in this regard. So it is not accidental that the aforementioned language games are widespread, where "Roma" is used as a term of the English language and in the country the designation "Gypsies" in the local language is used (e.g. in Spain, Hungary, etc.). In other cases (for example, in Bulgaria), often the distinction is mainly in the sphere of public speech, and Roma activists themselves use the term "Roma" only in their public appearances (and of course when speaking Romanes), but in their daily communication in Bulgarian language they often prefer to use the word "Gypsies" [цигани/Tsigani], this is the case even more among ordinary Roma. We witnessed even cases when international students visited Roma neighbourhoods in Sofia, Bulgaria, and asked about Roma, were directed to the NGO office with the comment – "you say you would like to speak with Roma, so go there, they are Roma and we are Gypsies [цигани/Tsigani]". We cannot help mentioning the cases where both terms "Roma" and "Gypsies" are in official use, as e.g. in the UK or where the name "Roma" is not used in the language of the macro-society at all, but only local variant of "Gypsies" [цыгане/Tsygane], e.g. in the Russian Federation. All of these examples show how unacceptable it is to make general conclusions based on a limited range of examples from one country or only from a particular Roma circle (e.g. from national and/or international Roma activists), even on issues that at least at first look seem indisputable. In view of all these circumstances, it should not be taken as surprising some seemingly blatant cases of open opposition by Roma themselves to their labelling with the term Roma, such as the creation in Romania (the country where the struggle to impose the designation "Roma" in the public space is probably the

strongest) of a group in the Internet that names itself *Lege pentru schimbarea denumirii de Rrom in Țigan* – Bill for the change of the name "Roma" into "Țigan" (Lege, 2018). In fact, perhaps the only country in which Roma and their surrounding populations commonly use the name "Roma" in the language of the surrounding population in public is the Republic of Macedonia, but this has its own explanation. Until the creation of the new state after the break-up of the former Yugoslavia in Macedonian, the designation of Roma was not "Цигани/Tsigani", which is a borrowing from Bulgarian and Serbian, but the designation was Gyupti ("Гюпти/Giupti", "Гюпци/Giuptsi" and other similar variants); after the Balkan Egyptians took the road to creating their own detached ethnic community, there appeared a need for their differentiation from Roma. This was reflected in the imposition of two different public terms Roma and Egyptians; the latter is related to the formerly used umbrella term Gyupti which now appeared not appropriate for Roma.

The very opposition of endonym and exonym is not always so clearly distinct, especially looking at it historically. It seems unlikely that the medieval chroniclers who refer to the migrants coming from the Balkans ("Romanies" according to Ian Hancock's terminology) with names such as "Zigeuner", "Zingari", etc., based on the appellation "Αθιγγανοι/Atsinganoi", used in the Byzantine Empire, have learned this term from the Byzantine sources. It is much more likely that the "Romanies" themselves used the term "Αθιγγανοι/Atsinganoi" as the second endonym, through which they introduced themselves before the local population, and did not perceive this term as being wrong, pejorative or abusive. The explanation that the exonym "Țigan", "Zigeuner", etc. is a pejorative one and that is why it is needed to change it is also doubtful. It has some negative connotations, similarly to names of many other peoples (e.g. Slavic "Nemtsi/Nemtsy/Немци/Немцы" from "dumb", even Slav, has possible originated from "slave", etc.), but this negative sounding is not always perceived like this by the community itself. Just the opposite, even nowadays the notion *tsigania* (in meaning *Romanipen, Romipen, Romanimos*, etc. as quintessence of highest community values) is widely spread among several Roma groups, e.g. among "Kelderara" in the former USSR (Demeter, Demeter, 1990: 165), as well as the self-appellation "Rrom tsiganyako" (literarily "Gypsy Roma", meaning "true, real Roma") is used by their closely related groups that speak the New Vlax dialects of *Romanes*, who live in the territories of Bulgaria, Romania, the Republic of Moldavia and South-western Ukraine. The notion *tsigania* also has an ambivalent significance not only depending on the context, but also on the language used – in Romanes (i.e. within own community) it has a positive connotation, but using the language of the surrounding population the meaning is negative (i.e. the same as in the macro-society), e.g. using a Bulgarian language *tsigania*/цыгания can mean "mess", "tasteless", etc., and in Romania this term is often used for designation of a Roma settlement.

Somewhat similar is the case with the endonyms of the communities of "Calé" (Spain and Portugal), "Kaale" (Finland and Sweden), "Kale" (Wales), "Calon" (Brasil), etc., and this was the self-appellation of Sinti until the 19th century (Matras, 1999, 109–110). All of these ethnonyms are variants of the word "black", but only in the case with the "Kaale" in Finland and Sweden it is possible that it is a translation from the Finnish term "Mustalais" of the same meaning (i.e., the exonym may have become an endonym in translation to Romanes, although it is also possible that the process was in the opposite direction and the endonym in translation became an exonym). However, much more are the variations in which communities themselves use this endonym without

their surrounding population having called them that way ("black" in their respective languages), i.e. it is quite likely that this ethnonym is much older than before the arrival of their ancestors in Western Europe.

All this indicates that the "Black" category does not always have negative connotations for communities in question. This is confirmed by many examples from folklore e.g. the beautiful girl in numerous folk songs is described as "čajorie calorie" (black girl), and also from Roma artistic creativity, e.g. a verse from the famous Roma poet Papusza (Bronislava Wais) in her poem *Ratfałé jasfá. So pał Saséndyr pšegiját apré Vółyń 43 i 44 beršá* (Tears of Blood. What We Suffered Because of the Germans in Volhynia in '43 and '44) says: "bo me som rom kalo, rat ratestir čačuno" (because I am black Rom, from true blood) (Piesni Papuszy, 1956: 120–121). It is palpable that here the term "Black Rom" is used in positive manner, in the sense true, real Roma. In this sense, as a synonym of "true Romany Gypsy" is still used to this day the expression "kaulo ratti" (Black Blood) in the United Kingdom (Le Bas, 2018).

Here it is possible to mention a serious problem related to some modern interpretations linking the designation "black" (in the relevant languages in the region of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe) with the local Roma. In some cases (Lemon, 1995: 34–40), there are over-interpretations aimed at proving a preconceived thesis (in this case the thesis is that the attitude towards Roma in modern Russia is the same as the attitude towards blacks in the US), even though her Roma interlocutors themselves denied it. Such over-interpretation even reach curiosities such as proclamation the famous song "Очи черные/Ochi chiornye" [black Eyes] as expression of this attitude.

In other cases (Tiefenbacher, 2015; Grill, 2017), connecting the attribute black with negative attitudes towards Roma is based on rigorous research and correct assumptions, namely on the premise that the term "black" used in reference to Roma in some Central European countries over the last decades has strong negative connotations. The adoption of "external" (from the macro-society) stereotypes, attitudes, and labels by Roma themselves, their internalization and their transformation into "owns" is a well-known and also ambiguous process (*nb.* even in Slavic folklore "black" is not always with negative meaning; just the opposite, black eyes, hair or eyebrows of the girl is considered as a model of beauty). The problem here, however, has a much wider dimension and is rather of a methodological nature. Conclusions based on specific studies whose merits are unquestionable but limited in given spatial and temporal parameters, however, if placed in a more global context and generalized sounds one-sided and could not be accepted uncritically. Analyses of the meaning of categories "black" and "white" by and in regard of Roma need to be based not on a limited chronological period, but in a much wider cultural and historical context. The above examples clearly show that the categories of "black" and "white" are not unambiguous in different historical periods among different communities, designated by the label "Roma", and differ in the specific context of their use. Naturally, the question arises what should be done in cases when there are examples which contradict and disprove the main conclusions and set theoretical concepts created on the basis of specific studies and inscribed into a specific theoretical conception. Should the very conclusions and the theoretical concepts set forth be changed (which happens relatively rarely), or should the examples that contradict the preliminary set of conclusions be discarded (which is a much more frequent phenomenon). (For more details on these issues see: Marushiakova, Popov, 2017b.)

In fact, the main question when speaking about usage of the umbrella appellation "Roma" in academia is why in practice some communities are deprived of the right to use in public their own self-appellation and this is done with reasoning based on political correctness and principle that self-description should be the leading principle on which a designation of one community needs be based. In this way the communities of Dom, Lom, Sinti, Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Irish and Scottish Travellers, etc., whose self-designation is not "Roma", and their members do not want to identify themselves with this ethnonym (or even they do not even know about its existence) are called "Roma". In this case, there is a clear desire to bring under the label Roma all communities related to them in order to support policy towards their unification and publicly demonstrate their unity, while academic precision and emic attitudes are left behind. This problem is palpably evident (at least in some cases) for the international institutions that impose the umbrella appellation "Roma" on all these communities, so in the last of the Council of Europe documents presented above the following clarification appears: "... the explanatory footnote [explaining the content of the term 'Roma' – authors' note] is NOT a definition. The Council of Europe respects the principle of Article 3.1 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities: 'Every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right freely to choose to be treated or not to be treated as such and no disadvantage shall result from this choice or from the exercise of the rights which are connected to that choice.'" (Council of Europe, 2018). The extent to which this clarification will solve these problems is difficult to estimate, but judging by the results of institutional labelling so far, the chances are not very large.

The end point of this process of academic labelling because of non-academic reasons are cases, when each designation "Gypsies", is automatically translated as "Roma" in translations in local languages. The only reason for this approach is based on a wrongly perceived political correctness – since the designations of "Roma" in local languages have been translated in the past into English as "Gypsies", which is politically incorrect, now the term "Gypsies" in English must be translated into local languages with the term "Roma". This, however, in practice means that not only the communities of the first category (of common origin), but also of the second category (differentiated on the basis of certain social and/or cultural characteristics, and on the first place on the basis of their nomadic way of life) are labelled Roma. In this way, the circle is closed, and all nomadic communities are labelled with the term "Roma", formerly called "Gypsies", and respectively now in the search for more precision, it is not necessary anymore to distinguish between "Gypsy 1" and "Gypsy 2" or "Roma 1" and "Roma 2".

Moreover, this process reaches curious cases like the one in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, where, according our observations (without claims of completeness or representativeness), in recent years, the most frequently quoted and used as a source of data and for comparison is the book *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Okely, 1983), which has little relevance to study of ethnicity of local Roma, and in the translated works the word "Gypsies" (Okely, 1997) is automatically translated with "Roma" (Okely, 2003). How irrelevant to different realities could this approach be, is illustrated by a recent example of a public debate on Facebook between M. D. (determining himself as a "Rom", a migrant from the Czech Republic in the United Kingdom) and Sh. C. (defining himself as belonging to "Gypsy & Traveller people in the UK"). For Sh. C. the most important are the Gypsy and Traveller sites, as places where their culture is preserved and determines their identity; for M. D. the most important thing that determines the

identity of the Roma ("that, what makes us Roma") is the Indian origin, and Roma should live in the same houses as the surrounding population because the Gypsy sites are leading to social exclusion and are an obstacle to integration (Facebook, 2015). The paramount importance of the origin in determining the ethnicity of the Roma themselves is clearly visible in the texts of M.D. and the importance of way of life is the determiner for Sh. C. In the end, it turned out that a consensus is not possible, because both protagonists in this debate actually speak "different languages", i.e. their views differ in regard to the basis of their communities' identity and main cultural features.

From this point of view, the comparisons between Roma on the one hand and "Gypsy & Traveller people in the UK" on the other are just as academically justified as comparisons of Roma with every other European people and definitely to a much lesser extent than possible comparisons with their surrounding population in the countries of the Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe, whose ethno-cultures have many more common features and characteristics than their "brothers" in the UK, described in the book of Judith Okely (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016c: 35–64).

The situations in which the purity and precision of academic discourse turn out to be subordinate to the leading policy labelling (or at least in accordance with it) are characteristic not only in "new Europe" countries but also in Western Europe. There, the picture is also very diverse and varies from country to country, e.g. in Germany, it is impossible to apply the label "Roma" to the local Sinti, whereas in Spain, specific bilingualism is used – when a text is written in Spanish, it usually uses the term "Gitanos" (not even the endonym "Calé"), but writings in English uses the word "Roma" (often with terminological explanations in the text). This approach is not more precise, and it comes to formulations that sound, mildly, quite odd, e.g. "the case studies of the Roma NGOs viz. Kale-Dor-Kayiko Association and Fundación Secretariado Gitano" (Dnyandev, 2017: 19).

In the region of Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe, as said above, there is no particular problem with the former name "Gypsies" (in local languages) being replaced by "Roma" because the ethnonym of respective communities there is in fact "Roma". Such replacement, however, is inappropriate in the case of historical texts where, in the interest of academic precision, it is more appropriate to use a designation corresponding to the historical period described (especially in quotations of historical documents) in order to avoid accusations in a secondary rewriting of history or in falsification of sources. Problems, however, arise when in studying of certain parts of the local Roma (by origin) which are undergoing the processes of the so-called ethnic mimicry, or of the so-called preferred ethnic identity, which in the final phase can lead to the formation of new ethnic communities (the most expressed forms these processes have achieved in the case of the Balkan Egyptians). About processes of ethnic mimicry and preferred ethnic identity we have written extensively elsewhere (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015b: 26–54), thus for the purpose of this text we will give only a brief explanation.

The phenomenon of ethnic mimicry means a public declaration of a non-Roma ethnic identity, preserving their real identity for use only in their environment. The reasons for these are the widespread negative attitudes and stereotypes regarding the "Gypsies" in the macro society, and also the desire to avoid some discriminatory policies and practices. This phenomenon affects the Population Censuses most frequently, as the most drastic case of census data mismatch with the real situation is in the Czech Republic, where in the Census of the population in 2011 only 12,852 people

declared themselves as "Roma", unambiguously or in combination with another nationality (Český statistický úřad, 2011). In the countries of "old Europe", this problem does not exist because of the fact that ethnic identity is considered sensitive information, and for this reason such information is generally not gathered even in the Population Census (with the exception of Great Britain and the Netherlands, where data about the communities with nomadic way of life are gathered on the grounds that this will help combat their discrimination). The phenomenon of ethnic mimicry creates serious problems only in political discourse, but it can be easily overcome in the field of academic research, as respondents usually do not hide their Roma identity, and there is no contradiction to the principle of self-identification.

More complicated is the case with preferred ethnic identity, i.e. when Roma people start to perceived themselves as non-Roma, which in fact represents an unfinished process of experiencing of another ethnic identity (e.g. Turkish, Romanian, Hungarian, etc.) due to a refusal to be accepted by their preferred community. The cases of preferred ethnic identity in the region of Central, South- eastern and Eastern Europe are many and varied, they are usually related to the change of their mother tongue and in some cases also with professed religion (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015b: 26–54), and should not be mixed with the civilian national identity perceived by the Roma in the countries of the region. Inclusion of these communities under the "Roma" label formally violates the principles of freedom of self-identification, but academic study of such communities is legitimate when accompanied by the necessary clarifications in the text. Such clarification may be based on historical sources or cultural characteristics, including even on described curiosities like, for example, the case encountered in Bulgaria (in city of Plovdiv), when even on the question about ethnic identity, asked in Romanes, the answer "I am a Turk" was given in the same language: "Me sim Turk" (Kenrick, 1966: 77).

In this series, the most complicated is the case with the Balkan Egyptians, where the process of building a new ethnic identity (which in fact means forming a "new" ethnic community different from Roma) has already acquired more or less completed forms, and this community is politically legitimized in the Republic of Kosovo and Albania. The explanations of the emergence of this new ethnic community by some authors (Dujzings, 1997: 194–222, claiming e.g. that Milosevic's secret services are at its core) are burdened by geopolitical biases and are a classic example of dominance of civic engagement of the author over academic knowledge. It is known that as early as in the 1930s, the existence of two distinct communities in Albania, namely of "Roma" and "Jevg" was described (Mann, 1933: 2), i.e. the processes of formation of the Balkan Egyptians began even before Milosevic's birth. Of course, it is not possible to cover within one article all the dimensions and variants of the relationship between the political and academic discourse, which are a large number (especially given the rapid development of interest in the "Roma topic" in the public space and in academia during the last quarter century) and extremely diverse and often are influencing each other. Nevertheless, some examples, as pointed out above, show that the political discourse is at the forefront, and academia is trying to find different forms and ways (sometimes even including self-censorship) in order to comply with policy (or at least not openly oppose it). This de facto subordinate stance of academic discourse (even if individual authors do not want to admit it to themselves) to political ideologies is manifested even in those cases where there is a clear contradiction between the two discourses (at least in cases where an academy seeks to objectively reflect existing realities).

This issue is closely connected also with the current trend towards engaged and community responsive scholarship, in which "civilly engaged scholars" are opposing the supporters of "pure science". Such an opposition is artificial, because fields of social sciences and humanities always are civically engaged because they explore real social phenomena and processes, and therefore always have their own public impact (and no matter what the individual authors think about). It is naïve to think that the researcher's civic engagement must be determined by the fact that he uses the "Roma" label for all communities formerly referred to as "Gypsy" and which are now included under the umbrella term "Roma" – if not for another reason, at least because this label is used first in the sphere of the so-called "Gypsy industry" and by politicians who want to practice social engineering for the Roma from the position "good white brothers". It is even more naïve to measure this civic engagement by public activities in social networks and in all sorts of signing petitions, declarations, etc., the real civic engagement should be reflected in an individual scholar's work.

Hardly anyone will disagree that academia needs to serve the benefit of society and communities. In the specific case of political and academic Roma labelling as discussed in the current text however, we encounter again a situation which is not so simple as appeared at first glance. The representatives of the academia have a choice between two kinds of engaged positions, expressed in labelling. Each labelling has its own impact and its usage can be based on different engagements and different understanding of community responsible scholarship. Some scholars who are engaged in supporting Roma national building, will perceptibly label all the communities related and non-related to Roma with this term. Others will choose another label, especially those who are engaged in supporting specific communities, in the first place, the numerous diverse nomadic communities included into the category of Gypsies 1, and today also labelled "Roma", but also some communities who are from same origin, but are with non-Roma identity (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015b: 26–54). For some scholars, however, the real socially responsible engagement is to show the picture of history and current situation as diverse as it is in reality. How to proceed in each case is the responsibility and conscious decision of each individual scholar and it is not realistic to expect unanimous position. Any academic and civic position could be understood and used, especially if explained, but the worst cases are when individual scholars without considering all aspects of the issue are using labelling (and are following a trend) which is considered at a specific moment politically correct and in fact leads to dead end not only in academia, but in policy as well.

CONCLUSION

In the title of a recently published article *Identifying of European Roma-Gypsy groups with the term "Roma". Towards consensus?* (Klípa, 2016: 203–217) a question was posed, which perhaps encompasses the most recent and most significant issue in modern Romani studies, namely about its research subject, and what should be its designation. A separate question is whether the designation "Romani studies" is at all the best term for this academic field; here we have some (not insignificant) doubts, especially given what has been said above, because in practice this designation contributes to labelling various communities with the term "Roma".

As it is clear from everything written above, the answer to this question is still

lacking, and we have no illusions about the possibility to reach at least some common ground for dialogue in this respect. Therefore, unfortunately, in the foreseeable future, we do not expect any consensus – neither in the political discourse nor in the academic one. In the sphere of policies towards Roma the things are constantly evolving, we see constant experimenting with new (or rediscovering forgotten old) variant solutions of the issues of Roma integration or inclusion against the backdrop of already visible failure of European and national policies in this regard with no optimistic signs for the future (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015c: 19–31).

No different is the situation in Romani studies, where it appears that achieving at least some basic consensus on defining the subject of study and on correct labelling of the communities in question is currently not only not possible but it is not realistic to expect this to happen soon. For academic knowledge, however, reaching a consensus is not mandatory, just on the contrary: enriching academic knowledge, in fact, requires a constant process of development, realized in a variety of forms, and academia is called upon to explore and reflect precisely this truly existing diversity rather than to attempt to construct it (including constructing the object of study).

For us a much more important question is whether the political discourse or the academic one should be a leading and decisive, and whether the civic engagement (i.e. ultimate adherence to certain ideological and political positions) of the authors should be manifested not only in life, but also need to express the civil engagement in their scholarly texts, leaving behind the academic norms and criteria. But this is a question to which each author should give their own answer, and accordingly to decide by themselves whether they will conform with definitions imposed by politicians in their own texts. In our firm belief, which was formed decades ago during the totalitarian communist regimes in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe, and (unfortunately) reinforced in the years of transition in conditions of European democracy, if the political ideology and public dictate dominate, this actually leads to the end of science.

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"ROMA" LABELLING, IDENTITY POLITICS AND EU-INTEGRATION: THE CASE OF MONTENEGRO

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The article makes an overview of the groups labelled as Gypsy/Roma and the minority policies related to Roma in present day Montenegro, and discusses how – in view of the processes in the region and in the course of the state's EU-integration – the top-down approach of adopting definitions centred on the terms "Roma and Egyptians" and "Roma" have influenced the state politics of identity regarding supporting and promoting new identities, as well as reinforcing the label "Roma" and "Romani" for all communities considered of common (Gypsy/Roma) origin. Further on, the impact of the EU-integration discourse on legislation and setting up Romani and Egyptian organizations is discussed within the public policies sector. Finally, I discuss initiatives and resources for publishing in Romani language in a country where a great part of the groups considered being of Romani origin speak another language as a mother tongue. My main argument is that the minority protection EU-conditionality and the special focus on the rights of the Roma, have led to an "import" of Roma issues for "solving", along with copy-pasting of activities that supposedly aim to flag Romani identity and language even though neither Romani identity nor Romani language are characteristic for all communities labelled as "Roma".

INTRODUCTION

In 2006 Montenegro became the last republic of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) to declare independence. Its way to sovereignty and new-state building went hand in hand with dynamics of identity of its population among the majority and minority groups (Bieber, 2003; Zahova, 2013a). While for the rest of the former

Yugoslavia republics and the region as a whole the development of the nation-building went through ethnonational homogenization and opposition to the "ethnic other" – minority or majority of a neighbouring country (including opposition in military and ethnic conflicts), Montenegro underwent the way of intra-ethnic division (Malesević & Uzelac, 2007: 696). In the two decades after the fall of SFRY the number of people identifying as Serbs was increasing while those who identify as Montenegrins was decreasing: 61.86 per cent the total population were Montenegrins in 1991, in 2003 that was 43.16 per cent, in 2011 – 44.98 per cent, while those identified as Serbs increased from 9.34 per cent (in 1991) to 31.99 to (in 2003) and were 28.73 per cent (in 2011) (Zahova, 2013a: 9). Note that this dynamic is not related to demographic processes such as population exchange or migrations, but is due to a shift in the self-identification of many individuals.

As for the other communities, according to the 2011 census the Bošnjaks were 8.65 per cent of the population, Albanians 4.91 per cent, Muslims 3.31 per cent, Croats 0.97 per cent, and Roma 1.01 per cent that is 6,251 in numbers (Statistical Office of Montenegro, 2011: 17–18). For comparison, in the previous census of 2003, Bošnjaks were 7.77 per cent, Albanians 5.03 per cent, Muslims 3.97 per cent, Croats 1.10 per cent, and Roma 0.42 per cent that is 2,601 in numbers (MONSTAT, 2003). As we can see the number of individuals declaring Romani identity in census data more than doubled. My argument is that this was impacted to a great extent by the Romani issues discourse in the identity politics of the state after 2006 and the consideration that Romani rights are an important part of the EU-integration strategy of the Montenegrin state.

Despite the country's small size and low population number (620,145 people), Montenegro today has a diversity of groups commonly referred to as Roma or Gypsy living on its territory. The political processes in both Montenegro and the region before and after the Kosovo war conflict brought lots of changes in the definition, perception and self-perception of the groups labelled as Gypsy/Roma in Montenegro. Similarly to the developments regarding other communities' identities, the processes at the end of 1990s can be considered as a watershed in the identity developments of the Gypsy groups in Montenegro. The Montenegrin state has paid significant attention to the protection of the status of the so called *populacija Roma, Aškalija i Egipćana* (population of the Roma, Aškali and Egyptians[1]), a naming that became popular with its use in official documents after the Kosovo war in 1999 recognizing different identities of communities considered of the same (Gypsy) origin (Marushiakova et al., 2001; Nedeljković, 2005). With the democratization process in the region after the Kosovo war conflict, the state and governmental bodies have been the main protagonists in the processes of recognition the rights of Roma and RAE population.

The general politics in the field of Roma issues in Montenegro can be viewed in the context of transition and democratization process in all states that inherited the territory of former Yugoslavia. The issue of the guaranteeing the basic human rights and minorities protection has become a signifier of a democratic state (European Commission, 2006a; European Commission, 2006b). The protection of Roma minority in accordance with all human rights standards of the CoE and the EU has been presented

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1 More details about the genesis and research on the Egyptian identity in historical context in Marushiakova et al., 2001; Trubeta, 2005; and general information on the phenomenon of "preferred ethnic identity" Marushiakova & Popov, 2012.

to the general public and in the political discourse as an important criterion for synchronizing the state legislation with the EU, UN and other international organizations. According to the governmental Strategy for Improvement the Position RAE Population in Montenegro 2008–2012:

> In that sense, the protection and promotion of the situation of Roma – RAE population as an extremely vulnerable minority is a result of the obligations laid down in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the [European] Social Charter, the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the numerous conventions on the prohibition of various forms of discrimination – racial, education, women, student, work and labour relations, various regulations of the so-called *soft rights* from the scope of the UN, OSCE, the Council of Europe, such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities of 1992, the Copenhagen criteria within the scope of the OSCE, various recommendations of the Council of Europe on this issue.[2] (Ministarstvo za zaštitu ljudskih i manjinskih prava, 2007: 4).

Similar to other countries in the region, chapters and regulations referring to minorities' rights protection were adopted in Montenegro, and the state has joined international initiatives such as the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015). There are similarities and difference when the circumstances of Western Balkans are compared to those of the other Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007. There is, on the one hand, a similar discourse – protection of minority rights as part of the so-called Copenhagen criteria, e.g. individual responsibility of each state as part of its minority rights policies. The lesson that Western Balkans countries learned from the 2004 enlargement was that prioritizing Roma and the human rights in an EU integration strategy brings incentives for governments in both political criteria assessment and financial terms (Ram, 2012). On the other hand, there is a different aspect in the EU Roma conditionality which has affected the way in which Western Balkan states had to develop their Roma strategies in their EU-integration process. According to the EU Roma integration strategy 2020 (*An EU framework for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020*, 2011), Roma integration in the EU has been declared a "join responsibility" and a social-issues centred definition on who the Roma are. The social inclusion approach (Sobotka & Vermeersch, 2012; Friedman, 2014) has thus started to play a key role, underpinning all Roma related policies.

The article makes an overview of the Roma/Gypsy groups and the minority policies related to Roma in present day Montenegro, and discusses how – in view of the

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2   Montenegrin language original: U tom smislu, zaštita i unaprijeđenje položaja Roma – RAE populacije kao izuzetno ugrožene manjine, priizilazi iz obaveza koje propisuju Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima, Međunarodni pakt o ekonomskim, socijalnim i kulturnim pravima, Evropska konvencija o ljudskim pravima i osnovnim slobodama, Evropska socijalna povelja, Okvirna konvencija Savjeta Evrope za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina, mnogobrojne konvencije o zabrani različitih oblika diskriminacije – rasne, u obrazovanju, prema ženama, đeci, na radu i u vezi radnih odnosa, različita pravila tzv. *mekog prava* iz djelokruga UN, OEBS-a, Savjeta Evrope, poput Deklaracije UN o pravima pripadnika nacionalnih, etničkih, vjerskih ili jezičkih manjina iz 1992 godine, Kopenhaških principa iz djelokruga OEBS-a, raličitih preporuka Savjeta Evrope iz ove problematike.

processes in the region and in the course of the state's EU-integration – the top-down approach of adopting definitions centred on the terms "Roma and Egyptians" and "Roma" have influenced the state politics of identity regarding supporting and promoting new identities, as well as reinforcing the label "Roma" and "Romani" for all communities considered being of common (Gypsy/Roma) origin. Further on, the impact of this discourse on legislation and setting up Romani and Egyptian organizations is discussed within the public policies sector. Finally, I discuss initiatives and resources for publishing in Romani language in a country where a great part of the groups speak another language as a mother tongue. My main argument is that the minority protection EU-conditionality and the special focus on the rights of the Roma, have led to an "import" of Roma issues for "solving", along with copy-pasting of activities that supposedly aim to flag Romani identity and language even though neither Romani identity nor Romani language are characteristic for all communities labelled as "Roma".

I will use the term Roma/Gypsy as a common denominator and umbrella name when referring to the ethnic groups discussed below. By using this terminology, I do not imply that it is a correct ethnonym for the group; neither do I ascribe any other value or ethnographic meaning to these terms. This is a very pragmatic decision in order to technically refer to those groups that are subject of labelling, which I deal with in this study. Without technical, value neutral reference to those groups, it would be impossible to explore the situation I am analysing.

THE GROUPS IN MONTENEGRO

The Kosovo war conflict brought lots of changes in the definition, perception and self-perception of the groups considered being of Roma/Gypsy origin in Montenegro, but prior to the 1990s diverse identities were also recorded. According to criteria such as time of settlement, ethno-cultural characteristics and group identity, there are three main groups observed and recorded in the scientific research in ethnology (Barjaktarević, 1962; Barjaktarović, 1970; Vukanović, 1983; Lutovac, 1987). First is the group of *Kovači* (black-smiths, called *Arlija* by the Romani speaking group of Montenegrin *Čergarja*), inhabiting the territory of Montenegro since the time of the Ottoman rule on the Adriatic coast or in the cities inside, which prefer to declare another ethnic or national identity. The mother tongue of the group for centuries appears to be the language spoken by the surrounding populations – Serbian (or Serbo-Croatian, Montenegrin depending on the period) or Albanian (in Ulcinj for instance). Second is the group of *Roma-Čergarja*, identified by the surrounding population as *Gabelji*, in earlier periods also as *Gurbeti*, travellers for a couple of centuries in Montenegro, but settled since the 1960s. *Roma-Čergarja* identify as Roma and speak Romani language. Long-term migration to Western Europe has been characteristic for the group since the 1970s. And third group of Roma from different places in Kosovo, migrated to Montenegro between the end of the 1940s and the 1980s and settled in the larger cities that identify nowadays as Roma-Muslims, among them few families identifying as Egyptians, while earlier research in the 1970s and 1980s recorded the exonym *Madžup* as an endonym of the group (Lutovac, 1987). Most of them are Albanian language speakers, but the shift to Albanian was made within the last two generations, so Romani language is still spoken/understood by the older generation. To these groups we should

add the refugees from Kosovo who migrated to Montenegro after 1999: Roma or Roma-Muslims speaking a different dialect of Romani, Egyptians who speak Albanian and a couple of *Aškali* families. Many of the refugees on the territory of Montenegro that had arrived during the war conflicts in the territory of Kosovo are Gypsies, a significant proportion of them permanently settled in the country legally or illegally in the camps in larger towns in Montenegro, the biggest ones in Podgorica (Konik 1 and Konik 2), one in Tivat and one in Berane. The most abundant community, which is defined as *Muslim Roma* (Romi-Muslimani are 3105 people according to census of refugees from 2003), followed by a community known as *Egyptians* (*Egipčani*) (Delić, 2008: 38). Muslim Roma often speak Romani as mother tongue, along with Albanian and Serbian. They have weak contacts with the Muslim Roma who settled during SRFY in Montenegro, although for some of them the reason for the forced migration was the existence of relatives in Montenegro.

Egyptians and *Aškali* try to clearly distance themselves from Roma. They argue that they have a different origin but also a different language. Egyptians consider themselves superior to Roma and also point out that they have never declared Roma identity (Trubeta, 2005: 75). Both the Roma and Egyptians see Aškali as sub-group or another name for Egyptians, while for the Roma Aškali is one of the names for Egyptian and means "right hand of the Albanians" (Zahova, 2012: 91). For the Egyptians themselves, Aškali means "true Egyptian" (*has Egipćan*). Roma consider the Egyptian community to be a political invention or new name for an old community earlier known to them as *Madžup, Arlija,* or *Aškalija* (depending on the use in different regions of Kosovo). Egyptians are pejoratively defined by Roma as *chibale* (used for Albanian speakers) and "Albanian servants", they are accused of losing their own (Roma) culture and adopting the foreign (Albanian) culture, thus, becoming without identity (Zahova, 2012: 92).

As Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov have pointed out Roma/Gypsies live in at least two dimensions – as part of their own community and as part of the macro-society with which they constantly interact (Marushiakova & Popov, 2005: 434). Different groups, on the one hand, build their community identity in the process of interactions with other groups from which they separate on the base of certain characteristics that function as cultural markers (Barth, 1969: 13). On the other hand, Montenegrin society is a small one and the groups interact and are influenced both by this interaction and by the macro-society processes. The views, policies and discourses about the groups considered as Roma and Egyptians developed by the country's institutions and surrounding population, have certain impact on the groups themselves (Zahova, 2013a: 246).

According to the national census from April 2011 the Roma in Montenegro are 6,251 (over 1.01 per cent) and Egyptians number 2,054 (over 0.30) (Statistical Office of Montenegro, 2011), while there are also Roma and Egyptians that have refugee and International Displaced Person (IDP) status and live in camps (i.e. are not included in the official population census). According to experts and NGOs there might be also several thousand refugees with Roma and Egyptian identity, reaching 13,000 – 15,000 (Delić, 2008: 8) or even a very doubtful estimation of 21,000 (Vukadinović, 2001: 521), that constantly migrate to neighbouring countries and Western Europe. An unofficial census implemented jointly by the National Council of Roma and Egyptians of Montenegro and the Statistical Institute of Montenegro showed that the total number of citizens and residents in Montenegro, declaring Roma, Gypsy, Aškali or Egyptian

identity is 9,934 (MONSTAT, 2009: 8), but this number does not include those who live in diaspora or declare preferred identity – Albanian, Muslim/Bošnjak, or identify only by their citizenship as Montenegrins.[3] Both the old settled groups and the refugee new comers live in the Montenegrin cities that are municipal centres. According to this data, there are 7,110 Roma, 2,498 Egyptians, 109 Aškali and 48 Muslims. They live in Podgorica (5,748), Nikšić (1,001), Berane (669), Ulcinj (550), Tivat (425), Bjelo Polije (369), Bar (309), Herceg Novi (299), Budva (189), Kotor (123), Rožaje (112), Cetinje (86), Pljevlja (42), Danilovgrad (12) (MONSTAT, 2009).

The term Roma was not something unheard of in Montenegro. There was a wide Romani movement in Yugoslavia from the end of the 1960s through to the 1980s with the active involvement of Slobodan Berberski, member of the Central Committee of the Union of the Communists in Yugoslavia. The state stimulated this country-wide movement, as well as the participation of the Yugoslav Roma in the international Roma movement (Acković, 2001; Marushiakova & Popov, 2005). In that period Roma were classified as an ethnic group, the lowest level in the SFRY hierarchical structure of nations, nationalities and ethnic groups (Bertsch, 1977: 90; Acković, 1992: 19). In 1971 only 234 people declared Roma identity in Montenegro, but the data of the police records and the research of Momčilo Lutovac (Lutovac, 1987) estimated their number at 4197 in the 1970s. The Yugoslav Romani movement from this period, the foundation of Roma organizations on the territory of the SFRY and the realization of cultural events with the support of the state, did not have significant impact on the communities on the territory of Montenegro. There was, however, certain impact of these policies, for instance stimulation of academic and research interests towards the Gypsy/Roma communities (Barjaktarević, 1962; Barjaktarović, 1970; Vukanović, 1983; Lutovac, 1987), official usage of the term "Roma", and a poetry collection published in Romani by a Montenegrin Romani author (Sejdović, 1988).

Although *Madžupi, Gjupci, Jevgits* was used for centuries as an endonym of some group (Lutovac, 1987), the movement for official recognition of Egyptians as an ethnic category started in the 1980s in Macedonia (Zemon, 2001: 25; Nedeljković, 2005: 101). In 1989 Nazmi Arifi and his brother Usni Zemoski, both from Struga in Macedonia officially proposed "Egyptian" as a category in the census of 1991, and soon after, in 1990, the Association of Egyptians in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Udruženje Egipćana u SFR Jugoslaviji) was founded in Ohrid Macedonia, followed by the founding of the Association of Egyptians in Kosovo and Metochia (Shoqata e Egjyptianëve të Kosovës) in Prishtina (Zemon, 2001: 35, 40). Against a background of political and ethnic tensions of the 1990s, these organization as well as other Egyptian associations raised voices in public for the recognition of "Egyptian" identity in official documents and censuses. In the 1990s in Kosovo there were voices for recognition of Aškali identity, claiming that this is a separate ethnic group with an old ethnonym. This was reflected in reports issued by the International community and human rights groups. Afterwards,in order to recognize minorities in Kosovo, the then state that used to be a federation between Serbia and Montenegro ratified a series of documents following the definition Roma, Aškali and Egyptians, as accepted by the Kosovo Transitional Council and formulated in international organizations' documents when defining the minorities in Kosovo.

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3 According to my estimations based on field research in the period 2007–2010, the number is not less than 3,000.

In the public and policies discourse the Roma issue was raised in Montenegro with refugees´ influx during the Kosovo war conflict and with the clearly stated aim of the Montenegrin political elite at the end of the 20th century, to distance from Milošević politics and join the EU as soon as possible (Caspersen, 2003). The government of Serbia and Montenegro (2003–2006) outlined the legal and policy framework within minority rights protection, refugees and IDPs status, and adopted in all of them the term Roma, Aškali and Egyptians (Vukadinović, 2001: 520). The independent state of Montenegro since 2006 inherited these policies and presented the protection of the rights of the RAE population as part of the state aspiration to join the EU, adopted Strategy for improving the situation of RAE population in Montenegro (2008–2012), joined the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015), developed Strategy for Improvement the Position RAE Population in Montenegro 2008-2012 (Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, 2007) and the 2016–2020 Strategy for Social Inclusion of Roma and Egyptian population (Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, 2016), along with the respective annual Action plans as per these strategies. With all this, I'd like to underline the fact that the state of Montenegro has been the main protagonist in raising the issue of policies and actions targeted at Roma as part of its EU integration strategy.

POLITICAL HISTORY AND EU-INTEGRATION PROCESSES

Since the beginning of the 21st century, on its path to independence, the governing elite promoted the formula "Montenegrin nation of all citizens" and the country's identity has not been based any longer "on the historical right of the Montenegrin people to [have their] own country, achieved by centuries of struggle for freedom" as stated in the Constitution of Republic of Montenegro from 1992 (Constitution, 1992). It is now based on the decision of "free and equal citizens belonging to nations and national minorities living in Montenegro: Montenegrins, Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, Muslims, Croats and others who are supporters of the democratic and civic Montenegro", according to the Preamble of the Constitution of Montenegro from 2007 (Constitution, 2007). The state-building project "Montenegrin nation of all citizens" encompasses all minorities and is qualitatively different from the model of ethnic nation, that was a norm for Montenegro itself in the recent past. This model seems the most appropriate for the 620,029 inhabitants with over ten national communities, none of which exceeds 50 per cent of the population.

During the same period, after the year 2000, in order to recognize the minorities in Kosovo the state that then used to be a federation between Serbia and Montenegro ratified a series of documents following the definition Roma, Aškali and Egyptians. The federal government (of Serbia and Montenegro) outlined the legal and policy frameworks within minority rights' protection, refugees and IDPs status, and adopted in all of them the term Roma, Aškali and Egyptians. The independent state of Montenegro since 2006 inherited these policies, repeating the definition RAE population, despite the fact that no Aškali population was recorded in the territory of the state.

Montenegro's definitions and concepts of minority, ethnicity and nationality were influenced by the Yugoslav legacy in the field of national issues. The legislation and political discourse inherited the terms *etnička grupa* (ethnic groups), *narodnost* (nationality) and *narod* (nation) from the time of the Yugoslav federation *(*Bertsch, 1977; Várady, 1997). The term nation was applied to the nations that were "constitutive"for

the federation – Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians and (after 1974) Muslims. During the same period the term *narodnost* defined communities that had their mother land outside the borders of the Yugoslav federation (Albanians, Hungarians, Italians, etc.), while before 1963 these communities had been called *nacionalna manjina* (national minority). The terms *etnička grupa* was used to define communities without a nation-state – Roma and Jews (it remained the same even after 1948). According to the legislation currently in force the Montenegrin nation (*crnogorski narod*) is one of the nations in the civic state and all other communities, regardless if they have a nation state or not, are minority. A minority which has its country of origin or mother land is called minority national community (*manjinska nacionalna zajednica*), while the minorities that do not have a genesis related to a nation-state are called minority people (*manjinski narod)*. Montenegro is pursuing a policy of special rights for minority communities, considering all the citizens who do not identify as Montenegrins as minority. Thus, minority national communities are Serbs, Croats, Albanians and Bošnjaks, and minority peoples are Muslims, Roma and Egyptians. There is no definition of the term "ethnic group" in the current legislation. However, the term ethnic minority has been largely used in policy documents, scientific and public discourse to refer to communities that had been considered as ethnic groups in the time of Socialist Yugoslavia; Roma, for instance (Vukadinović, 2001; Delić, 2008; Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, 2016).

According to Article 1 of the Law on Human Rights and Freedoms its aim is to protect the rights of the autochthonous "minority peoples, national minorities, ethnic minority and those who belong to them" called minority, along with the general human and civil rights and liberties guaranteed to all citizens and protection of specific minority rights and freedoms (Law on Human Rights and Freedoms, 2006). The law sets out areas important for preserving identity and providing equal opportunities for minorities in line with the text of the Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages: free choice and usage of one's personal and family name, as well as registering the names on the documents in their own language and alphabet (Arts. 9-10); free and official use of one's language and alphabet (Article 11); access to information and media, as well as to programme contents about minorities in public services (Article 12); education in one's own language and alphabet and adequate representation of contents in teaching plans and programmes as well as principles of affirmative action (Article 13); minorities' political participation within the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro and local assemblies (Art. 23); proportionate representation in public services of state and local authorities (Arts. 25, 27, 28); articulating requests through the possibility of forming their national councils with special responsibilities (Arts. 33); establishing a fund for national minorities in order to get material support from the state with the aim of preserving national specificities (Art. 36).

Minority peoples (*manjinski narodi*) and other minority national communities (*manjinska nacionalna zajednica*) have rights and freedoms to develop and express their ethnic and national characteristics, which may be exercised either individually or collectively. A major part of them is related with the exercise of linguistic rights. Under Article 67 of the Constitution, the members of national and ethnic groups are guaranteed "protection of the national, ethnic, cultural, language and religious identity" according to the international norms for protection of human and civil rights. Persons belonging to national and ethnic groups "have the right to use their languages nd scripts,

the right to education and the right to receive information in their languages" (Article 68) and "usage of their language in procedure before the state institutions" (Article 72). It also provided the right to "found educational, cultural and religious societies, with support of the state" (Article 69) and "to be proportionally represented in public services, state bodies and local self-government administrations" (Article 73).

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages entered into force in Montenegro on 6 June 2006. Montenegrin authorities declared that the Charter would apply to the Albanian and Romani Languages for which Montenegro takes on the obligations of the third part of the Charter. In its Recommendation on the application of the Charter adopted on 20 January 2010, the CoE recommended that the territories with official Albanian and Romani languages are clarified and the necessary steps for the codification and development of the Romani language are taken, so that teaching of the Romani language is introduced in education (Secretary General of the Council of Europe, 2001).

LABELLING AND ITS EFFECTS

The political and social movements for recognition or demonstration of identity among the Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro are a fact after 2000. Government policies in the field of minority rights, particularly Roma, stimulated and coordinated with programmes by external international organizations, have a number of effects on the identity of Roma/Gypsies and their development as a community. As a result of these processes, both terms – Roma and Egyptians – have been circulated in political document and the public space, a process entangled with the increase of people who identify as Roma and Egyptians. These developments have also been influenced by the activities of neighbouring organizations such as the Union of Balkan Egyptians and the compact migrations of refugees from Kosovo, as well as interactions with Roma and Egyptian activists on the movement from Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia.

Roma and Egyptian non-governmental organizations were set up, mostly by activists among the earlier migrants (settled during the Socialism period) or refugee groups, with the support of the state funding distributed through the Fund for minorities set up according to the Law on Minorities' Rights and Freedoms from 2007. Soon after, in 2007, NGOs were registered by *Kovači* activists from communities living in the Adriatic coast where the community is still compact. To a lesser degree or almost undeveloped stays the movement among the *Čergarja-Roma* (Zahova, 2013a: 302–303). Following the regulations of the same Law, the state established a Council of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro in 2008. Since a minority council can be established and state funding can be distributed only to a minority with Montenegrin citizenship numbering a certain per cent of the total population, according to official statistics, only Roma could form a national council (the official number of Egyptians was 225 at that time). However, the state stimulated and advised the Roma invited to form the Council to incorporate representatives of the other communities that fall under the definition RAE. Since the number of Aškali was insufficient, the Roma leaders under the patronage of the state invited representatives of the Egyptian community to join the Council.[4] In the mandates of the Council, 3 out 17 members are Egyptians and one of them is Vice-president of

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4   Information obtained during a series of interviews in August 2008 with Isen Gaši, President of the

the council. Interesting to note is that they are not elected from the community of refugees that in fact "brought" the Egyptian issue in Montenegro. Two were from the so-called *Kovači* old-settlers' communities in Stari Bar and Ulcinj, the communities from which they come from are experiencing a dynamic change of identity and rather tend to declare another identity; that of the surrounding population identity. The third Egyptian member comes from a family of Kosovo labour migrants from the 1980s. This community only 20 years before declared Roma or *Madžup* identity (Delić, 2008), while now many of them say they shift to Egyptian identity, since this was their real identity which they had had no right to declare before.

The Council of Roma and Egyptian distributes funds annually for projects related to Roma and Egyptian associations. Implementing the state Strategy for social inclusion of Roma and Egyptians (Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, 2016), it manages activities facilitating the access to education, health services, dwelling to all communities considered as RAE. Particular attention is paid to obtaining of ID cards for refugees and citizenship for those Kosovo born migrants, whose families have lived since the 1940s-1950s in Montenegro. The council for the first time introduced the celebration of 8th April (the International Roma day), the Roma flag as well as the establishment of different dance and music groups for Roma and Egyptian folklore and its presentation to audiences all over Montenegro. The members of the Council have met NGO activists from the region during international initiative meetings, and with state funding apply activities that have been developed in the region as part of the Roma movement.

After 2012, the Roma, Aškali and Egyptian (RAE) population definition has been replaced by Roma and Egyptians in the current human rights protection discourse. As a rule, in both internal (reports related to the Decade of Roma Inclusion or Strategy of the Roma Council) and "external" reports and documents concerning Montenegro (by EU for instance) special attention is paid to children's rights in access to education, discrimination, and the problems at Konik where the two refugees camps are located. All reports stress the issues of the RAE population – obstacles in access to employment, health care and housing. However, we shall be aware of the fact that these problems are not related only to the Roma rights issue, but to the fact that the IDPs and refugees have a particular status and do not have Montenegrin identity cards. The rest of the citizens or residents of Montenegro with Roma/Gypsy origin are well integrated into the Montenegrin society and they do not face the problems valid for the IDPs or refugees from Kosovo. They usually have their own occupations and jobs, many of them took advantage of the labour migrants' agreements between Yugoslavia and Germany in the 1970s and as *Gastarbeiters* went to work in Western Europe, most of them coming back in Montenegro after retirement. My research and in-depth interviews with this community revealed that the problem that these citizens of Montenegro face today is that they do not have the right of free movement, possibilities to travel, and access to work, something that the community themselves underlines when contrasting the present days to socialist Yugoslavia, when they had all of these possibilities (Zahova, 2013a: 249).

Government policies in the field of minority rights, particularly the institutionalization of the term Roma and Egyptians, stimulated and coordinated with programmes by

Council and Muhamed Uković, Vice-President of the Council and Egyptian. This was also stated by the other two members of the Council who identified as Egyptians.

external international organizations, have a number of effects on the identity of the communities. As a result of these processes, non-governmental organizations of Roma and Egyptians appear to act also as stimulants to the expression of these identities. The globalized Romani movement, the regional cooperation between Romani activists in the territories of former Yugoslavia, IT technologies and migrations have also impacted the processes referred to as labelling and identification. Montenegrin Roma activists started promoting symbols and activities demonstrating the ideas of the Roma international movement (hymn, flag, folklore, media programmes) that are otherwise historically related to the Yugoslav Roma taking part in the movement (Marushiakova & Popov, 2005). The increase of the Romani population, on the one hand, has been a result of the policies stimulating and developing Roma identities and activities funded by the state budget. On the other hand, this has also been affected by the policies in the field of citizenship of the new state – Kosovo born Roma are now already able to become Montenegrin citizens. The comparison between the last two population censuses shows that the number of those who identify as Roma has increased significantly (2,601 in 2003 and 6,251 in 2011). And the same goes for those who declare speaking Romani language (2,602 in 2003 and 5,169 in 2011).

As result of the institutionalization of Egyptian identity in a number of government documents and the introduction of the Egyptian category of Montenegrin census, communities that declare a different identity in the past are now considered Egyptians. Another factor related to external developments of the Egyptian movement that have been influenced by international programmes for minorities' rights is the activities of the Union of Balkan Egyptians in Montenegro. Within a project funded by an EU programme with the aim of raising the issue of vulnerable communities in the region, the Union of Balkan Egyptians in fact implemented a campaign with a series of conferences and press-conferences in Western Balkans, Montenegro included, advocating for recognition of the Egyptian community. Particularly in Montenegro the Union of Balkan Egyptians raised the issue of total separation of the Roma from the Egyptians in both governmental strategies and documents and institutions, due to historically inherited wrong perception and treatment as one community, as stated by the Unions leaders (Alković, 2010: 46). The Union of Balkan Egyptians criticized the government for uniting Roma and Egyptians in strategic documents and institutions.[5] It raised the issue of establishing of a separate Council of Egyptians funded by the state with the arguments that such a council had already been established in Serbia. In the context of the new state development and unresolved dilemmas among Egyptian leaders, there are still open questions – whether the old community of *Kovači* in the places where they live compactly and whose leaders declare Egyptian identity will continue to express preferential ethnic identity (Serbian, Bošnjak, Montenegrin, Muslim, etc.) or will take on the path of the new (Egyptian) identity.

Interestingly enough, the development of macro-community processes, namely the issue of the new Montenegrin (civil) identity, also had a certain impact on the development of the Roma groups and the social movement among their leaders. The process of building the identity of the new state has led to a competition among the Roma/Gypsy group over claims who are the Montenegrin Roma, on the base of different arguments. *Kovači* point to their origins in Montenegro as old settlers, as opposed to

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5   Rubin Zemon, President of Union of Balkan Egyptians, on 2010 OSCE Review Conference, Warsaw 06 October, 2010. Working Session 7: Tolerance and non-discrimination I.

Čergarja who reside outside of the country. *Čergarja,* on their side, as effect of contacts with Roma outside of Montenegro, also identified as Montenegrin Roma on the base of their citizenship. Finally, Kosovo Muslim Roma also attempt to demonstrate a high degree of integration in Montenegrin society by stressing on the fact that they have supported (i.e. voted for) independence, giving a decisive contribution to the 55 per cent in favour of independent Montenegro. On the other hand, the processes of guaranteeing minority rights for communities that do not qualify as Montenegrins (such as political participation, national minority councils, quotas in state institutions at national and local level) affect and influence leadership demands of Roma and Egyptians. Following the introduction of lower electoral thresholds for minority parties in electoral legislation in 2011, the idea of political participation in parliament was formed among the members of the Council of Roma and Egyptians.

PARADOXES OF THE ROMA-DOMINATED DISCOURSE

The Romani issues discourse in the Western Balkans, and in Montenegro in particular, resemble the development of Roma policies in the East European countries – there are international and structural funds supporting projects of governments and NGOs; governmental strategies have been developed for projects for Roma inclusion in housing, education, employment, health care; the Romani issues have always been addressed in Montenegro's progress reports (the European Commission, the Council of Europe's progress reports on the European Charter for Regional and Minority Rights languages) with regard to the Roma. Some important symbols related to Romani (national) identity in the discourse of the international movement (hymn, flag, folklore, media programmes) have also been circulated.

The Romani language has played a key role in the processes of expressing and flagging Romani identity (Matras, 2013). The tendencies of entanglement of the Romani political movement and Romani literature production both nationally and internationally (Zahova, 2014: 58–60; Toninato, 2014: 74–76), have developed in Montenegro too. The widely shared concept in the region that the language is a flag of ethnic and national identity (Friedman, 1999; Zahova, 2013b: 699) has also been exemplified by the fact that while Romani language is not spoken by all groups declaring Romani identity in Montenegro, it is an important (Romani) identity marker for both Roma (regardless of the language they speak as a mother tongue) and non-Roma (Gypsy groups with another identity or non-Romani majority population) (Zahova, 2012: 95). Romani language publishing initiatives in Montenegro today have to be viewed and interpreted exactly in this context.

Although Romani language is not a mother tongue of most of those who are perceived according to the "umbrella" definition as Roma (e.g. all groups considered Gypsy) and is spoken by 5,169 people according to the 2011 census, many resources and efforts were invested in Romani language publishing. Straight after setting up the Council of Roma and Egyptians, the government distributed funds for Romani language production. In some years (for example 2008 when 6 illustrated booklets in four languages, including Romani, were published by the National Board for Textbooks and Educational Materials) the copies of Romani language books exceeded the number of Romani language speakers.

Creating and publishing in Romani language is not completely unknown in

Montenegro. During Yugoslav Socialism (1946–1992) – as part of the Yugoslav ethnic policies supporting Romani identity revealing through various forms of Romani production – Ruždija Ruso Sejdović published the bilingual poetry collection *Fires in the Night* (1988). In the two decades after 1992, there was only one book that could be classified as publication in Romani. Curiously enough, the book is a collection of Romani folklore that had been recorded in Albanian among Albanian speaking Roma, and published along with Serbian and Romani version of the text, the latter done by the Romani translator Sejdo Jašarov from Macedonia due to the lack of qualified translators in the country (Vuksanović-Vukoslavović & Beganaj, 2005). Otherwise distribution of Romani publications produced in the neighbouring countries as Serbia, Croatia and Kosovo was done as well.

Since 2008, when the Council of Roma and Egyptians was set up, at least a couple of Romani language editions have been published in the genres of children's literature, folklore, tales and poetry. This has been done with the support of grants distributed annually through the Council. The main authors of original (fiction) works are three – Ruždija Ruso Sejdović (2012a; 2012b), a Rom from the *Čergarja* group who has been living in Germany since 1990s, Ivan Toskić, a Serbian born *Gurbet* Rom and journalist living in Podgorica (Toskić, 2014; Toskić, 2016; Toskić & Popadić, 2017) and Sokolj Beganaj, a Kosovo born Rom whose poetry was translated by the acclaimed Romani writer Alija Krasnići (Beganaj, 2012). Romani translations with government support have also appeared – among them educational materials, laws and government documents' translations (Hasani, 2013), as well as Romani translations of articles published in the journal of the National Minority Centre of Montenegro.

After Montenegro ratified the ECRML a couple of progress reports as per the charter mentioned that Romani did not have official status and was still in an unfavourable situation, along with lack of qualified teachers and teaching materials that hampers the introduction of Romani into education. Special efforts on behalf of the government were thus invested in issuing educational materials. This was largely done with external expertise of Romani activists and researchers from neighbouring countries because of the lack of local specialists in Romani language and education, with appropriate qualifications and experience. In 2015 the National Board for Textbooks and Educational Materials issued Montenegrin-Romani and Romani-Montenegrin dictionary prepared by a team led by the Macedonian Romani linguist and pedagogical expert Ljatif Demir (Demir, Durnič, Demir, 2015) and Romani language textbook by team led by the Romani ethnologist Trajko Petrovski (et al. 2014), also from Macedonia. The Ministry of Minority and Human Rights organized a conference and both editions were greatly promoted in the media. On the occasion of their presentation, the National Council of Roma published the following statement (Uković, 2015) in the Montenegrin language:

> The Ministry of Human and Minority Rights in cooperation with the Roma Council has published a textbook in Romani. Throughout all these years, the Romani Council works to affirm and preserve the cultural and national identity of the Roma community in Montenegro. The creation of a systematic solution for Roma education in the mother tongue is the basis for preserving the national identity of the Roma community in Montenegro.

Through all these years, the Roma Council has been trying to build mutual trust with the state institutions in Montenegro since its establishment. "With the Ministry of

Human and Minority Rights, we have always had a good cooperation", said the Roma Council´s President Isen Gaši. He thanked the Deputy Minister of Human and Minority Rights, Leon Đokaj for the very successful cooperation with the respected ministry.[6]

CONCLUSION

In the decades following the fall of SFRY, processes of dynamic identity shift and appearance of new ethnic categories, among the groups labelled as Roma/Gypsies are observed in Montenegro. There are number of groups who have been living in Montenegro for centuries (*Kovači, Čergarja*), or who came as labour migrants during the period of SFRY (*Roma-Muslims, Madžupi*). After the 1999 Kosovo conflict new groups came as refugees including such groups with Romani identity (*Roma-Muslims, Arli, Gurbeti*), with *Egyptian* identity and a few *Aškali* families.

With the democratization process in the region after the Kosovo war conflict, the state and governmental bodies were the main protagonists in the processes for affirming the terms of Roma/Roma and Egyptians/RAE population, and developing policies for improvement of the situation of the Roma. Although since the 1970s there were Roma related policies in Yugoslavia and a federation-wide Rom umbrella organization existed in the Yugoslav territories, these policies did not have any effect on the identification of the groups or on their inclusion in cultural Roma related activities and programmes. It was only in the 1990s and especially after Montenegrin independence in 2006 when the term Roma was affirmed in the public discourse.

The EU Roma conditionality influenced the way in which Western Balkan states like Montenegro developed minority rights strategies in their EU-integration process. The development of the Roma-related policies was considered a requirement on the state's way to the EU and UN. State funding for cultural activities related to Romani identity and language was ensured. The funding had led to certain effects just few years after independence. The perception that Romani language is one of the pillars of a common Romani identity have also been embedded in the identity politics of the Montenegrin government through supported activities for Romani language publishing. In addition, the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages was ratified in Montenegro and authorities declared that the Charter would apply to the Romani. Development of Romani language in publications, media and education was, thus, a task of the state.

After the new millennium, the number of those who identify as Roma and declare speaking of Romani language doubled. Romani organizations and the Council of Roma and Egyptians have been exchanging expertise with neighbouring Western Balkan countries, and organize cultural activities representing Romani culture – such as the celebration of 8 April, the International Roma day, dance and music festivals for Romani

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6   Montenegrin original: Ministrastvo za ljudska i manjinska prava u saradnji sa romskim savjetom, izdalo je bukvar na romskom jeziku. Romski savjet svih ovih godina radi na afirmaciji i očuvanju kulturnog i nacionalnog identiteta romske zajednice u Crnoj Gori. Stvaranje sistemskog rjesenja za obrazovanje Roma na maternjem jeziku je osnov za očuvanje nacionalnog identiteta romske zajednice u Crnoj Gori. Romski savjet se svih ovih godina od njenog kontituisanja trudio da izgradi međusobno povjerenje sa državnim institucijama u Crnoj Gori. "Sa Ministrastvom za ljudska i manjinska prava uvjek smo imali korektnu saradnju" kazao je predsjednik romskog savjeta Isen gaši. On se zahvalio pomoćniku Ministra u Ministrastvu za ljudska i manjiska prava Leonu Đokaju, na veoma uspješnoj saradnji sa navedenim ministarstvom.

youth, Miss Roma competition among others. These Roma culture activities replicate a pattern that usually takes place during Eastern European countries' accession process.

The introduction of the Egyptian identity also took place in Montenegro and communities that used to declare different identity in the past now consider themselves as Egyptians. The growth of the Egyptian community has been closely interlinked to related developments in the Western Balkan region, the heritage of the Yugoslav policies in the field of ethnic and national identity, migrations of refugees, and the coining of term RAE population after the Kosovo war conflict.

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ESCAPING THE LABYRINTH
OF ROMA POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.
REFLECTIONS ON COMMON CITIZENSHIP

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The paper reconstructs the genesis of contemporary debates on Roma rights in Europe, from the early 1990s up to now. It focuses on official documents and key experts' opinions, within the context of the fall of State-Socialism and the consequent Europeanization of Human Rights. The assemblage of texts analyzed here constitutes a complex field that embraces a multiplicity of institutions, individuals and discourses. In this field, texts are principle instruments of influencing and ruling politics, and they crystalize a complex process of policy institutionalization. By doing institutional discourse analysis, this paper examines the genesis of EU Roma policies pointing out two core antinomies: a) the ethnicity blind liberal concept of individual emancipation has proved to reproduce interethnic inequality, due to its incapacity to counter deeply rooted antigypsyism as a mechanism of social exclusion. b) The ethno-communitarian concept of collective emancipation has revealed the limits of civic initiatives based on NGO-networks, while power differentials in democratic elected bodies and public institutions continue to be unaddressed. To overcome such antinomies, the paper explores different political scenarios, to enable pathways for Roma equality by enacting processes of common citizenship.

Key words: Recognition; Social exclusion; Antigypsyism; Roma inclusion; Common citizenship; Political representation

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFC: Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
CEE: Central Eastern Europe
CoE: Council of Europe
EC: European Commission

ECRI: European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
DRISF: Decade for Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation
EELV: Europe Ecologie – Les Verts
ERGO: European Roma Grassroots Organizations
ERTF: European Roma and Travellers Forum
EU: European Union
FCNM: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
IRU: International Romani Union
NGO: Nongovernmental organization
NRC: National Roma Congress
ODIHR: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSEPI: Open Society European Policy Institute
OSF: Open Society Foundations
RIO: Roma Initiatives Office
UN: United Nations
UNHCHR: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
WB: World Bank

INTRODUCTION

The fall of State-Socialism in Europe drew up a new grammar of social conflicts, in which historical injustices and claims for recognition have been at the core of new debates on inequality. From this approach, the struggles for justice exceed the demands of economic equality among individuals (see figure 1 below). In words of the social philosopher, Axel Honneth:

> For victims of historical disrespect, [recognition] has the direct function of tearing them out the crippling situation of passively endured humiliation and helping them, in turn, on their way to a new, positive relation-to-self (Honneth, 1995: 164).

In the post-Socialist juncture, the studies in the theory of recognition designed new models of justice, aiming to transform structural mechanisms of social exclusion. In Fraser's own words, this project of social transformation: "aimed at correcting [societal] inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework" (Fraser, 1995: 82). To this purpose, economic policies of redistribution were conceived systemically intertwined with policies of cultural recognition and new strategies for political representation (Fraser, 1997; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Fraser, 2014).

In this context, the notion of "exclusion" describes a state in which certain groups are unable to participate in different domains of economic, cultural and political life, as well as the process leading to and sustaining such a state. As the United Nations recognizes: "exclusion entails not only material deprivation, but also lack of agency over important decisions as well as feelings of alienation and inferiority" (UN, 2016: 18).
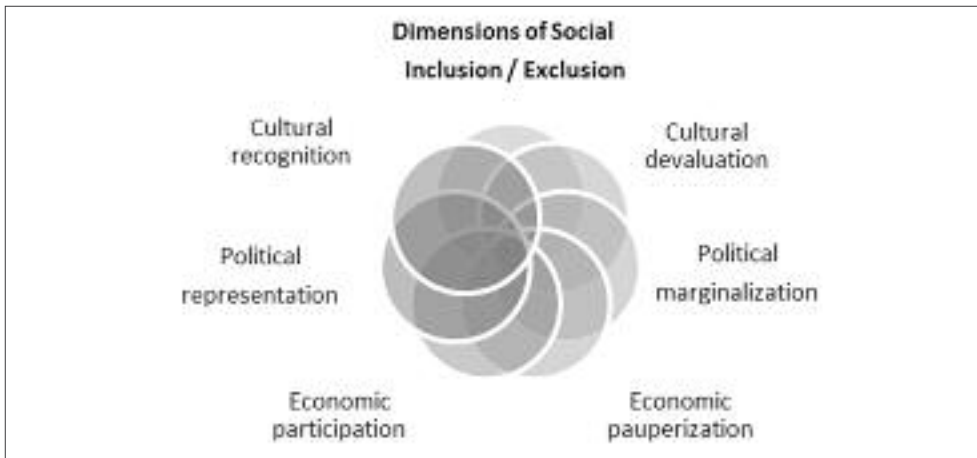
Figure 1 (self-elaboration)

In this political scenario, theoretical tools such as the feminist critique, the post-colonial theory and the critical race studies deployed a review of deliberative democracy, by tackling power relations embodied in ethnicity, gender, class and nationality (Alcoff & Mendieta, 2003; Andersen & Hill Collins, 1992). In dialogue with these intellectual and political developments, Honneth sustains that

> We may justify principles of justice only by locating them in the relations of [political] communication themselves, in their conditions of validity. This alternative procedure could thus be termed "reconstructive", because it does not accept an impartial standpoint from which to justify principles of justice, but "reconstructs" them within the historical process of relations of recognition in which they are always already at work (Honneth, 2012: 47).

At the core of this ontology of justice, beyond any *corpus juris*, it lays the right to claim rights. This requires a democratic redistribution of technical, symbolic and economic resources; as well as opened channels for dialogue with power drivers such as governmental/intergovernmental institutions and political parties.

By doing institutional discourse analysis, this study looks at the ways how texts crystalize a complex process of policy institutionalization; and how texts are principle instruments of influencing and ruling politics (Smith & Turner, 2014; Hult & Johnson, 2015; Peacock, 2017). The study examines the genesis of EU Roma policies pointing out two core antinomies: *a)* the ethnicity blind liberal conception of individual emancipation has proved to reproduce interethnic inequality, due to its incapacity to counter deeply rooted antigypsyism as a mechanism of social exclusion.[1] *b)* The

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[1] There are different definitions of the term "antigypsyism": A) *Antigypsyism* is a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanization and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among other things, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatization and the most blatant kind of discrimination (ECRI, 2011). B) *Antigypsyism* is a specific nature of racism directed towards to Roma, on a par with anti-Semitism: *a)* it is persistent both historically and geographically (permanent and not decreasing); *b)* it is systematic (accepted by virtu-

ethno-communitarian concept of collective emancipation has revealed the limitations of civic initiatives based on NGO-networks, while power differentials in democratic bodies and public institutions continue to be unaddressed. To overcome such antinomies, the paper explores different political scenarios, to enable pathways for Roma equality by enacting processes of common citizenship.

THE UNFINISHED ROAD OF MINORITY RIGHTS FOR ROMA IN EUROPE

The most important normative document for minority rights is the "UN Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities", adopted in 1992. This declaration establishes fundamental norms for managing diversity and ensuring non-discrimination of minorities. Articles 1.1, 2.3 and 5.1 contain crucial aspects (UN, 1992):

> Article 1.1: States shall protect the identity and national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic existence of minorities within their respective territories and shall foster conditions for the promotion of that identity.
> Article 2.3: Persons belonging to minorities shall have the right to participate effectively in decisions taken at national level and, where appropriate, at regional level with respect to the minority to which they belong or of the regions in which they live, in any way which is not incompatible with national legislation.
> Article 5.1: National policies and programs shall be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of persons belonging to minorities.

The legal duty endorsed to minority rights implies dually State protection of cultural diversity while enacting a democratic ground for common citizenship. Next we will see how, at European level, minority rights have not been completely applied yet to Roma. In contrast, special programs to combat poverty have been adopted by the World Bank and the EU.

On 2 February 1993, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe approved the first recommendation on "Gypsies in Europe. Recommendation 1203". Here the Roma people was defined as follows:

> as a non-territorial minority a special place among the minorities is reserved for Gypsies. Living scattered all over Europe, not having a country to call their own, they are a true European minority, but one that does not fit into the definitions of national or linguistic minorities (CoE, 1993).

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ally all the community); *c)* it is often accompanied by acts of violence (CoE, 2012). C) *Antigypsyism* is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma "gypsy" or other related terms, and incorporates: 1. Homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups. 2. The attribution of specific characteristics to them. 3. Discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect and which reproduce structural disadvantages (Alliance against Antigypsyism, 2016).

This definition plays a double operation: *a)* on the one hand, it recognizes the Roma people as a "true European minority". *b)* On the other hand, it denies its character of being neither a national minority nor a linguistic minority. Tracking from this initial ambiguity, the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities" (FCNM, CoE, 1994) applies a quite flexible approach and does not stick to definitions of national minorities. In fact, the Roma are mentioned in all opinions of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (ACFC).[2] ACFC recommendations to the state parties cover major Roma issues, among others those related to articles 14 or 15 of the FCNM:

> Article 14: in areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language.
> Article 15: the parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them (CoE, 1994: 6).

In the 2000 report on the "Situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE Area", the High Commissioner on National Minorities, van der Stoel called attention to the actual vulnerability of Roma rights. Moreover, it acknowledged the Roma people as a transnational ethnic minority, all across Europe, sharing a common history and language. It also pointed out that the present situation of critical numbers of Roma living in poverty is the result of centuries of political persecution. At the end, the report provided two main recommendations on political engagement:

> – Inclusiveness: mechanisms for securing Romani participation in shaping major policy initiatives are most likely to be effective and legitimate if they involve a broadly representative process.
> – Involvement of Roma in implementation and evaluation: Roma should be meaningfully involved not only in developing but also implementing and evaluating the success of programs aimed at improving the conditions of Romani communities (OSCE, 2000: 161–162).

Overall, the above mentioned report influenced the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, specifically its "Recommendation 1557. On the legal situation of Roma in Europe":

> Roma form a special minority group, in so far as they have a double minority status. They are an ethnic community and most of them belong to the socially disadvantaged groups of society. Most Roma are currently faced with a rather severe

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2   See detailed opinions of the FCNM in the webpage: https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/country-specific-monitoring. Therefore, Roma are not excluded from the FCNM, though, many countries indeed do not respect their rights and deny their access to many spheres covered by articles of the FCNM (ACFC, 2016).

economic situation in most of the member countries of the Council of Europe. Despite efforts in the social field, the market economy, especially the neo-liberal version of it, has marginalized disadvantaged social groups including Roma even in the most developed European countries (CoE, 2002).

The analyses of the OSCE and CoE evolved together, influencing each other mutually. These analyses eventually led to the "Action plan on improving the situation of Roma and Sinti within the OSCE area" (OSCE, 2003). This is a comprehensive plan that covers antidiscrimination measures, social and economic inclusion measures and political empowerment initiatives. This plan was never given the proper funding to be implemented.

In parallel, the World Bank (WB) in partnership with the Open Society Foundations (OSF) designed an alternative plan for Roma inclusion, in Central-Eastern Europe (CEE), aiming to close the gap between Roma and non-Roma in four key areas: education, employment, healthcare and housing. This came out a year before the enlargement process of the European Union,[3] when Roma poverty openly became a "security threat" for the entire EU, due to the negative perceptions on the migration flux from CEE to the West (Sigona & Trehan, 2009; Stewart, 2012; van Baar, Ivasiuc & Kreide, 2018). Already in 1999, foreseeing this scenario of tensions between EU members and accessing countries, policy commitments with special inclusion programs for Roma became a precondition to join the EU.

In the EU enlargement context, the WB published three main reports that provided fundamental arguments to adopt and implement the framework for Roma inclusion: firstly deployed in CEE through the "Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015", and later in the entire EU through the "EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020" (WB, 2002; 2005; 2010; EC, 2011). The WB brought to the table a strong utilitarian argument, by referring to the benefits that European societies would take from integrating Roma into the labor market. Thus, it prognosticated substantial societal gains such as: lowering social assistance spending; growing economic productivity; rising fiscal benefits; and lowering risk of crimes driven by social exclusion and poverty (WB; 2010: 15–21).

What have been the results of such plans so far? What are the main critiques from the minority rights' approach?

THE ROMA, AN UNACCOUNTED POLITICAL SUBJECT

In its last assessment report, the Secretariat Foundation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion concluded that: "the Decade has failed to make an impact on the daily lives of the majority of Roma" (DRISF, 2015). There is a general consensus on the causes

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3 On 1st of May 2004, eight Central and Eastern European countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), plus two Mediterranean countries (Malta and Cyprus) were able to join the European Union. Although Romania and Bulgaria were deemed initially as not fully ready by the Commission to join in 2004, they acceded nevertheless on 1st of January 2007.

that led to this failure: *i)* disproportional correlation between the gap to intervene on and the invested funds; *ii)* unclear and insufficient role of Roma actors in decision making processes; *iii)* lack of involvement of high level authorities in the implementation of the Decade at national level; *iv)* local Roma communities were not aware of the existence of such an integration plans (Brüggemann & Friedman, 2017).

It is also relevant to mention that five years after the adoption of the so called "EU Roma framework", the European Commission (EC) recognized in its last communication on the midterm review: "insufficient Roma participation in decision making processes, and therefore the need to promote an active role of the Roma, taking an integrated approach to policy interventions" (EC, 2017).

From the point of view of framing analysis, the assessment of the "EU Roma Framework" commissioned by OSEPI to the analyst Anna Mirga, underlined that the EU Roma framework leads to inconsistent approaches toward the issue of "inclusion", confounding social and ethnic categories (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2017). In default of such imprecise definition, the debate has been misled into economic terms, by labeling the Roma as an underclass population. In the meanwhile, the debate on the political dimensions of racist exclusion has been overshadowed. Indeed, as indicated by the "EC Report on the implementation of the EU framework for Roma inclusion" (2014):

> Roma communities are funded mainly under the objective of social inclusion, in particular from measures financed through the priority "integrating disadvantaged people" [...] It should be emphasized however that in most cases non-Roma disadvantaged people can benefit from the same measures (EC, 2014: 13).

To understand the logic behind this framing, we must acknowledge that the EC has "no competences on the recognition of the status of minorities; their self-determination and autonomy; their governing regime; the use of regional or minority languages" (Carrera, Guild, Vosyliute & Bard, 2017: 14).

Based on the commitment of EU member-states to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria on protection of minorities (European Council, 1993), the EC assumed that the EU-15 satisfactorily resolved all questions relating to ethnic or national minorities. Thus, protection of minorities has constituted a pre-condition among the list of political criteria for accession in the context of EU enlargement with Central-Eastern Europe (CEE). This has led to the so called "Copenhagen dilemma": while most of CEE countries formally recognized the status of ethnic minorities or national minorities (including the Roma), such recognition still is lacking by a significant group of Western European countries (see the table below).

EU MEMBER STATES WHICH DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE ROMA NEITHER AS AN ETHNIC NOR AS A NATIONAL MINORITY
Belgium
Denmark
France
Italy
Spain
The Netherlands
The United Kingdom

(Table 1) Self-elaboration. Consulted Source: Council of Europe

Besides the Copenhagen dilemma in the EU, scholars like Galbreath and McEvoy pointed out three fundamental critiques to the Europe-wide "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities":

– First: it lacks a definition of "national minority". This lack of a definition raises fundamental questions about to whom the Convention applies – all minorities within a state or just those that the state chooses to recognize.
– Second: it establishes a monitoring system of state policy but not a "supranational enforcement mechanism".
– Third: the Convention does not specify what the appropriate government policies should be to ensure effective implementation. A considerable limitation of the Convention's potential impact is that its implementation is at the mercy of domestic politics and legislation (Galbreath & McEvoy, 2012: 85–87).

The inconsistent minority rights scheme in Europe makes it very difficult for the Roma to consolidate a recognized democratic and legitimate voice (or voices). Therefore, Roma participation in governmental/intergovernmental institutions lacks the power to meaningfully impact decision-making processes. What political ways have been explored so far? And what possible scenarios can be imagined for the future?

ROMA VOICES CLAIMING REPRESENTATION

On 1st January 2001, the International Romani Union released its "Declaration of a Roma Nation", under the presidency of Emil Ščuka. It states a very ambiguous claim:

Individuals belonging to the Roma Nation call for a representation of their Nation, which does not want to become a State. We ask for being recognized as a Nation, for the sake of Roma and of non-Roma individuals, who share the need to deal with the new challenges nowadays [...] we have a dream, and we are engaged in fulfilling it. We are a Nation, we share the same tradition, the same culture, the same origin, the same language; we are a Nation (Acton & Klímová, 2001: 216–217).

One may ask: representation where?/recognition by who? In the 1980s, IRU was given consultative status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council. In the 1990s, it created relevant institutional links with the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the UNHCHR. So, one can guess that IRU was asking for representation as a "nation" in such intergovernmental bodies. But again, a series of questions comes up: What are the constituencies represented by IRU? On which legal basis could IRU claim nationhood for a transnational diaspora such as the Roma people? What are the political limits of NGO-networks taken as representative structures?

Given the reference of the First World Roma Congress (London, April 1971), IRU's model for Roma representation was established in the Second World Roma Congress (Prague, April 1978): connecting Roma communities through small local organizations, federating them under an international umbrella organization, and claiming legitimacy from (virtually) the entire Roma people. Since then, different international Roma movements have followed the same pattern: the Roma National Congress (RNC,

Hamburg, 1980), the Secretariat of the European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF, Strasbourg, 2005) and the European Roma Grassroots Organizations (ERGO, Brussels, 2008). However, this will to self-determination and self-representation has not been significantly translated into actual political power (van Baar, 2011; Kocze, 2012; Rostas, 2012; Vermeersch, 2017).

In the 1990s, Nicolae Gheorghe explained that

> within the framework of a new Europe extending its democratic standards and borders, Romani elites are attempting to enter European politics and to gain political representation and recognition of their ethnicity. The Roma are among the last groups in Europe to discover the potential and power of ethno-nationalism and to struggle for a political space of their own (Gheorghe & Mirga, 1997: 2).

Gheorghe was a Romanian sociologist, deputy president of the International Romani Union (1990/99) and head of the OSCE–ODIHR Roma contact point (1999/2006). During his mandate at the OSCE, he took a major role as a mediator in the negotiations that led to unifying the two biggest international Roma organizations of those times, IRU and NRC, into one umbrella organization under the patronage of the Council of Europe: the Secretariat of the European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF, Strasbourg 2005). In 2009, ERTF published its "Charter on the Rights of Roma", stating in article 6:

> We Roma have the right to self-determination, in accordance with international law including: the right to cultivate one's cultural autonomy, the right to freely promote our economic, social and cultural development and to select our partners, projects and programs on our own (ERTF, 2009: 6).

Gheorghe defended that "ERTF should have a parliamentary structure under the supervision of the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly, to prepare the way for an elected European Roma Parliament" (Gheorghe, 2013: 76). Besides the lack of political will at the highest intergovernmental instances, three factual conditions blocked the possibility to enable a legitimate democratic process that could lead to a transnational Roma parliament: **1.** in countries where the Roma people is recognized as a national or ethnic minority, there is no reliable data to construct a rigorous ethnic census (RIO, 2010; Carrera, Guild, Vosyliute & Bard, 2017). **2.** There are major European countries which do not recognize the Roma people either as an ethnic or as a national minority (see table 1 above). **3.** In Germany and Sweden, where the Sinti and Roma are officially recognized as a national minority, it is forbidden to collect and use ethnic data for any political purpose.

Thus, the basic *conditio sine qua non* to build a recognized and legitimate democratic representation, *i.e.* to count on an official electoral census, was then (and still is) missing. Eventually, in 2015, the Council of Europe stopped funding ERTF. Since then, its political leverage has decreased in a significant manner. What can we learn from this experience? And what are the alternatives for Roma political representation?

A PATHWAY TOWARDS COMMON CITIZENSHIP

From my view point, we can take two main lessons from the experience of ERTF: 1. The limits of ethnopolitics in Europe. 2. The nature of European liberal democracy on the basis of common citizenship.

1. The limits of ethnopolitics in the EU

If we look at the EU legislative framework, there is no viable liberal-democratic form of multiculturalism in there (Kymlicka, 2007; Malloy, 2013). The EU is based on a liberal (ethnicity blind) conception of citizenship, articulated through the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Nice, 2000) and the different treaties (Maastricht, 1992; Amsterdam, 1997; Nice, 2001; Lisbon, 2007).

Aiming to prevent dynamics of *ethno politics/ethno policies*, the EU put at the core of its values the general principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin. In this sense, the Lisbon Treaty built on the definition of EU citizenship, asserting a claim of equality for all EU citizens and defining exactly who those citizens would be:

> Article 8: In all its activities, the Union shall observe the principle of the equality of its citizens, who shall receive equal attention from its institutions, bodies, offices and agencies. Every national of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to national citizenship and shall not replace it (European Union, 2007).

The "EU Roma framework" represents an exceptional case, in which a single ethnic group is the target of an EU policy. This situation has been problematized by different scholars, starting from one of its main intellectual architects: Martin Kovats. He contributed to the development of the "EU's 10 common basic principles on Roma inclusion" (EC, 2010). Moreover, from 2010–2013, he was the special advisor on Roma issues to the former EU Commissioner of Employment and Social Affairs, László Andor. Kovats takes a stand for (ethnicity blind) universal principles of justice, when he affirms:

> regardless of what distinct cultural characteristics Roma people may share to a greater or lesser extent (or not at all), Roma are also citizens with the same rights and subject to the same economic, legal and political systems, part of the same national societies and cultures as their non-Roma compatriots. Integration, inclusion, equality of opportunity are concepts that must be meaningfully applied to real people in accordance with their actual circumstances (Kovats, 2012: 3).

This creates a paradoxical situation, in which a transnational ethnic minority that is not recognized as such by many EU member states and experts (including Kovats himself), it is at the very same time the target of an EU policy framework. So, one may ask: on which basis are Roma targeted if there is no ethnic ground for such a policy decision? According to Kovats and Surdu, the category "Roma" is "an expert-political construction" (Kovats & Surdu, 2015; Surdu, 2016). They literally argue that

Roma is a dynamic political identity constructed mainly from above and from out-side by political and expert communities and thereafter applied or adopted by people subjected to public labelling and policy interventions (Kovats & Surdu, 2015: 7).

This definition reproduces the paradox of the Roma people being subject of policy interventions, while being denied of its own real subjectivity outside expert and policy frames. So, who define the Roma if not Roma themselves? And, who speaks for the Roma if not Roma themselves?

As we have seen already, special mechanisms for minority representation are blocked by design in major EU countries. And the European Parliament (EP) has not developed any mechanism to facilitate political representation of ethnic minorities. Thus, Roma politics is operating *de facto* through NGO-networks. This political scenario has forced the Roma to play in such an asymmetrical power game that it has generated what Iulius Rostas called, "a tokenistic relationship". This is a form of political manipulation that consists of placing NGO-leaders on advisory governmental / intergovernmental bodies or *ad hoc* committees, to get legitimacy from them; while their opinions are not substantially taken into account in agenda setting processes, budgetary decisions or policy framing design (Rostas, 2012).

To reflect on this matter, I want to highlight the words of the current director of the Roma Initiatives Office at the Open Society Foundations (RIO-OSF), Zeljko Jovanovic:

Unlike other minorities that built their political organization on the model of political parties, we [Roma] have built our model on the NGO structure. This means a higher dependency on external sources, public or private donors. And on some occasions, they have capitalized on our human resources against us. I believe that more and more people are realizing about it. Now, we need to build new power structures, to develop our own emancipatory strategy (Cortés & Jovanovic, 2017).

How could this power-unbalance be reverted to enable a fair political negotiation among Roma citizens and power-holders?

2. The nature of EU liberal democracy on the basis of common citizenship

McGarry and Agarin brought a very relevant political question to the Roma case: how to make effective participation for minorities? They talk about three dimensions of participation: *i)* politics of presence; *ii)* politics of voice; *iii)* politics of influence (McGarry & Agarin, 2014). I would add one more: politics of representation. This fourth dimension constitutes a challenge both for the Romani movement(s) and for mainstream political parties.

So far, the public presence of hundreds of Roma activists in institutional settings has been promoted by NGO-networks, through different periodical events such as the EU Roma summits, the EU Roma platform, the EU Roma week and other similar meetings. The voices of some Roma activists can be heard in these meetings. In a much more selected way, a few NGO-leaders have access to bilateral meetings with high

representatives from the EP, the EC, the OSCE and the CoE, in order to influence the opinion of decision makers. Therefore, we can say that the three dimensions of participation mentioned by McGarry and Agarin are already taking place within the current model of NGOization of Roma politics. However, the fourth dimension, *i.e.* politics of representation, remains far off on the horizon.

As Vermeersch recognizes: "Roma remain underrepresented in local and national assemblies… [and] the presence of minorities and vulnerable groups in representatives' structures is a requirement in any society committed to democratic equality" (Vermeersch, 2017: 209). One may ask: what are the feasible venues to participate in democratic representative structures? My answer is mainstream political parties. This requires critical efforts from both sides: *a)* from the side of Roma activists, this means acquiring new political knowledge and commitment to mainstream social problems, *b)* From the side of political parties, this implies mainstreaming Roma issues in all policy discussions, and furthermore, to challenge the racist perceptions of their electorates, *c)* From both sides, it requires the will to cooperate and to build a common ground to mobilize the grassroots.

By principle, cultural and political identities should not coincide, for the sake of open democratic societies. The equation cultural identity equal to political identity is the core axiom of fascism. On the contrary, according to EU liberal axiology, intercultural dialogue broadens the horizon of freedom, by opening the possibility to develop a multiple and fluid identity, in what Bauman and Mauro call the "XXI century Babel" (Bauman & Mauro, 2016). As an active agent of building social solidarity, civic initiatives play a central role. This work is crucial at these very precise times when the "Social Europe" is in severe crisis (Kovats & Law, 2018; Taba & Ryder, 2018).

To illustrate the strategy of representation that I stand for, I would like to highlight the case of the Romani candidate for the Senate in France, Anina Ciuciu, in 2017. To run for her candidacy with Europe Ecologie – les Verts (EELV), she coordinated efforts to find a common denominator among the Roma activism and other activist movements. As she described herself:

> We chose to build „Our Future" [campaign slogan] not on identity basis, but on the concrete struggles for social and environmental justice, the equality of rights, the abolition of sexist and racist relations of domination, as well as on the values of resistance, justice and dignity, and in order to rebuild popular sovereignty from the multiplicity that we constitute (Ciuciu, 2018: 118).

Even though she didn't gain a seat in the Senate, through her candidacy she put into play: 1. A strategy of politics of presence in many institutional settings and CSOs meetings, by showing that her Romani identity is not isolated from the rest of society. 2. A strategy of politics of voice in public debates, national and international media, and academic events. 3. A strategy of politics of influence within her own party and other parties close to her ideology.

As we can see, the strategy of politics of representation includes the three other dimensions of political participation: presence, influence and voice. Moreover, through

her candidacy, Anina went over the political blockade imposed on minorities in Europe (and especially in France). This innovative political strategy, initiated by a young French Romani woman (with Romanian origins), escapes from the labyrinth of minority politics; and it opened a new door for what she calls "a trans-minority multiplicity." In her new power-position, as a candidate for the Senate within a mainstream political party, she didn't have to fit into the box that governmental/intergovernmental institutions made for her as a young Romani woman. On the contrary, she defended her own vision for the whole country, as a potential representative of the French people.

CONCLUSIONS

The article underlines how the strategies for economic inclusion have failed, in a great degree, because of the lack of political involvement of the Roma communities at national and local level. This form of exclusion continues to be the core element of a subtle and persistent antigypsyism.

In this rationale, the article shows how representation of minorities, in general, and of Roma, in particular, is blocked by institutional design in the EU: the format of liberal democracy is a system made by majorities for the sake of majorities. So, in this logic, minorities remain either in the margins of politics or totally aside. To overcome this situation, big claims for recognition and representation at international bodies didn't solve the question (in realistic terms). Thus, the article proposes a way to build solidarity with other groups on the ground of common citizenship.

Through the case study, the article reflects about the nature of citizenship and the process of constitution of a complex political subjectivity: not on identity basis, but on a multiplicity of social groups fighting for equality from the margins of the system. From this approach, political identities are not ready made structures culturally bounded; but fluid and adaptive structures that respond to contingent critical junctures. This is a way to re-articulate instituted regimes of rights, from the perspective of coordinated acts of citizenship.

In this framework, civil society groups such as NGOs, religious institutions, community service organizations or trade unions, are all power-structures that can give voice and provide influence to specific groups. However, beyond the strategies of voicing and influencing, to achieve an impactful strategy of representation, different groups have the need to figure out tactics of coalition building and solidarity. Such a coalition would be united by the political party and decentralized by multiple civic constituencies. In this sense, unification of heterogeneous social demands into one political platform does not mean homogeneization/uniformization of diverse social or cultural identities.

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APPELLATIONS OF ROMA, SINTI, GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS IN THE OPINIONS OF THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

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Opinions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) cover the situation of all national minorities in all state parties of the Council of Europe who signed and ratified the FCNM since its adoption in 1998. The situation of Roma, Sinti and Travellers is an important issue in the most of these documents. This paper will analyse how the FCNM opinions use the terms Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Gypsies and other appellations in respect of groups and people who are targeted in these texts. Moreover, the FCNM is an instrument which is in existence for 20 years and during that time the opinions were drafted by various compositions of experts in the Advisory Committee and were reflecting various trends and socio-political situations in Europe and respective State parties of the FCNM. This paper will analyse the texts of the past opinions. The author takes advantage of his personal experience as a member of the Advisory Committee for FCNM between 2014 and 2018 and reflects on the most recent developments in approaches towards labelling the Roma in the opinions of the Advisory Committee for FCNM.

The terminology used by the Council of Europe (CoE) in regards to appellations of the minority groups, which might be encapsulated under the umbrella term, Roma, Sinti and Travellers is comprehensively described by Liégeois (2012: 11–15). There was no systematic preference prior to 2006 and the texts of CoE often used also the term Gypsies, along with Roma and Travellers. Liégeois summarises that CoE in all its texts from 2006 to 2010 used an umbrella term "Roma and Travellers" with the footnote pointing out the groups that the term refers to. Later, in 2010 the word "Travellers" was omitted and the term contained only Roma, again with a footnote explanation which

groups are included in this term (Liégeois 2012: 11).[1] However, later in 2016 the practice of using both terms, "Roma and Travellers" has returned and recently all texts use the appellation "Roma and Travellers" and the explanation in the footnote is extended also to other groups not mentioned before:

> The term "Roma and Travellers" is used at the Council of Europe to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the work of the Council of Europe in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish, and the populations designated under the administrative term "Gens du voyage", as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies. The present is an explanatory footnote, not a definition of Roma and/or Travellers.[2]

In this respect, CoE uses this simplification as a practical tool how to make their texts and communication easier. However, this is not always the case as Marushiakova and Popov point out, and often these simplifications have practical implications and are reflected, for example in real policies and measures, which consequently might be confusing for many groups who are not "Travellers", nor do they themselves identify with "Gypsies" or "Roma" but the majority society considers them and treats them as such (Marushiakova, Popov, 2015: 67). It is not clearly defined –at the level of European institutions – who are Roma and they are usually approached according to intuitive and stereotypical concepts. Thus, any appellation having an ambition to generalise lacks total complexity and there will always be a group or groups which will be omitted. As Martin Kovats emphasises (2013: 123), state policies usually aim at managing/containing Roma exclusion, rather than overcoming it, which enables separating "Roma issues" from the mainstream policies and majority society and allows "authorities to play on long-standing prejudices towards Roma (including those prevalent amongst officials) that Roma are a particularly problematic and difficult group to deal with" (ibid: 123). Moreover,the inconsistency and ambiguity of how Roma identity is publicly applied further allows for the consequences in politicisation of Roma and ways how it has been mobilised and used/misused for political purposes (Law, Kovats, 2018: xi). In this context the politicisation of Romani issues shows that appellations, names and classification of various Romani groups can lead to further exclusion. Politicians and authorities have the power of naming, to paraphrase words of Mihai Surdu, and enabling those who have more power "to compel more easily their order of classification and definition, and by virtue of their recognised authority they give meanings to social realities" (Surdu, 2018: 54).

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1   The explanation of CoE used in every text where Roma were referred to: "The term 'Roma' used at the Council of Europe refers to Roma, Sinti, Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the Eastern groups (Dom and Lom), and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned, including persons who identify themselves as Gypsies." See for example an Information document Updating the Council of Europe agenda on Roma inclusion (2015-2019): https://cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/10%20 CAHROM%20Bureau%20meeting/Item%2002%20-%20SG-INF%20(2015)16rev%20EN%20Updating%20 the%20CoE%20agenda%20on%20Roma%20inclusion%202015-2019.pdf, visited August 31, 2018.

2   See an official website of CoE's Roma and Travellers Team: https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/roma/, visited on August 31, 2018.

Therefore, it is fundamentally important for any member of a minority group to self-identify or not with the group. Circumstances in which Roma exercise their rights demonstrate that externally imposed ethnicity has a strong stigmatising and excluding potential and as Márton Rövid (2013: 393) emphasises, the reinforcement of democratic solidarity needs to be shifted from ascribed ethnic categories to the freedom to choose one's identity and the respect of this choice must be enabled. This right should be reflected in all democratic political frameworks, institutions and academic works.

THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

In this context, the following paper is focused on the practice of one segment of the Council of Europe's structures, the Advisory Committee (AC) on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). I analyse all opinions adopted by the Advisory Committee on the situation of national minorities in all ratifying state parties of FCNM. Although the Framework Convention does not have direct influence on European and national policies and measures, it constitutes a unique monitoring mechanism binding state parties of the FCNM to follow its recommendations for improving the situation of members of national minorities. From this perspective, it seems to be very useful to scrutinise the use of appellations in the documents of the FCNM, because in this particular case naming and labelling could lead to implications described above. The paper does not focus on the content of individual policies and recommendations in these opinions,[3] rather, its main objective is to scrutinise the frequency and use of all appellations related to Roma and other groups identified as Roma or being labelled as "Gypsies", "Travellers" or "Roma" or any similar term.

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) is the Council of Europe's (CoE) most comprehensive text so far for protecting the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. As such, it is the first legally binding multilateral instrument devoted to the protection of national minorities and seeking to promote the full and effective equality of national minorities by creating appropriate conditions enabling them to preserve and develop their culture and to retain their identity.[4] FCNM was adopted on 10 November 1994 by the Committee of Ministers of CoE and it entered into force on 1 February 1998. 43 member states signed the convention and 39 of them have ratified this document so far.[5]

FCNM contains 32 articles[6] which set out principles to be respected as well as goals

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3 There are several studies which analyse findings and recommendations of the Advisory Committee, for instance Medda-Windischer (2013) compares the approaches to Roma policies across the State parties to the FCNM, while Andjelic (2018) looks in more details on the situation of the Roma in one specific country.

4 Available at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/157, visited on August 23, 2018.

5 For the full list of state parties to the Convention see FCNM's website. It is worth mentioning, however, that four countries, Andorra, France, Monaco and Turkey have neither signed, nor ratified the convention: https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/etats-partie, August 23, 2018.

6 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Explanatory Report: https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001 6800c10cf, visited on August 23, 2018.

to be achieved by the states in order to ensure the protection of national minorities. Parties to the Framework Convention undertake to promote, inter alia, full and effective equality of persons belonging to minorities in all areas of economic, social, political, public and cultural life; conditions that will allow minorities to express, preserve and develop their culture, religion, language and traditions; ensure minorities freedom of assembly, association, expression, thought, conscience, religion and their access to and use of media. The Convention also provides guidelines for their linguistic freedom and rights regarding education.

The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention are both involved in the monitoring of the Convention. The Advisory Committee, set up in 1998, has a key role in monitoring the implementation of the Framework Convention by state parties. Its task is to ensure that the standards of the Convention are applied by all the concerned countries, in the various fields of interest for persons belonging to national minorities. It is composed of 18 independent experts appointed by the Committee of Ministers to serve in the Committee during their four year mandate. These experts are elected in respect of every state party which ratified the Convention. As there are 39 state parties, independent experts rotate in order to balance the composition of the Advisory Committee and each independent expert can serve two mandates only.[7] Independent experts are not employed by the CoE and they do not receive salary for their work and do not report to any government or international body for their work, which should guarantee their independence.

In most of the 39 state parties of FCNM[8] there were four monitoring cycles since ratification of the Convention. Thus, for most of the countries there are four opinions adopted and published on the FCNM webpage.[9] I did not analyse opinions which have already been adopted but they are still restricted to view and not yet published on the webpage. In total I took into consideration 140 opinions published up to date[10] on the FCNM webpage. To analyse the texts I used NVivo software for qualitative data analysis which enabled me to search and classify the texts more easily.

In general, members of the Advisory Committee work on specific documents (opinions) often with very specific context and situations, the general practice of using "Roma and Travellers" is not sufficient in these instances, as opinions and recommendations of the AC must be as concrete as possible.

All groups identifying with (and identified by others as) "Roma", "Travellers", "Sinti", "Gypsies", "Egyptians", "Ashkali", "Yenish", "Kalo", "Manush", "Gitanos", "Boyash", "Romanichals", "Kaale", "Caminanti", "Dom/Lom" and others are considered to be the largest ethnic minority in Europe,[11] which, in general, is mostly linked to

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7   For a more detailed description of monitoring procedures and the Advisory Committee rules see Malloy (2012: 6–8).

8   Monitoring is not possible in non-ratifying countries: Andorra, Belgium, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Monaco and Turkey.

9   See the webpage section "Country-specific monitoring", where not only adopted opinions are published but also other documents relevant to monitoring, such as State reports, Committee of Ministers' Resulotions and governments' comments: https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/country-specific-monitoring, visited on August 28, 2018.

10 August 31, 2018.

11 For example, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights states on their website: "For more than a thousand years, Roma people have been an integral part of European civilisation. Today, with an estimated population of 10-12 million in Europe, approximately six million of whom live in the EU, Roma people are the biggest ethnic minority in Europe." http://fra.europa.eu/en/theme/roma, visited on August 31, 2018.

social exclusion and vulnerability.[12] References to a variety of these appellations were found almost in all respective opinions on state parties which ratified the Framework Convention. In these documents the Advisory Committee quite frequently addresses the issues of the Roma and various shortcomings in all state parties to the Framework Convention, as well as, addresses recommendations to authorities for improvement of the situation of person belonging to Roma minorities.[13]

From the corpus of 140 opinions published so far, only opinions on Liechtenstein and Malta have no reference to Roma or any similar group in all their monitoring cycles. Regarding San Marino, only one reference to Roma has been made in the fourth cycle opinion referring to occasional episodes of hostilities concerning the Roma population pejoratively depicted in the media.[14]

There were also fewer references in countries in Caucasus –Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. In Armenia, a brief reference to "small number of Roma" and "Lom" minority is made in Opinion 2 and 4 in paragraphs under article 4 of the Convention on personal scope of application of the FCNM. Interestingly, this is the only reference to Lom in all opinions, including opinions on Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, where Lom and Dom still remain today, although in quite small numbers (Marushiakova, Popov, 2016). Regarding Azerbaijan, three references to Roma are made in the second and third opinions under *Article 4* on personal scope of application. In Georgia, occasional references about Roma were more spread also among other articles of the convention, such as *Article* 4 in section on the absence of identity documents, *Article 5* on preserving culture and identity and *Article 6* as targets of stereotypes and prejudice.

ROMA AND TRAVELLERS

"Roma and Travellers" (in some instances in the form "Roma and/or Travellers") as a generalisation and an umbrella term is not used very frequently in the opinions of the Advisory Committee. In fact, it can be found only in 23 opinions (out of 140). Literally all these instances were in quotations or paraphrases of European documents (such as recommendations of the Committee of Ministers, CoE documents), or parts of other institution names (for example European Roma and Travellers Forum). This practice demonstrates that the Advisory Committee never in its opinions used the term "Roma and Travellers" as an umbrella term encompassing all groups that might be relevant.

Instead, from the corpus of the adopted opinions, it is evident that AC prefers to use an umbrella term "Roma". It is frequently used in general circumstances where no specific groups are meant, for example in titles of chapters and subchapters in opinions, such as "Socio-economic situation of the Roma" in *Article 4*, or "Access to education

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12 For example, the EU Framework Strategy for National Roma Integration Strategies (2011) is based on the premises that the Roma are a large and trans-European minority that has experienced social exclusion for centuries in most of Europe's countries (Bernat, Messing, 2016: 7).

13 More details and description of the significance of the FCNM for Roma minority see Liégeois (2012: 88-97).

14 "Other international monitoring bodies, for example, noted prejudice against non-citizen workers, as well as sporadic episodes of hostilities concerning the Roma population which was depicted pejoratively in the media." Fourth Opinion on San Marino adopted on 20 November 2015, https://rm.coe.int/CoERM PublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806450fa, visited on August 20, 2018.

for Roma" in *Article 12*. However, this tendency is consistent in countries where the term "Roma" refers to groups which are predominantly recognised as Roma, for example countries of Central and Eastern Europe, such as Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Serbia, Macedonia and many others. On the other hand, in cases of countries, where there are more groups and some of the significant groups do not tend to identify with the appellation, the Advisory Committee follows the pattern of naming them specifically. For example, in the cases of the United Kingdom, the titles of chapters speak about "Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in the education system", or in the case of Germany, "Roma and Sinti in the education system", or "Education of Travellers" in the case of Ireland. Thus, the practice of the Advisory Committee respects the specificity of groups addressed and avoids generalisations which might be misleading and confusing.

This practice is also reflected in frequency of group names in an aggregated set of all opinions. The term Roma is most frequently used and is present in 123 opinions out of 140 analysed and there are in total 11,405 references to Roma in all opinions. In average, there is between 40 to 100 references in each opinion. There are more references in countries with a large population of Roma, such as Romania (101 in op. 1; 179 in op. 2; 234 in op. 3 and 203 in op. 4), Slovakia (67 in op. 1; 189 in op. 2; 217 in op. 3 and 248 in op. 4) or Hungary (41 in op. 1; 102 in op. 2; 174 in op. 3 and 222 in op. 4). Interestingly, there seems to be an increasing pattern of the frequency of the term "Roma" with progress of monitoring cycles across all state parties. For example, in the case of Germany, the first opinion contained 39 references, the second 81 references, the third had 116 and the fourth 144 references on Roma, or in the case of Ukraine the first opinion contained 23 references on Roma, the second 71, the third 72 and the fourth 131. Specifically, the progressive trend in referencing Roma is present in opinions on Ukraine, Slovakia, Russian Federation, Portugal, Poland, Norway, Netherlands, Montenegro, Lithuania, Latvia, Italy, Hungary, Germany, Estonia, Cyprus and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another interesting trend is that culmination of frequencies is in the third opinion and in the fourth opinion (out of 22 countries for which all four cycles of opinions have been published so far) the number of references to Roma decreases slightly, specifically in opinions on Sweden, Slovenia, Romania, Moldova, FYROM, Finland, the Czech Republic, Croatia and Austria. In my opinion, the reasons for this progressive trend are in the fact that with the development of monitoring cycles more systematic attention has been paid to the issues of Roma and at the same time, the process and methodology of monitoring was focused more on issues noticed and recommended in previous opinions, so the frequency of the term Roma followed kind of a snowball effect.

TRAVELLERS

The second most frequent term used in this regard is "Traveller/Travellers" which is mentioned in 43 opinions and there are 1,341 references to Travellers. The vast majority of these references are in opinions on Ireland, the United Kingdom and Switzerland. In three opinions of Ireland the Travellers are mentioned 175 times in the first opinion, 143 in the second opinion and 230 times in the third opinion. In the case of the United Kingdom the frequency is 44 references in the first opinion, 109 in the second opinion, 115 in the third opinion and 135 in the fourth opinion. Switzerland contains 48 references

in the first opinion, 136 references in the second opinion and 79 in the third opinion. One outstanding opinion where Travellers are mentioned more frequently is the second opinion on Italy, where an umbrella term "Roma, Sinti and Travellers" is used in those articles specific for each of these groups, for example, "Acts of discrimination, hostility and violence against the Roma, Sinti and Travellers" (*Article 6* in the Second Opinion on Italy) and other respective articles. Travellers are not mentioned in any of the other opinions on Italy. What may be considered as inconsistent use of terminology can be, however, also interpreted as dynamic and progressive sensitivity in the Advisory Committee practice. In the first opinion on Italy only the term "Roma" was mentioned (68 references) and all other groups were included under this umbrella term. The second opinion used consistently all three groups present in Italy (Roma / 82, Sinti / 71 and Travellers 68). The third opinion reversed back and used only Roma (133) and Sinti (105).[15] Finally, the fourth opinion systematically replaced the Travellers with an emic appellation "Caminanti"[16] and referred to Roma (164), Sinti (85) and Caminanti (71), which reflects the wishes of Caminanti who refuse to be identified with Roma or Travellers.

From this perspective, the example of Italy demonstrates developments and trends in time as well as different composition of the Advisory Committee, which over time seems to incline towards more progressive sensitivity and specificity reflected in systematic use of ethnic appellations of minority groups. This trend can also be seen in the example of the fourth opinion on Switzerland,[17] where Travellers were replaced by Yenish in a systematic manner, the term which again reflects the wishes and self-appellation of the targeted group. At the same time, the term Yenish can be found solely in opinions on Switzerland.

Regarding the term Travellers, they are also mentioned in opinions on other state parties, for example Slovakia, Spain, the Russian Federation etc. However, these references are all quotations from titles or institution names, such as European Roma and Travellers Forum.

SINTI

The ethnonym Sinti / Sinto follows and the two countries where it is mostly used are Germany and Italy. The term Sinti is present in 15 opinions which in total contain 674 references. It systematically appears in all opinions on Germany with increasing frequency (40 references in the first opinion, 75 in the second, 98 in the third and 130 references in the fourth opinion). In opinions on Italy, Sinti were mentioned in three opinions excluding the first opinion where Sinti had not been mentioned at all. This pattern clearly reflects the geographic presence of Sinti in European countries where Sinti are most present and vocal in Germany and in northern Italy. However, there are also a few references to Sinti in opinions on Netherlands (so far two opinions adopted)

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15 Travellers were mentioned only once in reference to the title of Recommendation CM/Rec(2009)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the education of Roma and Travellers in Europe.

16 Caminanti historically settled in the Noto Valley in Sicily and their origin is still debated (Sigona, Monasta, 2006: 9).

17 The Fourth Opinion on Switzerland was adopted in May 2018 and is not published yet and this observation is based on the draft version discussed during the plenary session of the Advisory Committee in May 2018.

with 28 references in the first opinion and 30 references in the second opinion. It has to be mentioned that in the case of Netherlands, the Advisory Committee refers to Roma and Sinti in general and does not address specifically Roma and specifically Sinti communities separately. Furthermore, Sinti are also specifically mentioned in two opinions in Slovenia, where the Advisory Committee emphasised that a small group of Sinti "expressly indicated that they wished to be treated by the authorities as a distinct ethnic group" (different from Roma)[18] and calls on authorities that the "dialogue should also be initiated with the Sinti to consider how to ensure their access to minority rights".[19] Sinti are also mentioned in opinions on Switzerland, in which predominantly Yenish (and Travellers) are addressed, but in a few instances Sinti are mentioned, as well. There is only one mention of Sinti in the fourth opinion on Austria.

ASHKALI AND EGYPTIANS

Similarly as in the case of Sinti, the references to Egyptians can be found in opinions on those countries where groups of Egyptians are present. The term Egyptians is present in 15 opinions which in total contain 270 references. These groups are most frequently mentioned in cases of Kosovo[20] and Albania, with references in Kosovo in all four opinions (16 references in the first opinion, 67 in the second, 49 in the third and 38 in the fourth opinion). Some parts of these references are used in the context of an umbrella term for "Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians" where the text referred to general issues applicable to all of these groups. However, the opinion demonstrates that the Advisory Committee is aware of the fact that this term often used by international community "as RAE" is used for practical reasons and advises avoiding this aggravation if possible "as it may be perceived as a sign of lack of acceptance of the specific identities of the groups concerned".[21] Thus, opinions on Kosovo follow this practice and specifically discern when addressing Egyptian communities, Roma, or Ashkali separately. In those cases when generalisations could be used, the opinions also contain Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians. For example in Article three focused on scope of application of the Framework Convention, the AC recommends the authorities treat Egyptians (and Ashkali) separately,[22] as it reflects their wishes and self-identification. Furthermore, references to Egyptians are also in opinions on FYROM,[23] where, for example the Advisory Committee notes that "the Egyptians had been dissatisfied with the authorities' refusal to recognise their separate identity and (they)

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18 Second opinion on Slovenia, article 3 of the Convention, paragraph 36.

19 Fourth opinion on Slovenia, article 3 of the Convention, paragraph 17 (as a recommendation).

20 It has to be noted that the AC refers to Kosovo with an asterixed explanation: "All reference to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text shall be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo."

21 First opinion on Kosovo, article 3 of the Convention, paragraph 27.

22 It has to be mentioned that Authorities of Kosovo made good progress and that "the legislation and other relevant texts ... appear to distinguish between the aforementioned communities. Moreover, the Advisory Committee notes with satisfaction that the Ashkali, Egyptians and Roma are represented as separate communities in the Community Consultative Council" (see more the Second Opinion on Kosovo, Article 3, paragraph 49).

23 All international documents use the term "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" with the acronym FYROM.

wished to benefit from the protection of the Framework Convention."[24] Egyptians are also mentioned in two opinions on Montenegro, however, always as an umbrella term "Roma and Egyptians" and in this case the opinion and issues do not discern between the two groups, though in some cases they are mentioned in regards to the protection of Internally displaced people (IDPs). This case also applies to two opinions on Serbia, where Egyptians are mentioned rarely and in context of IDPs.

A similar situation is with the frequency of the term Ashkali which can be found in 10 opinions and there are 193 references in total. The vast majority of these references are in four opinions on Kosovo, as has already been mentioned in the above paragraph. Identically as in the case of Egyptians, the term Ashkali is used in general referencing to RAE communities, although there are more instances where the group is addressed separately. There are also rare references to Ashkali in opinions on FYROM, Montenegro and Serbia. However, all of these references are general appellations on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians.

There are also other endo-ethnonyms or self-appellations which are linked to smaller groups and have ties with specific state parties of the Framework Convention. For example, references to "Boaysh/Beash" are mentioned in opinions on Hungary and Croatia and there are only 9 references in total, most of them linked to their linguistic rights.[25] There is only one reference to "Kale/Kalo" in the whole corpus of the opinions and particularly in the Second opinion on Portugal, where the Kalo language is mentioned as spoken by part of the Roma population.[26] There are several references to "Caló" in four opinions on Spain and all these references are linked to Caló language and the use of the language of Roma groups in Spain. However, no mention of "Cale/Kale" is made in respect to appellation of Roma groups in Spain. The Advisory Committee systematically uses the term Roma in respect with targeted groups in Spain and in Portugal. There is only one reference to "Manouches" in the Third opinion on Switzerland indicating the Roma groups from France. As France never signed and ratified the Framework Convention, the situation in this country cannot be monitored and analysed. There are also no references to self-appellations such as "Kaale" in Finland or "Romanichal" in the United Kingdom.

HETERONYMS

As it comes to exo-ethnonyms such as "Gypsies"[27], "Zigeuner", "Cigáni", "Gitanos" and others, the Advisory Committee is strict in using them only in quotations of original sources where these terms are used, for example in citing the titles of government materials or names of institutions. When we look closer to the frequency of the term

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24 Second opinion on FYROM, Article 3, paragraph 29.

25 Third opinion on Hungary, Article 10, paragraph 97 or Fourth opinion on Croatia, Article 10, paragraph 59.

26 Second opinion on Portugal, Article 6, paragraph 69.

27 Being aware of the pejorative connotation these terms have, however, any scholar in Romani studies has to admit that these terms have strong significance. In this respect I want to reiterate Piasere's statement, that "the heteronym "gypsy" is an external construction that, in order to understand the fate of the Romani communities in Europe cannot simply be ignored. Instead "it must be deconstructed and then reconstructed, incorporating into it the various and diverse communities and migrations" (Piasere, 2004, cited in Sigona, Monasta, 2006: 9).

"Gypsy/Gypsies" we will find that it is used in 33 opinions with 395 references. However, the vast majority of these references (320) are used in four opinions on United Kingdom, where the appellation "Gypsies" was used systematically with the umbrella term "Roma, Gypsies and Travellers" as there are many groups of Gypsies who wished to be called by this name and refuse to be called "Roma or Travellers". The Advisory Committee respected this wish in its opinions on the United Kingdom and it is reflected in the frequency of the term "Gypsy/Gypsies" in opinions on UK. It is explicitly explained in the fourth opinion on the United Kingdom: "The Advisory Committee also notes that there is often a conflation between policies addressing Gypsies and Travellers, on one hand, and Roma, on the other hand. While the Committee acknowledges that this follows from the use of the notion of racial group to define minorities and from the link between Gypsies and Roma, such an approach does not always allow targeting of the specific needs of each group. The Advisory Committee clarifies that the use, in this Opinion, of the term 'Gypsies and Travellers', instead of the more inclusive term 'Roma', is motivated by the specificity of the presence of these autochthonous groups in the UK, but it is not the terminology the Advisory Committee generally applies."[28]

If the opinions on the United Kingdom are excluded from the list we will find 75 references to "Gypsies" in 29 opinions. Closer analysis of the usage of the term reveals what already has been indicated in the beginning of this paragraph. The Advisory Committee mostly systematically uses the term when citing other sources, for example government reports and official documents. In the first Opinion on Romania the AC called on authorities not to use the term "Gypsies" as the Romanian authorities referred to Gypsies in their state report systematically and even in relation to census data.[29] Similarly, the Advisory Committee noted that also the Italian authorities frequently referred to the Roma community in general as "Gypsies" ("Zingari") or "nomads" ("nomadi"), which was apparent from the headings of several regional laws applying to this Roma and from government documents.[30] The relatively high frequency of the term "Gypsies" can also be explained by the reference to the document "Committee of Ministers' Recommendation (2000) 4 on the education of Roma/Gypsy children in Europe",[31] which was quoted quite frequently in the opinions in the first monitoring cycle. Also, there were a few instances when the term was used as part of the word "anti-gypsyism" or "anti-gypsy attitudes". Thus the frequency of the term "Gypsies" in 29 opinions can be explained by references to other sources (in average 2 or 3 references per opinion) and it is evident that the Advisory Committee has not used this term as an appellation to any of the groups. However, there is one exception in the case of the first opinion on Hungary, where 15 references to "Gypsies" were found throughout the text. The Advisory Committee in this specific case used the term "Roma/Gypsy minority" systematically throughout the text, for instance "The Advisory Committee is concerned that in Hungarian society today the Roma/Gypsy identity is surrounded by negative perceptions"[32] or "the Advisory Committee is obliged to draw attention to the extremely difficult social-economic circumstances of the Roma/Gypsy

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28 Fourth opinion on the United Kingdom, Art. 3, paragraph 16.

29 See for example the first Opinion on Romania, Article 3, paragraph 21.

30 First Opinion on Italy, Article5, paragraph 34.

31 Committee of Ministers' Recommendation (2000) 4 on the education of Roma/Gypsy children in Europe: http://www.crin.org/en/library/legal-database/council-europe-recommendation-no-r-2000-4-education -roma/gypsy-children, visited on August 29, 2018.

32 First opinion on Hungary, Article 5, paragraph 21.

minority in Hungary."[33] This exception can be explained, in my view, by the fact that in 2000, when this specific opinion was adopted the general sensitivity was not so well rooted and the term "Roma/Gypsies" was more frequently used also by various European institutions, which is demonstrated for instance by the document *Committee of Ministers' Recommendation (2000) 4 on the education of Roma/Gypsy children in Europe*. However, it still has to be emphasised, that the First Opinion on Hungary is the only exception and all other opinions in the first cycle systematically used appellations convenient for the respective groups. Comparison of different monitoring cycles demonstrates also another interesting fact regarding the use of the term "Gypsies". Again, excluding the opinions on the United Kingdom, from 29 opinions which included a reference to "Gypsy/Gypsies", 24 of them were opinions written in the first monitoring cycle predominantly during the years 2000–2004. References to "Gypsy/Gypsies" in later monitoring cycles were documented only in four opinions. It demonstrates, in my point of view, that the Advisory Committee avoids using heteronyms, even in the situations where they could refer to original sources which might contain derogatory terminology.

THE RIGHT TO FREE SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Advisory Committee considers the right to free self-identification to be the cornerstone of minority rights and the practice of using group and minority names in its documents demonstrates it. In Article 3 of the Framework Convention it is indicated, that "every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right freely to choose to be treated or not to be treated as such…"[34] As explained in the Thematic Commentary No. 4 on The Scope of Application of the Framework Convention, "free" means an individual and informed decision to take advantage of the protection of the Framework Convention and thus, every person should have the guaranteed right to identify freely as a member of a specific group, or to choose not to do so. In this context, however, this individual choice should not be fully arbitrary but must exist in connection to some objective criteria.[35]

> "The Advisory Committee has intentionally refrained from interpreting what such objective criteria may be, as […] they must only be reviewed vis-a-vis the individual's subjective choice. Thus, objective criteria do not constitute elements of a definition. Self-identification begins with the free decision of the individual which, if no justification exists to the contrary, is to be the basis of any personal identification."[36]

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33 Ibid. Article 15, paragraph 54.

34 Framework Convention, Article 3(1): "Every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right to freely choose to be treated or not to be treated as such and no disadvantage shall result from this choice or from the exercise of the rights which are connected to that choice."

35 Thematic Commentary No. 4 on The Scope of Application of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, paragraph 9, p. 6.

36 Ibid. Paragraph 10, p. 6. It further specifies that "in the view of the Advisory Committee, a person's free self- identification may only be questioned in rare cases, such as when it is not based on good faith. Identification with a national minority that is motivated solely by the wish to gain particular advantages or benefits, for instance, may run counter to the principles and purposes of the Framework Convention, in particular if such action diminishes the intended benefits and rights available to persons belonging to national minorities".

This principle is clearly reflected in the opinions of the Advisory Committee and specifically, in the way, how these texts refer to various groups of Roma and Travellers. For example, in the 2ⁿᵈ Opinion on Albania, the AC committee recommends Albanian authorities to strictly respect the wishes of the Egyptian community to be recognised as an ethnic group distinct from Roma (paragraph 43) and that they must not be treated as members of Roma community. Similarly, in the first opinion on Kosovo, the Advisory Committee states:

> "There are, however, various disagreements and inconsistencies as regards the endorsement of the specific identity of certain communities. This applies in particular to the Egyptian community, which is often treated by the authorities as part of the Roma and/or Ashkali community. Similarly, the Ashkali are often treated together with the Roma, which does not reflect the self-identification practices amongst the Ashkali. Representatives of the international community often refer to the aforementioned groups together as "RAE communities". While understanding that this term has been devised merely for practical reasons, to facilitate the task of referencing, the Advisory Committee considers that such a designation should be avoided as it may be perceived as a sign of lack of acceptance of the specific identities of the groups concerned."[37]

In this context, the position of the Advisory Committee for the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities that a person's identification must be based on free self-identification, unless there is a valid justification for not doing so, is reflected in most of its opinions, as demonstrated in this article. However, one must remember that members of minorities as such are not writing these opinions and the documents are written by individuals who are positioned as experts. To reflect Pierre Bourdieu (1991), this fact clearly places them in a concrete position in the power hierarchies in this specific "field". Moreover, as this paper describes, Roma (sub)groups are not socially homogenous even in contexts of individual state parties and in every case there are better positioned individuals (the AC's interlocutors) who have various interests and motivations regarding the groups' naming and classification either in national context or at the European level. Therefore, some degree of social and political power behind labelling of Roma groups could be present and manifested in the stage of drafting and adopting the opinions of the Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Opinions of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) describe the situation of all national minorities in all State parties of the FCNM and offer recommendations to authorities for improving the situation. From 140 opinions on 39 countries who ratified the Framework Convention, Roma (or any other group related group) were not mentioned at all only in opinions on Malta and Lichtenstein, and Roma were mentioned only once in San Marino opinions. Regarding countries in Caucasus – Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia a few references to Roma were made with a brief reference to Lom minority.

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37 First Opinion on Kosovo, Article 3, paragraph 27.

From the above analysis it is clear that the Advisory Committee never used in its opinions the term "Roma and Travellers" as an umbrella term encompassing all groups that might be relevant. Instead, it is evident that AC prefers to use an umbrella term "Roma", which is used mostly in general circumstances where specificity is not possible and not necessary, for example in titles of chapters and subchapters in opinions. However, only in those opinions where the term "Roma" refers to groups which are predominantly recognised as Roma and identified as Roma, for instance countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Balkan and those instances where there are more groups and some of them not familiar with the appellation Roma, the Advisory Committee follows the pattern of naming them specifically even in general circumstances. The practice of the Advisory Committee follows the specificity of groups addressed and generalisations potentially misleading and confusing are avoided.

The most frequently used term is "Roma" which is present in the vast majority of published opinions. Following a logical pattern, there are more references and not only of general character in countries with a large population of groups identified as Roma. These countries can be divided into four geographical groups, specifically countries of Eastern and Central Europe, namely Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, the Russian Federation, Moldova, Hungary and the Czech Republic, secondly Balkan and former Yugoslavia countries like Romania, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, FYROM, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. The third group consists of Nordic and Baltic countries Sweden, Norway, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Estonia and Denmark. The fourth group of is made up of countries of Western and South Europe, such as Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Cyprus and Austria. However, in cases where there are also other groups who rather identify differently than Roma, the Advisory Committee mentions them separately along with Roma, specifically Sinti in Germany, Italy, Netherlands and Slovenia; Egyptians in Albania, FYROM, Kosovo and Montenegro; Ashkali in Kosovo; Beash/Boyash in Croatia and Hungary, or Caminanti in Italy.

Then there are countries where Roma are not predominant groups and the AC opinions refer to other groups, as is evident in the case of Ireland and the UK with Travellers, or in case of Switzerland with Yenish and Travellers. Also in these countries there are trends in practice of the AC to refer specifically to a group which is discussed, either Irish Travellers, or Roma. It needs to be emphasised that in case of UK and Ireland the AC referred to Roma mostly in cases when addressing migrant Roma groups from Eastern and Central Europe.

Then there were countries where the Roma groups use also other endo-ethnonyms, however, these were not reflected in the AC opinions, for example Kaale in Finland were addressed as "Roma", or similarly Romanichal in the UK. In case of Spain and Portugal the AC used predominantly the appellation "Roma" and only in rare case "Cale" or "Kale" were mentioned, mostly in linguistic contexts. In this context, the AC should be focused more in their monitoring visits to discuss the wish and use of these appellations with local interlocutors and minority representatives.

In general, as is demonstrated in this paper, the variation of ethnonyms used for minority groups' appellations reflects the practice of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which follows principles of a person's free self-identification.

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NÁRODOPIS
ETHNOLOGY
SLOVENSKÝ
SLOVAK

GENDER, HISTORY, AND ROMA IDENTITIES:
FROM CULTURAL DETERMINISM
TO THE LONG SHADOW OF THE PAST

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In this article, I criticise two main approaches to Roma identity: cultural essentialism and social relationism. As a result of this criticism, I argue for a multidimensional concept of identity which would incorporate the cultural and social perspectives supplemented by an historical approach. I develop this concept in relation to empirical data collected in my research to prove false the thesis that the cultural substance of a group's life can be treated as an independent variable and to show that groups with similar cultural values may have different standpoints regarding some important issues (for example gender constructs) and that culturally different groups may have similar views. Then, with the help of system theory and symbolic anthropology, I present Roma identities as the result of "double encoding" whereby the existential anxieties associated with transgression of the social boundary are transformed into concrete fears related to cultural boundaries, and vice versa. This process is framed in history which means, firstly, that it takes different forms in different times and, secondly, that the transgression of boundary that has occurred in the past has a significant impact on the present identities. I illustrate this impact by the different fate of Polish and Slovak Roma communities during the Holocaust which still influences the way in which these communities encode the boundary between Roma and non-Roma into the boundary between cultural constructs of men and women.

INTRODUCTION

In this article I will argue for the role of historical experiences accumulated in the social/collective memory of Roma people in the shaping of their identities. In the first part I review two main approaches to Roma identity that can be found in the existing literature on this topic: ethnographic essentialism and relational perspective of

sociology. Although they very much differ in their approach to the role of culture, they share the reluctance to accept the third perspective on Roma identity: historical or process-oriented that emphasizes the importance of the past events that shape contemporary experiences and self-perceptions. I am arguing for a conciliatory theoretical standpoint which integrates these three approaches and perceives Roma identities as contingent and dynamic constructs made in different proportions of cultural values, the group's social microcosm with its boundary, and the group's historical trajectories reflected in memories. This understanding of Roma identity corresponds with several important strands in general theory of identity (Clifford, 1988; Bauman, 1996; Appadurai, 1996; Brubaker, 2004; Bhabha, 2006; Vertovec, 2007) which are recently being more widely applied in Romani studies (e.g. Stewart, 2013; Tremlett, 2014; Podolinská, 2017).

In the second part of the article the multidimensional concept of identity presented here has been tested against evidence collected in interviews with female Roma activists who belonged to three groups: Polska Roma, Polish Carpathian Roma, and Slovak Carpathian Roma. These interviews were collected as part of the research project "Women in Roma political movement and NGO sector. Pilot study of Poland and Slovakia".[1] The research was grounded in the assumption of intersectionality as the main feature of the situation of the researched Roma women. Eventually, however, the intersectional character of discrimination faced by our interviewees (as Roma and as women) turned out to disclose Roma identity as something that subverted the division into groups and appeared to be a dynamic intersection of gender, culture, social position, non-Roma environments and historical fate. In short, it has turned out that women who belong to culturally and socially different Roma groups may see the situation of woman in a similar way while women who belong to similar groups may significantly differ in their opinions.

After having proved the culturalist hypothesis false, in the third part of the article I turn to the sociological perspective, the second among those that constitute the multidimensional concept of identity presented here. In this perspective it is the relation between Roma and non-Roma that explains the process of selecting certain cultural elements as the markers of Roma distinctiveness. I have grounded this "sociological turn" in theoretical references to Niklas Luhmann's system theory (1995) and anthropology of Mary Douglas (1966). The synthesis of these two theoretical traditions helps to better understand Michael Stewart's (1997) thesis that gender divisions in Roma communities are not exactly about men and women, but that they represent a mechanism that reduces existential anxieties associated with transgression of the social or cultural boundary and/or transforms them into concrete fears that are in principle manageable. Thus, if a particular Roma group is unable to efficiently control its social boundary (for example is physically attacked or persecuted), it may strengthen the boundary between segments of Roma culture, for example between the constructs of woman and man.

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[1] Project financed by the Warsaw University of Social Sciences and Humanities, carried out in 2013 (see Kapralski, 2014). Altogether we have conducted 60 interviews: 40 in Poland (20 with Polska Roma and 20 with Carpathian Roma) and 20 in Slovakia. Our interviewees were Roma women activists in the age of 20–59, half of them with a university degree while the other half were high school graduates. The interviews have been collected by female Roma scholars/activists: Erika Adamova, Agnieszka Caban and Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska.

The situation of the social boundaries of Roma communities is, however, historically conditioned and changes in time. Therefore, in the fourth part of the article the third element of the concept of identity, the historical dimension is introduced. Here I am building on the argument by Kirsten Martins-Heuß (1989) regarding the outcomes of the experience of the genocide for the German Sinti. As a result of having been persecuted, they enacted the cultural mechanism of consolidating the cultural boundaries which in the field of gender has eventually led to the stricter separation of men and women. The men-women divide internally, reproduced the external division in the system of Roma community and its non-Roma environment. I would claim that the situation of Polish Roma was similar to when they were seriously victimized during the Second World War, regardless of which group they belonged to and the Nazi persecution had a deep impact on their collective memories (Kapralski, 2012). Contrary to that, the losses of the Slovak Roma were comparatively smaller and did not leave a massive trauma on the survivors (Marushiakova and Popov, 2006). This, on the one hand, offers us an historical explanation of the difference of opinions between female activists who belonged to the Polish Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma in spite of their cultural similarities and, on the other hand, of the similarity of views of Polska Roma and Polish Carpathian Roma in spite of their cultural difference.

Methodologically this article is an evidence-based reflection in the field of sociological theory of identity. The evidence that informed my theorizing comes from the interviews with members of different European Roma communities collected in the projects "Violence and Memory" (1996–1997), "Forced Migrations, Voluntary Returns?" (2007–2008), "Women in Roma political movement and NGO sector. Pilot study of Poland and Slovakia" (2013), "Direction: Future. 25 Years of Freedom and the Roma" (2014–2016), "The Fight Against Antisemitism and Antigypsyism in Poland: Monitoring, Intervention, Education" (2017–2018).

1. TWO APPROACHES TO ROMA IDENTITY AND THE ROLE OF HISTORY: TOWARDS A CONCILIATORY MODEL

In the literature on Roma identity (or identities – because the plural form seems to be more appropriate here) we may distinguish two main approaches: essentialism of traditional approach and relationism of the so-called constructivist perspective. In the first approach, Roma identity (here usually in the singular form) is perceived as a reproduction of a cultural essence or substance: the idiom of "being Rom" which means an enactment of the core values of Roma culture in the behaviour of Roma individuals and in a group's life. Culture here is an independent variable: to explain Roma social life one has to refer to culture that provides a matrix of patterns that are activated in particular situations.

In this approach, characterizing the traditional ethnography and history, Roma were perceived as an ethnic group with a strong, stable, and basically unchanging identity. Such an identity can be understood as a synthesis of shared origin and a cultural community. Thus a Rom was someone whose forebears came from India and arrived in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, and who was born a Rom – that is, someone whose parents were Roma. In the cultural sense, a Rom was someone who spoke the Romani language and whose everyday life was marked by the concept of a world divided into "pure" and "impure" spheres, who expressed solidarity with other Roma, who

showed respect for the intragroup hierarchy, who accepted the obligations stemming from the structure of the Roma community, and finally someone who – through nomadism or the taking up of specific forms of occupational activity – tried to lead a life making it possible to minimize the control extended by the non-Roma surroundings (Salo, 1979). This set of values makes up a special code of behaviour with an associated way of seeing the world that together constitute the essence of being a Rom, the "true Romness" defined by some Roma groups as *romanipen, romipen, romanija, ciganija* etc.

It should be noted that in a more general way the concept of *romanipen* does not have to contain the dualism of pure/impure and an elaborated code of pollutions together with associated rituals of purification. In such a general perspective *romanipen* describes the social and cultural habitus of a particular Roma group and its way of life: lived, experienced and enacted in its social space and time (see for example Podolinská, 2014, 2015). Such a general concept of *romanipen* characterizes any Roma community that sociologically can be described as a group. *Romanipen* understood in a more narrow sense, as the worldview based on pure vs. impure dichotomy, characterizes only some groups which, because of that, often develop a sense of superiority in relation to Roma who do not share it and are therefore treated as less "authentic" or even as not fully belonging to the Roma universe. In the narrow concept of *romanipen*, female sexuality, everything related to sexual intercourse, childbearing, menstruation, lower body etc., is perceived as potentially polluting and thus in need for segregation and control. We may therefore assume that within the culturalist perspective the situation of Roma women who live in groups with *romanipen* in the narrow sense of the term will be significantly different than those who are members of other groups.

The second approach to Roma identity can be defined as relational. In this view, the set of cultural values (*romanipen*) is treated as the historical product of concrete relations between Roma and the non-Roma environment, between specific Roma groups, and between various categories of people within the context of these groups. It is precisely these relations, within the framework of this view, that define the Roma identity and its numerous variations. In other words, in order to understand who the Roma are, it is necessary above all to go back to the fundamental opposition between the world of the Roma and the world of the non-Roma. It is precisely the impact of the non-Roma world, rather than any "natural difference", "ethnicity", or distinct cultural values that played, in the view of some scholars, the crucial role in constituting the Roma as a separate group (See Lucassen, 1991, 1996).

This approach is grounded in Fredrik Barth's (1969) idea that it is not cultural substance that determines a group's identity but social boundaries that shape the cultural content they contain. Roma identity is therefore perceived here as a maintenance of the social boundary that protects Roma "social space composed according to their own ethic of relatedness" (Stewart, 1997: 28). In this approach culture is a dependent variable: we may explain it as a result of and resource for the processes in which Roma build their relations with their environment.

Judith Okely (1996), in turn, appreciates the important role of cultural values in the forming of the Roma identity but nevertheless states that these values are a derivative of the specific system of relations between the world of the Roma and the world of the non-Roma, and of Roma efforts aimed at defending and controlling the borders between those worlds. Similarly, Will Guy regards the Roma as characterized by ethnic and cultural separateness with the caveat that the dominant aspects of their ethnic and cultural identity are socially constructed. "Roma culture," he writes, "is not something

isolated and unique unto itself regardless of its specific components, but rather arises as a response to the symbolic relations connecting the Roma with the majority groups on whom Roma life has always depended" (Guy, 2001: 5).

We may thus say that within this approach Roma do not have a single identity but a plethora of them, contingently constructed in the context of concrete relations with the non-Roma world and between different Roma groups. The process of construction means here two things. First, that Roma are constructed by non-Roma through official definition, administrative practice, popular stereotype and persecution. Second, that Roma, often in response to the non-Roma, construct themselves in a way that satisfies their needs, protects them and is instrumental regarding their interest groups (Willems, 1997: 6–7). The latter process involves phenomena described in literature as "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1987), "resistance identity" (Castells, 1997) or, more recently, as "skin identity" (Cardús, 2010), a term which corresponds very well with Barth's concept because it "emphasizes not content but the container" of what we call identity which forms "the frontier, as well as the point of contact without which there is no possible relationship" with others in which we construct ourselves (ibid.: 70).

The proponents of the two propositions presented above may well be engaged in a sharp theoretical dispute, but both approaches share a mistrust of the third method of conceiving of the Roma identity, which can be defined as historical or process-oriented. According to this approach, who the Roma are here and now depends on who their ancestors were in the past and what kind of fates they were subject to. According to the familiar definition by Anthony Giddens (1994: 80), Roma identity thus understood would be a product of the sense of the continued existence of this group in time, based on the connection between its past and its predicted or desired future. Such an identity is based on the living memory of the past, an interest in the history of one's own group, and the commemoration of the events that are most important to it.

Orientations that emphasize the substantive nature of the Roma identity regard that identity as not having an historical dimension. This approach emphasizes the fact that thinking in historical categories is alien to Roma, whose memory is fleeting and not supported by acts of commemoration. As Jerzy Ficowski (1986: 24) wrote, "Gypsies do not in general retain any memory of collective matters and people after passing away of the living witnesses to past times. The past dies almost simultaneously with those who participated in it."

According to the proponents of the relational approach, in turn, Roma seldom spend time mulling over past events and their identities are based on neither the myth of a shared origin nor – for instance – dreams of future unification. Within the framework of this approach, however, they admit that the Roma do possess their own sort of memory, which is "encoded" in a certain sense in the social relations that connect Roma with the non-Roma surroundings. These relations contain within themselves a significant burden of hostility towards the Roma and by the same token continually "remind" them of a history filled with persecution on the part of the societies amongst which they lived. Such memory sometimes goes by the name of "implicit memory," which is not an object of reflection or cultivation, but which could potentially have an impact on the way the Roma perceive themselves (Stewart, 2004).

In his later work, however, Stewart claimed that there may be a link between the constructivist approach to identity and historical perspective. An emphasis on the "construction" of Roma by the classifying practices of the non-Roma institution allows to speak of a history of Roma, which "is as much a history of those who classified people

as 'Gypsy' as it is of those thus labelled" (Stewart, 2013: 423). In this way the constructivist approach is "potentially liberating" (Ibid.) and contributes to building Roma agency and recognition. However, one needs to notice that it is also rejected by some Roma activists who "often prefer to see them [their collective identities – S.K.] as fairly fixed, implying a homogeneity and hence a coherence for a group that give it power" (Jasper and McGarry, 2015: 3). This attitude sometimes takes a form of the already mentioned "strategic essentialism" which may be sometimes efficient, but more often than does not lead to an authentic, empowering communication and freezes Roma in their subjugated subaltern position (Spivak, 1999: 310).

Campaigning for the recognition of identity and history sustains, selects, and constructs memories of marginalized groups. This is the case of contemporary Roma who in the older literature were often presented as "people without history" who live in an "eternal present" and have no tradition of commemoration (Yoors, 1967; Cohn, 1973; Ficowski, 1989). As I have argued elsewhere (Kapralski, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2013), this "orientalising" picture of the Roma was largely a result of the processes of "differential deprivation of history" (Bauman, 1992), "othering" them by placing them in an "allochronic discourse" (Fabian, 1983) through the "erasure of interconnection" (Wolf, 1982) and "silencing" their past (Trouillot, 1995) or projecting on them the repressed dreams of Western modernity (Trumpener, 1992).

It must be said, however, that the "rehabilitation" of Romani cultures of memory often takes the form of an "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm, 1983) or "authentication" of the past. To authenticate the past means "to select from all that has gone before that which is distinctive, unique...and thereby to mark out a unique shared destiny" (Smith, 1998: 43). The concept is therefore very much applicable to Roma as a network of dispersed communities but the process it describes may threaten the distinctively unique histories of particular groups, which may disappear within a unified "master narrative" of Roma history, often having a status very close to mythology (Marushiakova and Popov, 2006). Therefore, by history-oriented approach to Roma identity I understand a perspective that focuses not only on the way Roma past is perceived, for example by Roma activists and intellectuals, but also on the concrete historical circumstances that form a context in which an interaction between cultural resources and social relation takes place and has an impact on the results of this interaction (Kapralski, 2012).

There is no room here to settle the dispute as to which of these approaches – the substantive, the relational, or the history-oriented – constitutes the most adequate representation of Roma identity. This might, in any case, be an intellectually sterile exercise. Roma identities are exceptionally complicated entities in which cultural, social, and historical contents all feature, and the researcher's job is to define the way in which these elements are connected with each other at a given moment and in a given group, and how the hierarchy of the elements arises and changes over time. For the purposes of the present text we shall therefore treat "the Roma identity" as a complex whole made up of a vision of the world based on cultural values, the image of one's own social space and the boundaries separating it from others, and the manner of perceiving one's own history. In other words, the competing approaches to Roma identity will be treated here as the unilateral absolutisation of some single aspect of "being Roma," which constitutes a fluid configuration of cultural values, social boundaries, and intellectual conceptions in a state of constant transformation.

This approach is in line with some contemporary developments in the field of identity studies which emphasize that contemporary identity is something improvised

and staged for the time being (Clifford, 1988), hybrid (Bhabha, 2006) and thus heterogeneous and incoherent, that draws upon a multiplicity of meanings, historical codes, memories and imaginations (Friese, 2002: 5). If modern identities were meant to be solid and durable, the contemporary, postmodern people try to avoid such fixed identities and accept them only "until further notice" in order to be open to their inevitable future transformations (Bauman, 1996: 18). This changed status of identity was largely engendered by the process of globalization which made available globally identities that formerly were confined to concrete local contexts. Nowadays, their existence is no longer guaranteed by tradition and reproduced by personal relations in relatively closed communities. Instead, they are produced and reproduced in the mass-mediated, loose networks of relations between dispersed individuals, in the "ethnoscapes" in which the "genie of ethnicity" escapes from the "bottle" of locality and becomes a "global force, forever slipping in and through the cracks between states and borders" (Appadurai, 1996: 41).

Contemporary identities do not presuppose therefore the continuity of culture and tradition in which they were once formed nor do they need traditional containers, like for example ethnic groups: they are produced in the locales of a new kind: abstract, imagined and disconnected from concrete physical spaces and groupings. As Rogers Brubaker (2004: 4) observed, contemporary ethnicity "works not only, or even especially, in and through bounded groups, but in and through categories, schemas, encounters, identifications, languages, stories, institutions, organizations, networks, and events." Brubaker's concept of "ethnicity without groups" is applied in the field of Roma studies by Tatiana Podolinská (2017). A similar concept of "super-diversity" coined by Steven Vertovec (2007) has been used in Roma studies by Annabel Tremlett (2014) who recommended investigating "the cross-cutting, multiple, hybrid components that feature in our everyday lives, from experiences of gender, sexuality, multi-media platforms (TV, internet, etc.), socio-economic status, disabilities, work environment, to the local environment and so on" (ibid.: 840).

Such approaches form a valuable deconstruction of the essentialising concepts of Romani studies although their fear of essentialism may lead to denying Roma any form of concrete, distinct collective identity or to the arbitrary classification of some constructs of identity as "enforced" or "unauthentic." Nevertheless, deconstructionist elements can be also found in the work of the younger generation of Roma intellectuals for whom the most important feature of "Roma identity" is a rejection of any fixed shape and scepticism about any content it may take or have, regardless of whether prescribed by non-Roma scholars or Roma political activists. Roma identity is for them a recognition of the fact that the only feature that is shared by individual Roma persons is that each of them is different and unique (Belton, 2010: 46). Even they, however, point out the experience of external threat, historically exemplified by the Holocaust, as the common denominator of different variants of "being Rom" and thus a form of shared commonality of fate (ibid.: 42).

2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA WOMEN IN POLAND AND SLOVAKIA

The multidimensional concept of identity elaborated in the previous section will be applied to the interpretation of data collected in 2013 in the interviews with female Roma activists who belonged to three groups: Polska Roma, Polish Carpathian Roma,

and Slovak Carpathian Roma (see Footnote 1 and Kapralski, 2014). Polska Roma is a group that was nomadic (or semi-nomadic) until the beginning of the 1970s. Its members often identify themselves as the followers of *romanipen* in the narrow sense presented earlier; that is of the system of values and code of behaviour based on a specific vision of the world as divided into the spheres of purity and pollution, which especially affects the situation of women. Polish Carpathian Roma (called *Bergitka* by Polska Roma and some scholars) are formed by several largely disintegrated communities who had been settled for centuries in the Carpathian Mountains and after the Second World War migrated to towns, where they were seeking opportunities created by communist industrialization, while Polska Roma preferred self-employment in traditional Roma professions and in trade. The Carpathian Roma speak a different dialect to Polska Roma (although they can easily communicate with one another). They do not have nomadic tradition and do not live according to *romanipen* in the narrow sense that is the way it is understood by Polska Roma. Thus they have been perceived by the latter as ritually impure, and generally worse, which inhibited mutual relations.

Slovak Roma are culturally, linguistically and socially close to the Polish Carpathian Roma. They have been sedentary populations, in the past subjected to strong assimilationist policy of the Habsburg monarchy. They speak the same dialect of Romani, although its version spoken by the Polish Carpathian Roma is now heavily influenced by Polish vocabulary while the Slovak Roma are influenced by their Slovak linguistic environment. They do not have *romanipen* in the narrow sense except of some traces preserved in language and custom, that by some authors are perceived as remnants of the once existing set of cultural values that disappeared in the course of forcible assimilation (Tcherenkov and Laederich, 2004, II: 564). Similarly to Roma in Poland, Slovak Roma are predominantly Roman Catholic, although recently Pentecostal Churches are very active among them much more than in Poland (Podolinská and Hrustič, 2011).

We may thus say that in the cultural perspective outlined earlier, the members of Polska Roma are different from Polish Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma while the members of the last two groups are culturally similar. From the sociological point of view, all three groups have similar relations with their environments, although Polish Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma have a longer tradition of permanent interactions with non-Roma due to their sedentary life and exposure to forced assimilation. On the other hand though, the social situation of Polska Roma and Polish Carpathian Roma is similar because of the fact that both groups live in one country and face the same kind of social policy and popular attitude.

Therefore, following the culturalist hypothesis, we should expect that the attitudes of the members of Polska Roma regarding the important aspects of Roma life will be different from those expressed by the Polish Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma while there should be a similarity of opinions among the members of the last two groups. The situation of women is definitely one of the important aspects of Roma life and the discussion of the role of women in Roma communities involves some crucial issues of Roma identity. Moreover, it is claimed that the experience of women who belong to different Roma groups may essentially differ depending on the cultural features of these groups and on their social situation (Ceneda, 2002: 31–32).

Narrowing the culturalist hypothesis, we should expect that the attitudes of our interviewees regarding the education of Roma girls, the patriarchal character of Roma communities, and forms of assistance Roma women may expect, especially in the area of reproductive rights and sexual education, will be similar in the case of the Polish

Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma, while these two groups will differ from the more conservative Polska Roma.

2.1 Polska Roma

Women from this group whom we interviewed did not experience negative attitude of the traditional Roma environment to their education but were aware that this issue created a problem for other Roma women. Our interviewees interpreted their particular situation in the context of the specific character of families in which they had been raised. In some of them women performed a very important role. Other families were patriarchal but it was kind of an "enlightened patriarchy" where the father understood the aspirations of his daughters and often served as a role model for our respondents.

In general, our respondents claimed that the situation of Roma women in the field of education is far from being perfect but it is definitely improving. According to them, right now it is difficult to speak of any traditional, cultural obstacles regarding the education of girls, for example related to the principles of Romanipen. Instead, there are a number of concrete problems such as separate dressing rooms or special sports clothes for girls that can be solved in a way that satisfies both Roma and school authorities. Early marriages (that is unofficial, traditional Roma marriages) are still a problem because married women cannot continue education. Today, however, an early marriage means that the bride is on average 16-17 years old (ERTF, 2014: 4–5), which – together with the educational reform in Poland and introduction of grammar schools – has offered girls an opportunity to complete their education on this level.[2]

The problem of the patriarchal character of the traditional Roma communities has been explicitly raised by two of our respondents in this group. One of them claimed it to be a serious problem for Roma female activists although not for her personally. For another one patriarchy belongs to public life and is a serious obstacle in the development of this sphere among Roma. If in the private sphere wives often argue with their husbands and criticize them, in the public sphere, however, they pretend to look obedient not to embarrass their husbands and spoil their reputation. Generally, there are circles in which a woman "must know her place" if she wants to function publicly, even if she is a Roma activist.

Female Polska Roma activists are unanimous regarding the assistance that a Roma woman can receive. According to them, if a woman has problems in family life or in the community, she can receive assistance first of all from the members of her family and then from the "elders" – traditional leaders of bigger families or just important personalities with charisma who are respected as experts in traditional law. The last instance to whom a woman can turn is *Śero Rom*, the biggest authority regarding the observance of the principles of *romanipen*. The institution of *Śero Rom* guards tradition and therefore conserves the patriarchal relations. Women can, however, apply for his judgement and their requests are usually dealt with by the wife of *Śero Rom* or a respectable older woman from his family (*Phuri Daj* – "old mother"). None of our respondents mentioned in this context Roma NGOs or non-Roma institutions.

The situation is similar when it comes to specific women's problems, related to sexual activity, contraceptives, and reproductive rights. Here all our interviewees

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2   This opportunity disappears now as the government elected in 2015 decided to liquidate this kind of school, extending instead the education in elementary school.

agreed that this sphere is discussed – if at all – only on the level of family, In general, there is a veil of silence put on these issues in Roma communities as they pertain to the sphere of *romanipen's* crucial values. Women who experience problems in these areas have no support from organizations and for our female activists it would even be difficult to imagine that they could be involved in solving of what is perceived as internal, family matters. The interviewees hoped that even if contraceptives, abortion and family planning are taboo issues, women are always in a position to "somehow" find another woman whom they can ask or learn from leaflets collected in medical facilities. An idea that it could be precisely their organizations that offer assistance and information in this field does not come across the minds of our activists. One of them did not want to talk about that at all. Another one claimed that nothing can be done because mothers do not give their consent for any kind of sexual education of their daughters. Although the activists notice a growing awareness of health-related issues among Roma women, they nevertheless are of the opinion that matters such as contraceptives and safe sex are not debated at all or, if yes, then in a very small circle. According to one of our respondents, the reproductive laws form probably the only area in which traditional Roma values play today an essential role.

In the opinion of the Polska Roma female activists, traditional family and the system of power based on the institution of the "elders" are still important cultural values that need to be taken into account in the activities of the Roma organizations, in particular women's organizations that deal with the women's problems.

2.2 Polish Carpathian Roma

As far as the education was considered, the female activists from the Carpathian Roma group had very divergent opinions. The dominant idea was that the problems associated with the education of Roma girls are of an economic, rather than a cultural nature. For example, female students often leave school when they manage to find a job. Negative attitudes towards education can be interpreted as the result of social marginalization, lack of hope, and mistrust in education as a means of improvement. The resistance to education in the older generation is related to the fear of assimilation where education is perceived as the way out of the Roma world.

Our interviewees have generally noticed that there is patriarchy behind the resistance to education. They claimed, however, it was not a specifically Roma kind of patriarchy but a typical attitude of the traditional, poor and uneducated communities in southern Poland, both Roma and non-Roma. Generally speaking, most of the activists noticed the patriarchal character of the relations within Roma communities although they often characterised Polska Roma as definitely patriarchal while emphasizing that among Carpathian Roma women are professionally more active and earn their own money which strengthens their position in the family. If the elements of patriarchy are still present among Carpathian Roma, it is not because of some special Roma cultural patterns but rather because their culture is, according to our respondents, a mixture of Roma and non-Roma features, including patriarchy that characterizes rural communities of the Carpathian Mountains. That is why, regardless of their special position in Roma communities, the interviewees confess that it happens in their professional activities that they "try not to forget that they are women" that is to behave the way expected by the patriarchal culture.

Regarding the assistance Roma women may receive, the answers of the activists

from the Carpathian Roma are practically identical with those given by the members of Polska Roma. According to them, Roma women may rely only on their families. The Polska Roma women can also go to the "elders", whose role is limited among Carpathian Roma. Our respondents emphasize also a big role of mothers in law to whom women may turn when they have problems with their husbands.

Also when it comes to the problems related to the sexual life and contraceptives, the situation of Carpathian Roma women is, according to our interviewees, very similar to that of Polska Roma. Knowledge of these matters is very limited although in the case of the Carpathian Roma it is due to poverty, lack of education, and superstition (e.g. that the use of the contraceptives causes cancer), rather than to the cultural factors. The latter perform, however, a certain role but they are not specifically Roma: the Roma share them with their non-Roma environment, which is as rule uneducated and traditionally Catholic. The issues of sexual life are taboo and even the women who are educated and have relevant knowledge do not want to share it, having been afraid about the reaction of their community.

2.3 Slovak Roma

Slovak Roma activists had an ambivalent attitude to the problems of the education of Roma girls. Almost all of them claimed that the situation in this field is changing for the better. But simultaneously most of them emphasized negative attitudes towards education that can be seen among Roma. According to them they are caused first of all by the economic situation that makes it difficult for the families to cover the expenses associated with the education of children and presses the latter to work part-time to support family budgets. Three respondents mentioned in this context also the patriarchal relations within Roma communities that cause a perception that education is something "not for girls". Eventually, two persons stated that school happens to be an area of discrimination, against which parents want to protect their children.

Generally speaking, patriarchy is a serious problem for more than half of our Slovak respondents who claim that it is a crucial obstacle for the improvement of the situation of Roma women. In Roma families sons are the source of a greater joy than daughters and their education is a priority. The conduct of women is controlled by men who, as a rule, have a negative attitude to women active outside the family circle and prescribed female social roles.

Four respondents touched upon the issue of domestic violence, physical and psychological, that women experience in their families. This issue has not been at all mentioned by the Polish activists. Similarly to the Polish Roma women, however, the Slovak activists have been inclined to search for the causes of patriarchal relations not in the specific values of Roma culture but in the marginal position and social exclusion of the Roma communities.

The most important difference between Polish and Slovak activists was related to the issue of assistance that women may receive. None of our Slovak respondents mentioned family or "elders" as persons that could offer such assistance. Women should in their opinion contact first of all Roma and non-Roma NGOs, Roma assistants, Roma and non-Roma doctors and educational/training centres operated by Roma and non-Roma institutions. Such a suggestion was never mentioned in the interviews with Polish female Roma activists regardless of the group they belonged to.

The institutions mentioned above should also, according to our Slovak interviewees,

offer Roma women assistance regarding contraceptives and sexual education. It seems that sexual life is not taboo among Slovak Roma; at least not to the extent that it is in the Polish Roma communities regardless of their cultural systems. According to the Slovak activists, problems encountered by women who need assistance in this field are related to the negative attitude of medical personnel to Roma, the material conditions and level of education of Roma women, and accessibility of medical service. These issues differentiate Roma women in Slovakia and in consequence our interviewees claimed that the category "Roma women" is too general. There is a substantial difference between educated, well-off women who live in bigger cities and poor, uneducated women from the settlements in rural areas (confirmed by Mušinka et al., 2014).

In conclusion of this section we may say that the evidence provided by the interviews proves the culturalist hypothesis false: it turns out that women who belong to culturally similar groups may have different perceptions of their situation and seek different solutions, while women who belong to culturally different groups may have similar perceptions of some issues and seek similar solutions. The situation of Roma women depends therefore on the relations of their groups with their environments rather than on their groups' cultural values. For example, the similarities between culturally different groups such as Polska Roma and Polish Carpathian Roma can be interpreted as the result of the interaction with similar, more conservative than in Slovakia, context of the country of residence. Moreover, the Roma NGO sector seems to be developed better in Slovakia than in Poland which makes its position stronger in relation with the traditional structures of Roma communities.

3. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER RELATIONS

Having proved the culturalist hypothesis false in the previous section I would like to turn now to the sociological hypothesis that assumes the predominant role of the relations between Roma groups and their environments in shaping their cultural characteristics, including those associated with a particular shape of the relations between men and women in a given group. More generally speaking, I will search for the nature of the relation between "society" and "culture" in the gendered constructs of Roma identities, taking the former as an independent and the latter as dependent variable.

Roma culture may be perceived in this perspective as a real entity that, however, is not active *per se* but forms a resource of cultural elements that are in certain situations activated, while silenced in others. This mechanism resembles the already mentioned invention of tradition or authentication. In this process a key role is played, for example, by Roma organizations that have emerged since 1970s and sometimes tend to present the people they strive to represent along ethnic-national lines (Willems, 1997: 7). In this way Roma politics can make Roma more aware of the existence and meaning of some aspects of their tradition (Mayall, 2004: 207).

Of course, it does not mean that culture does not have any influence on its own. It has its own inertia that makes certain cultural elements more easily "authenticated" than others. Contrary to the culturalist perspective, however, I would claim here that what makes culture an active factor is not its immanent power to influence human action but, in the spirit of Max Weber, a constellation of political, economic or social

interests that set cultural values in motion as their vehicle or means of legitimization (Kalberg, 2000).

This approach to the relation between culture and social relations is rooted, on the one hand, in the general system theory and, on the other hand, in some tendencies in social anthropology. In the perspective of the first theory it is said that the boundary between groups is constituted in the process of differentiation of system ("Us") and environment ("Them") and in this process, according to Niklas Luhmann (1995: 7), the difference between system and environment is repeated within the system. If we apply this perspective to Roma identity, we may say that the fundamental difference between Roma ("system") and non-Roma ("environment") is reproduced within Roma as, for example, the cultural difference between "pure" and "polluted" or "man" and "woman".

The perspective of system theory can be accompanied by the anthropological approach of Mary Douglas (1966) in which cultural conceptions of human body encode crucial features of social relations that characterize human groups. In particular, the control of the body (physiology, procreation, sexuality) can be understood in this perspective as a symbolic code (substitute) for the control of the social boundary. From this we may infer that the more precautions regarding human body we find in a given culture, the more its bearers are focused on the protection of social borders that separate them from other groups and the less are they able to control those borders.

This is particularly important for discriminated minorities whose existence and identity are often put in jeopardy. In such groups, fears and anxieties associated with the human body, its physiology and reproduction, and especially with its "entrances" and "exits," express fears and anxieties related to group's social boundary and groups' survival. Culture and social relations are in this perspective systems that mutually code fears and anxieties that emerge within each of them.

If we apply this reasoning to the particular context of Roma life, we may see, as Michael Stewart (1997: 205) has observed that culturally prescribed gender divisions are essentially not about the relations between men and women: they symbolize the denial of biology (represented by woman) and the affirmation of social-cultural relations (represented by Roma man) that determine Roma identity. Through the control of female bodies and sexuality, as well as through the separation of the male and female bodies, Roma neglect or deny their involvement in biological reproduction and venerate social reproduction. In this way they reduce the importance of their biological bodies through which they are depend on and are exposed to the non-Roma world.

The non-Roma environment, usually hostile towards Roma, can control and repress the biological bodies of Roma, for example through limiting the freedom of movement, incarceration, physical assaults, sterilization or extermination. The non-Roma have all the power to control the boundary between Roma and themselves, and Roma as a rule cannot effectively protect it. On the contrary: living in the state symbiotic dependency on the non-Roma world, Roma must cross the boundary to secure their livelihood which exposes them to the discriminatory practices of the non-Roma. But although the non-Roma can do a lot of harm to Roma biological bodies, they do not have access to the Roma social body that consists of the internal organization of life, safeguarded by cultural concepts, in which Roma sustain their identities. As in the political anthropology of Ernst Kantorowicz (1957), the biological body is perishable while the social-cultural body is immortal.

The social construction of gender relations is in this approach a function of the social standing of a group. A group whose existence is threatened by the interactions with

the hostile environment, encodes the binary opposition "Us/Them" (which is essential for its identity) with the help of another opposition: "Male/Female." Then the ritual mechanisms of handling the latter opposition provide the group a guarantee that the first opposition will be maintained and thus the boundary that separates Roma from non-Roma will be protected.

This approach enables us to present the relation between cultural and social systems as the relation of double expression or double encoding. The social relations between Roma and non-Roma are expressed (encoded) with the help of cultural oppositions while the relations between cultural constructs are expressed (encoded) in the social system. In particular, when Roma are unable to even partly control their social relations with non-Roma on their own terms, the anxieties related to the impossibility of controlling the social boundary may lead to an increased effort to control what is controllable, namely the boundaries between the elements of Roma culture, for example "male/female" opposition. When the latter are blurred (for example in a process of acculturation), the anxieties related to this process may be expressed in the efforts to make the social boundary less permeable and to reduce intergroup contacts.

4. THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

It is argued here that the gendered character of Roma identities (i.e. the foundation of identity in "male/female" cultural distinction) is not the result of the reproduction of primordial cultural values but a reaction to the lack of control of the social boundary. This argument can be supported by the findings of Kirsten Martins-Heuß (1989) regarding the outcomes of the experience of the genocide for the German Sinti. The Nazi victimization of Sinti and Roma meant a radical collapse of the Roma mechanisms of controlling and protecting their social boundary. Moreover, the radical anti-Roma measures that involved the denial of civil rights, incarceration in concentration camps, forced sterilization and, finally, mass death, threatened the cultural principles of Roma life that offered no shield and had to be sometimes temporarily suspended, for example in concentration camps where the conditions of life inhibited the possibility of living according to cultural patterns. In consequence, in the Third Reich "each and every adult Gypsy survivor had lost his or her honour" (ibid.: 207). It must be stressed though that the collapse of the internal cultural regulations followed the collapse of the mechanisms that protected the social boundary and had been caused by the targeting of Roma as the enemies of the racial state.

After the war, the psychological consequences of the Nazi persecution aggravated in the context of the general unwillingness in German society to acknowledge the crimes committed towards Roma and further humiliation that Sinti experienced in their fight for compensation (Krokowski, 2001; Knesebeck, 2011). According to Martins-Heuß (ibid.: 208), the traumas related to the Nazi persecution and post-war situation have seriously influenced the process of restoring internal cultural distinctions and thus the position of Sinti women: "Male Gypsies tend to confront and work through what the external world inflicted upon them during the Nazi period in terms of that element which for them represents – and embodies – the world (both the inner world and external reality): namely their women. The degradations experienced by Sinti and Roma under Nazi racist policies and the consequences of this experience, contributed to the creation of a deep – and even today, firmly internalized – sense of inferiority

among those persecuted and their children. In order to be able to cope with this permanent burden of self-contempt, feelings of humiliation are 'acted out' against and using their own women."

What Martins-Heuß suggests in her approach is that the patriarchy of Roma/Sinti communities and the cultural construction of woman as the source of pollution that needs to be kept at bay by controlling female sexuality and safeguarding their inferior position is not a result of the reproduction of cultural idiom and tradition simply inherited from the past. It may well be a contingent, historically conditioned reaction to the collapse of the mechanisms that controlled the social boundary of the Roma world in the Third Reich and after. Martins-Heuß claims for example "that Sinti men and women sat together as equals around the turn of the century," but "after 1945 it became customary to separate adult males and females inside a room. In the meantime, this has come to be considered as traditionally prescribed behaviour" (ibid.: 211).

The gendered identity of the Roma may therefore be presented as a relatively recent result of contingent social relations that later on undergoes the process of "retraditionalization" and functions in the consciousness of both Roma and scholars who study them as primordial and perennial cultural value. This conclusion fits a growing anthropological self-reflection: "It is now increasingly clear," writes Arjun Appadurai (1988: 38–39), "that in many instances where anthropologists believed they were observing and analysing pristine or historically deep systems, they were in fact viewing products of recent...interactions." Such an approach does not imply that all Roma traditions are relatively recent responses to the social standing of Roma groups. It only points out that to understand a particular aspect of Roma culture we need to take into account an interaction of culture as a historically accumulated resource of meanings and the concrete history forms social relations between Roma and non-Roma whereby the later are responsible for cultural dynamics.

The time of genocide during the Second World War was a period in which the boundary that separated Roma from non-Roma had been brutally destroyed by the Nazi persecution. Simultaneously, Roma were not in a position to encode the fear related to the destruction of boundary in the internal sphere of culture because of the conditions of life in the oppressive state. They took up this task after the war. Although they could not control the relations with the non-Roma environment according to their own principles, they successfully created inside their own communities a boundary they could control using cultural tools which involved the cultural construction of gender relations that reinforced some elements of cultural resources and blocked the process of their transformation. This control helped the Sinti to regain the sense of agency and integrity, shattered by the Nazi persecution and the situation in post-war Germany.

If we apply the argument outlined above to the situation of the Polish and Slovak Roma groups presented earlier, we should start with the different experiences these groups had during the Second World War. In the typology introduced by Helen Fein (1979) and applied by Brenda Davis Lutz and James M. Lutz (1995) to the study of the persecution of Roma, Poland and Slovakia belonged to two entirely different areas of the Nazi rule.

Poland, defeated by the German army in September 1939, had been subsequently occupied by the Nazi Germany (and, until 1941, by the Soviets who then collaborated with the Third Reich) with part of her territory incorporated into the Reich and others ruled directly by Germans. Slovakia declared independence in March 1939 and

established the Slovak Republic, allied with Nazi Germany. This meant a radical difference regarding the situation of Roma in these countries. On the territory of Poland the Nazis directly implemented their anti-Roma policies that involved deportations to death camps and summary executions. In the Slovak Republic, Roma were not targeted for genocide. The anti-Roma policies were carried out by the local, Slovak administration which was sending Roma to special work brigades that were building roads and railways or to internment camps. In 1944, after the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising some of what had until then been labour camps were converted into concentration camps in which a certain number of Roma died from illness or were shot. After the collapse of the uprising, Roma who were suspected of participation in it were executed.

As a result, a much higher number of Roma were murdered in Poland than in Slovakia and the percentage of the Roma victims in Poland was much bigger. This is what we can say with certitude, regardless of the concrete figures, about which there are only estimations, different in the work of different authors. As for Poland, Lutz and Lutz (1995: 349) give the figure of about 28,000 Roma murdered (approx. sixty-three percent of the pre-war Roma population of the country) while in Slovakia only 1,000 Roma lost their lives that is 1.25 percent of the 80,000 Roma who had lived there before the Second World War. These figures are taken from the first edition of the book by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon (1972) which contained several mistakes and was not particularly well evidenced. In the second edition of the book (Kenrick and Puxon, 1995: 75) the authors estimated the number of Roma murdered in Poland as 13,000 that is twenty-five percent of the total number of Roma in pre-war Poland. Michael Zimmermann (1996: 283) claims that the number of victims was even smaller: about. 8,000, but still, according to him, it would be close to one-third of the Roma population of Poland before the Second World War. As for Slovakia, in the second edition of their book Kenrick and Puxon (1995: 123) claimed that "only a few hundred of the wartime Gypsy population of Slovakia, estimated at over a hundred thousand, died at the hands of the fascist."

Regardless of the lack of consensus regarding the actual number of the victims and of the size of the Roma populations in both countries we must agree that there was a significant difference of historical experience between Polish and Slovak Roma. This disparity of fate partly confirms the thesis advocated by Brenda Davis Lutz and James M. Lutz (ibid.: 354) that "in the areas of greatest Nazi dominance...the Gypsies were almost as likely to suffer as the Jews. In effect, total annihilation was the goal." In the territories administered by the states allied with Nazi Germany, "authorities in Berlin had to negotiate for action against the chosen targets rather than simply order death squads to begin killing or deportations to occur" (ibid.: 351). The allied states, except Croatia, were for various, mostly economic reasons, not particularly interested in persecuting Roma and thus Roma who had lived on their territories had a greater chance of survival than those subjected to the direct Nazi rule.

In consequence of the differential treatment during the Second World War, the experience of destruction, humiliation, and threat to group existence was much more developed among Poland's Roma survivors than among Slovak Roma. The former had therefore more reasons to fortify the internal cultural boundaries, including male/female divide, as a compensation for the lost control of the external, social boundary. This historical difference of fate could account for the similarities of culturally different groups of Roma in Poland and dissimilarities of the Polish Carpathian Roma and Slovak Roma who culturally are close to each other.

Of course, the historical fate and the mechanisms of response towards it cannot explain everything. To have a more complete picture, one has to take into account differences of the policy towards Roma employed by the communist states of Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war, different levels of assimilation, different economic situation of particular Roma groups in both countries, and different level of the development of Roma NGO sector. The hypothesis advanced here, namely that the process of gendering of Roma identities is not a direct product of Roma culture but a result of historically contingent relations between social boundaries and cultural resources, seems nevertheless worth further research.

CONCLUSION

I have begun this article with the criticism of the cultural essentialism and social relationism as two main approaches to Roma identity one can find in the literature. Instead, I have argued for a multidimensional, conciliatory concept of identity which would incorporate the cultural and social perspectives and presented their interaction as mediated by the historical approach that shows how the concrete historical events shape the social boundary between Roma and non-Roma and the way Roma use their cultural resources to mark their distinctiveness. I have subsequently used the empirical evidence collected in my research to prove false the consequences of the cultural perspective, namely to show that Roma groups with similar cultural values may have different standpoints regarding some important issues (like the role of women in Roma communities) and, conversely, that culturally different groups may have similar views. Therefore, I have made my starting point the sociological perspective and, with the help of Niklas Luhmann's system theory and Mary Douglas' symbolic anthropology, I have presented the relation between Roma social and cultural systems as "double encoding" whereby the existential anxieties associated with transgression of the social boundary are transformed into concrete fears related to cultural boundaries, and vice versa. This process is framed in history which means, firstly, that it takes different forms in different times and, secondly, that the transgression of boundary that has occurred in the past has a significant impact on the present identities. I have illustrated this long shadow of the past with the process of "retraditionalization" of the German Sinti community and argued that something similar happened to Polish Carpathian Roma whose different experience of the Holocaust differentiated them from otherwise similar Slovak Carpathian Roma and brought them closer to the Polska Roma group, otherwise quite different. The argument presented here supports therefore the multidimensional concept of Roma identity as a historically contingent form of interrelation between cultural resources and social divides. Such forms are characterized by inertia and may outlive the conditions of their emergence which often leads to an essentialist bias of ethnography or sociological ahistoricism.

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SLOVAK ROMA BEYOND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESCAPISM AND EXOTIC OTHERNESS. CONCEPT OF "WHITENESS" AND THE STRUCTURES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

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This paper discusses the etic construction of Slovak Roma as a homogenous group essentialised as a marginal, disconnected, uneducated and asocial "other". The authors acknowledge the severe situation of exclusion suffered by many Roma in Slovakia but argue that diverse social positionalities also exist which are often ignored. Grounded in field research and ethnographic knowledge, the present paper deconstructs Roma homogeneity and tries to provide inside optics to different Roma conceptions. In doing so, the Roma agency is located in different fields, which opens new questions for research. Social situations which avoid the cliché of marginality make it possible to explore the existent interrelations between the overrepresentation of supposed Roma homogeneity and otherness and the muted existence of their counterpart – dominating non-Roma. Using methodological approaches close to whiteness studies, the authors attempt to go beyond approaches focusing on Roma as the exotic others. The role of non-Roma agency and power structures omnipresent in everyday life will be discussed as a key factor often muted in etic constructions of Roma.

Key words: Roma, Otherness, "Whiteness" Studies, Anthropology, Power Structures, Slovakia

INTRODUCTION

Anthropology as a social science has come a long way from its original preference for the exotic other and now focuses on the recognition of others and their views as equal

interlocutors. The propensity to transform the object of study into an exotic other has been overcome and is nowadays understood as part of the colonial past inherent to classic works (Asad, 1973; Stocking, 1991). Anthropologist Johannes Fabian emphasised the nature of expert knowledge of the other as a power act in his work (1983), where he criticised the way in which cultural anthropology by its methodology created the impression of non-European cultures as isolated and as entities existing in another time. Despite acknowledging cultural relativism, the European concept of otherness was produced and reproduced as something inferior. The central way in which anthropology, according to Fabian, contributed to the asymmetric conceptualisation of otherness was the denial of the present and the various ties between the studied environment and the world of the anthropologist. The studied ethnic group, despite the current communication between the anthropologist and his/her informants, has been forced into a distant past in the writing of professional texts. The result of this method of constructing the other is to highlight its difference and the distance between the object being investigated and the investigating subject. Moreover, the division of the human population into closed cultural systems has long been the subject of criticism of cultural anthropologists; according to Adam Kuper, in this sense, the term "culture" is a euphemism for race because its functioning for the explanation of otherness is similar (Kuper, 1999: 240).

However, it is a question of whether mainstream Slovak and Czech anthropology and social science have also followed this debate in their approach to Roma. Literature on Slovak Roma shows a preference for portraying Roma as a specific and problematic group, thus reinforcing dominant discourses which essentialise Roma as marginal, disconnected, uneducated and asocial others. There is also a palpable tendency to describe the causes and consequences of Roma marginality in a reduced way. For example, the most used (and misused) concept that has been employed to explain the situation of Roma in Slovakia is a "culture of poverty". Said concept is based on the assumption that the poor people and inhabitants of socially-marginalised localities are carriers of a specific cultural formula that has been created in the process of adapting to long-term poverty, and which is passed on from generation to generation. "The culture [of the poor] develops mechanisms that tend to perpetuate it, especially because of what happens to the worldview, aspirations, and character of the children who grow up in it" (Lewis, 1969: 199). The implications of a "culture of poverty" on Slovak Roma are often described as resignation from morals and values, loss of respect for formal authorities, aggressiveness, or crime, which may result in total disorganisation of communities and the emergence of an anomic environment. Thus, the defining characteristic of a "culture of poverty" is not poverty as such, but a specific set of standards, values and behaviours that allegedly apply to the homogeneously-viewed, exotic community of Roma.

In previous works (Šotola & Rodríguez Polo, 2016: 11–13) we stated that a certain form of exoticism and even what could be called "academic orientalism" has become a central part of Slovak and Czech social science on Roma. The core of studies concerning Roma focused on populations living under extreme forms of exclusion and poverty. Such preference creates the social imaginary of Roma as real others who are living on isolated islands inside our societies, although these islands are unconnected. For many researchers, Roma offered a pragmatic alternative to the misleading need to conduct fieldwork among some kind of foreign natives living in extreme conditions of alterity. Some anthropologists and researchers in related disciplines could fulfil the

romantic dream of becoming a traveller and living the field adventure among Roma by just driving a few hours to Eastern Slovakia during summer vacations. Thus, for Czech anthropologists, Roma became the most accessible other (together with foreigners living in Czech Republic) geographically speaking, but also in terms of language barriers and economic affordability. In doing so, the object of study was transformed through ethnographic texts into a satisfactory exotic other to colour the exotic narratives of a member of the civilisation who is surviving among the savages. At the same time, any trace of common places within our everyday life which could articulate the proximity and the many aspects shared by the anthropologists and the constructed other were muted; indeed, this led to an overrepresentation of the difference and a preference for presenting Roma as isolated from the world of the non-Roma.

The effects of such practices go beyond the obvious misrepresentation of social reality and surely leave the researcher facing a strong ethical dilemma. Exoticising Roma is a form of anthropological escapism, i.e. focusing on phenomena which are visible on the surface instead of building argumentation on historical, economic and political phenomena and analysing social and power interactions, as would be the case with any other research aiming to provide explanations for current societies. As a result, this transforms the researcher into a subject and accomplice of a consciously-muted white dominance that in the end reproduces and perpetuates Roma oppression. This approach gives ethnographic accounts of dominant discourses of the otherness of Roma, their lack of inclusion and their supposed unique worldview, which make them incompatible with current and former societies (Barša, 2011). The focus on supposed Roma peculiarities and characteristics generates an aversion to examining how educational, political, economic and other societal structures maintain the status quo and the Roma disadvantage versus their non-Roma neighbours. There is a direct relationship between exoticisation and highlighting the otherness of the Roma on the one hand, and their conceptualisation on the basis of homogenisation and generalising statements on the other hand. As put by Abu-Lughod in her famous article, Writing against culture (1991: 152–153): "problem with generalization derives ... from the effects of homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness it tends to produce. When one generalizes from experiences and conversations with a number of specific people in a community, one tends to flatten out differences among them and to homogenize them. The appearance of an absence of internal differentiation makes it easier to conceive of a group of people as a discrete, bounded entity, like the 'the Nuer', 'the Balinese', and 'the Awlad 'Ali Bedouin' who do this or that and believe such-and-such".

Even when the ethnographical accounts of Slovak and Czech provenience attempted to show certain heterogeneity among Roma, a differentiation was made according to ethno-cultural criteria only valid for Roma. This approach to diversity is limited to differentials among Roma subgroups – again unconnected from their white neighbours. A paradigmatic example is the fascination with concepts such as the *ritually clean* and *unclean*. In this narrative the attention is focused on the differentiation between ritually unclean and ritually clean and said opposition is viewed as corresponding to the dualistic life philosophy of the Roma, categorising the whole life into the classes of "good" and "bad". It is held that the idea of ritual cleanliness and uncleanness represents an elementary component of the traditions of the Roma. Such an approach to Roma diversitywe understood as an example of exoticisation, giving substance to an increasing sense of otherness. As we see, neither the vocabulary nor the conceptual framework corresponds with the ones used when the discussion is about the general population.

In the paragraphs above we have outlined our thesis on anthropological escapism in scholarship on Slovak Roma. However, we do not want to oversimplify or generalise our argument. We recognise that, in recent years, there have been many research efforts from Slovak and Czech social scientists to try to go beyond the described limitations and employ more complex research designs and goals. Some scholars have followed the Slovak Roma in their efforts to escape marginalisation, focusing on their migrant trajectories and exploring connections between the various forms of mobility. These scholars focused on participants' attempts to engage in existential mobility, which requires their physical movement to the place of destination, as well as on participants' hopes for upward socio-economic mobility (Grill, 2012, 2016). Others focused on religious aspects and the work of large, small, registered and non-registered churches and religious movements among the Roma in Slovakia, outlining possibilities and effectiveness related to the social inclusion of Roma (Podolinská & Hrustič, 2011). Moreover, some scholars focused on the presence of Roma in local politics and on prevalent mainstream political discourse about Roma, forms of generalisations and labelling of Roma in public life; this focus spanned from creating a fear of Roma and misusing this fear in gaining political successes, to designing and developing repressive and paternalistic policies addressing these fears in mainstream society (Hrustič, 2013; for more complex picture see also Podolinská & Hrustič, 2015). Other scholars researched interactions within the education system, exploring the disproportionate streaming of Roma children into special schools and unequal educational outcomes between Roma and non-Roma (Brüggemann & Škobla, 2012). Several field experiences compelled the authors of this study to follow up the scenario of marginality. We investigated the effects of general structural conditions, power asymmetries, and social practices at the local level and their impact on spatial exclusion, as well as the absence of physical infrastructure in so-called Roma settlements (Škobla & Filčák, 2016). A long-term relationship with Roma research participants allowed us to observe their interactions with their white neighbours in fields such as labour searching, attending mass and public celebrations, solving bureaucratic problems to buy a house, navigating their village and region, migrating to foreign countries in search of better possibilities, and returning to their hometown to reconfigure their position. We made an effort to explore how the successful returning migrants have established new hierarchies and contributed to the crystallising of re-shuffled hierarchies at the local level. Roma participants confronted those situations from different positionalities and with different results. Many of these situations have already been published and deeply discussed in our previous works (Šotola & Rodríguez Polo, 2016; Škobla, Grill & Hurrle, 2016).

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, it seeks to discuss the supposed homogeneity of Roma and, second, it endeavours to challenge the concept of Roma as an unconnected social actor. In our opinion, these two topics are closely related, since Roma themselves are not fully masters of their fate – it is the agency of the dominant ("white") class which, to an important extent, determines their lives. In social practice, this means that even if some Roma experience social advancement (e.g. due to labour migration), their acquired economic, social or cultural capital inevitably clash with oppressive structures of the society. Exploring the positionality of Roma in local hierarchies, we therefore clearly give preference to approaches which notice the agency of non-Roma.

METHODOLOGY

The present work is based on the cumulative experience of a decade of diverse field research projects among Slovak Roma and their neighbours. Since 2013, the authors have intermittently carried out participant research, within the geographical area of the Spiš and Šariš regions, stretched across various locations, through regular revisits. The authors participated not only in academic research but also in a variety of evaluation projects and applied research related to the monitoring and evaluation of the European structural funds or under the umbrella of civil society. Through the years, that experience provided a network of contacts, informants and friends among Roma, as well as certain experience interviewing and having informal conversations with non-Roma. Thus, the present study is based on a large body of observational, interview-based and documentary data collected during an ethnographic study of the social world of Roma in Eastern Slovakia.

The deliberately chosen methodology of ethnography allows us to look into the life of the Roma and understand how they overcome structural barriers and social inequalities in everyday life. In other words, the main strength of this methodology lies not just in the approach, in the terrain, in the emphasis on everyday life in the local environment, or in micro-relations between actors, but in putting these partial observations into the wider context of social, economic and symbolic factors and forces which shape a given situation, often presented as "normality". We consider it important to examine the position of the Roma in the context of the social structure of the whole society. Therefore, the authors complemented classical ethnographic methods with archival research in order to obtain more historical data on the late socialist period.

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF THE PARTICULAR

In her famous essay, which relates to the manner in which western cultures investigate other cultures, Spivak asked Can the subaltern speak? (1988). This question gives rise to a difficult riddle for an ethnographer, as it addresses a key element in our work – the question of representation. What could be the answer to a similar question addressed nowadays to Slovak Roma? Can Slovak Roma speak? Current work is exploring the implication of such a question for the way social sciences and policy making approach Roma. As stated by Spivak, the answer is not very optimistic. No, the subaltern cannot speak by themselves as they will not be listened to or be understood. Spivak held that knowledge is never innocent and that it expresses the interests of its producers. For Spivak, knowledge is like any other commodity that is exported from the west to the third world for financial and other types of gain. To think about Slovak Roma in Spivak's terms leads us to pose the following question: has our knowledge about Roma not been mostly created by non-Roma? Subsequently, we can also ask how this knowledge fits with emic perspectives and with the social reality they inhabit. In recent years, we have been intensively focusing on the topic of social mobility for Roma because we see its potential for developing academic debate. At the same time, we have experience with applied research and evaluations of development projects. Within both research perspectives we are moving extensively and intensively in the environment of Eastern Slovakia and predominantly in the Spiš region. At the same time, the topic of vertical mobility is very closely linked not only with the possibilities and conditions of social

ascension, but also with its limits and barriers. We want to present these contexts for a sample of ethnographic data, first at the level of anonymised locality, and then with a larger distance due to the focus on the wider geographical context in which the location (let us call it "A") lies.

Village A is a locality where more than 600 Roma live in different conditions than the usual notion of a segregated settlement. The selection of the research site itself was conditioned by the criterion of the higher standard of living of the local Roma population. The village has approximately 2,500 inhabitants, with Roma living on three streets on the edge of the settlement; however, these Roma organically follow the rest of the village, and so the degree of spatial segregation is minimal. All of our research participants present village A as a good village where Roma are living well-off ("na úrovni"), meaning that local Roma managed to achieve similar standards to those of non-Roma. This similarity is easily deconstructed by researchers, as asymmetries between Roma and non-Roma materialise in spatial segregation (the village is divided into Roma and non-Roma parts), a complete absence of Roma in local institutions and local power structures, and completely differentiated economic strategies – Roma being forced to perform continuous cyclical migrations in order to achieve some income while non-Roma work in the few available positions in the region or move to the capital city; indeed, the latter strategy is unrealistic for young Roma because of prevailing racism. However, still village A is considered by its Roma inhabitants as a good place – a place where they at least experience a better status than what is commonly portrayed by national media. Participants point to the existence of differences among their community, which are often explained by symbolic interpretations of the urban plan. One of the streets where Roma are living serves as an example of diversity among Roma in the village. At one end, weaker ("slabší") Roma are living in state houses. Access to labour for their residents is not regular and depends on occasional opportunities provided by other Roma in more advantageous positions. Next to them, a group of individual houses in good shape seem to compete for having the most colourful façade. Those are the houses of migrants working on construction sites abroad who form a kind of local "middle class", mostly achieving non-Roma standards but always under the ethnic limits of the status quo. The end of the street is marked by an ostentatious villa which belongs to a rich Roma family who have managed to reach a certain business success also connected to the construction sector. However, even this rich family did not manage to cross the ethnic line and had to build their villa in the Roma part of the village. The positive perception held by inhabitants of village A is constructed in opposition to a group of social houses where hundreds of Roma live in conditions of severe marginalisation and absolute poverty. Those Roma are strongly stigmatised as "degeši" and are considered an underclass by Roma and non-Roma from village A.

This narrative proves the existence of an emic perception of diversity applied to the social positionalities of inhabitants of village A. The differentiation is not only a categorisation in material terms of who is rich and who is poor; indeed, there is also the establishment of differentiations which will settle the possibilities and limits for social interaction. Articulated diversity contrasts with the homogenised view imposed by the so-called cliché of marginality. Village A is a well-known locality among researchers, as it lies in the centre of one of the most productive areas in terms of knowledge on Roma. However, in the past researchers shunned similar sites and preferred a clear marginality as an exotic.

Emic subjectivities reveal a spectrum of relatively diverse positionalities. By focusing research on those emerging fields of interethnic interaction, the social researcher not only avoids the cliché of marginality and the anthropological escapism but is also able to collaborate with participants in a respectful way; in addition, this makes it possible to avoid constructing the participants as essentialised objects.

If analysis takes a wider scope and considers a certain regional aspect, the diversity around village A grows in terms of complexity. In just a few kilometres nearby the social researcher will be surprised by the variety of destinies experienced by the local Roma population in the last decades. Just a few kilometres from village A, it is possible to find: a) villages where only non-Roma are living due to violence and pogroms that have taken place in different historical moments; b) geographically-isolated settlements where Roma are kept at the edge of survival; c) medium-size towns where Roma are living in urban ghettos after being forced to leave the historic parts of the city centre by gentrification processes; d) places where Roma seem to experience certain upward mobility thanks to business activities related to tourism, such as pensions and guest-houses; settlements involved in strong dynamics of transformation as their inhabitants accumulate certain economic capital with the emergence of precarious work possibilities in recently-established industries due to dislocation processes of global production; f) even villages where the non-Roma population have decided to leave (white flight) as a solution to interethnic tensions.

This vast diversity leads us to questions that have not been addressed by the present research, and also makes us question how it is possible to explain this diversity of positives. Our interest in social mobility has led us to find the factors and situations that opened the space for social rising and the escape from poverty and marginality for the various Roma. However, the more we were with them and became acquainted with local configurations of power and socio-economic opportunities, the more we realized that we were witnessing many things but not "things that worked". With regard to our participants at different levels of socio-economic rankings, similar stories are repeated that indicate hidden mechanisms which limit their self-realisation and chances. Their ethnicity – however negotiated or hidden – acts as the ultimate stigma; and it concerns all areas of social life. For Roma from village A, or those in the vicinity of the tourist region, it has been and is very difficult to get land or property in areas inhabited by non-Roma. Throughout various political regimes, only the concrete form of the barrier has changed, but the mechanism has remained the same: instead of regulations by the socialist's Municipal National Committee (*Mestský národný výbor*), free-market post-socialism prevents Roma from purchasing the land because of the combined pressure of the mayor and potential neighbours. Roma with higher education are being pushed to work in the framework of precarious and limited projects funded by the European Social Fund. The "better-off" Roma of the locality are not confronted with such strong segregation and lower teaching standards in schools as Roma from settlements. However, in the event that the number of Roma pupils in a new class rises above a certain level, the white parents drive their children to a school in the town, thus showing that they will not accept the numerical superiority of their "accepted" Romani neighbours.

So, although the local configuration of power and its implementation in the local infrastructure and the rules of the game are different, they are always asymmetric, to the detriment of the Roma. We always find a clear example of double standards that differ only in terms of distance between non-Roma and Roma. And so, while in

segregated settlements it is common to suffer from the worse availability of good drinking water, on site A, Roma homes are equipped with water pipes, similar to their non-Roma neighbours. If one delves, however, into the history books, injustice is clearly present; the area inhabited by Roma was equipped with a water pipeline as far away as the last part of the village; indeed, this happened only after many reminders at the national committee and amidst a situation where Roma houses in a hollow suffered from defective surface water pollution because of sewage from the school.

However, paradoxically, many researchers focused on the poorest settlement always being described as unconnected to the rest of the positionalities. Such a bias is common when it comes to the representation of Slovak Roma in the literature. The settlement has been repeatedly portrayed as a medieval island populated by uncivilised people closer to nature and wildness than to our societies. Their social exclusion is presented as a consequence of their wild nature and no interaction with the outside world is reported. Such an approach relates directly to a well-known apparatus serving white supremacy – to blame the victim. Their position in society is described in terms of a poverty trap sustained by their incapacity to escape from it on their own terms, as they are not able to join the majority or to integrate into "normal society" without problems.

The complexity and diversity emerging from the ground demand avoiding explanations centred on the supposed characteristics of a concrete group. Discussion must not only be focused on the different agency and strategies of diverse social actors; indeed, explanatory argumentations should be grounded on the understanding of historic and social causes of complex interethnic interactions.

Experiences in the field show that any related position is far from being unconnected to the others. Social exclusion of segregated Roma is the result of a long-term conflictual relationship between Roma and non-Roma. Their living conditions in a segregated area in demeaning communal houses are the result of State planning and local implementation. In a similar way, the unsatisfactory structural conditions of social houses in village A are the result of housing policies. The lack of jobs in the region and the racist mechanism excluding Roma from internal migration are also out of the scope of Roma cyclical emigrants. Even the profitable business of the richest family is both connected to non-Roma private constructors and to their access to the cheap Roma labour force. A crucial point is the imaginary line which divides village A into one Roma area and one non-Roma area. Roma are willing to break such a boundary in order to avoid space limitation and are also willing to achieve a higher social status. However, non-Roma actively maintain the separation and restrict the housing market according to their ethnic criteria. Diverse positionalities among Roma are not a consequence of Roma intrinsic characteristics, culture or essence, but instead the result of long-term social, economic and political processes.

BEYOND THE ROMA QUESTION: THE RELEVANCE OF WHITENESS STUDIES

A crucial point in observing Roma beyond the cliché of marginality is their obvious connection to non-Roma. Their existence is settled in inter-ethnic scenarios – a fact clearly misrepresented in existing literature. The interests, agency and views of the non-Roma are often ignored behind the term "majority", as if the term was self-explanatory enough. Paradoxically, whiteness studies have largely been a productive

topic on a global scale. A vast quantity of literature exists on the topic, including a range of subtopics as well as discussions on, and criticism of, this theoretical approach (Engles, 2006). On the contrary, in the Slovak and Czech context the following idea seems to be valid: "Most social scientists have perpetuated the mythology that minorities are 'raced' and experience 'race problems' while ignoring white identity and culture [...] Simply put, whiteness constitutes normality and acceptance without stipulating that to be white is to be normal and right" (Bonilla-Silva, Goar & Embrick, 2006: 232).

Conceptualising whiteness may also lead to essentialised arguments which promote a homogenous view on non-Roma, subsequently misleading research to similar inappropriate cultural argumentations as discussed above, but now been whites the simplified objects of study. Instead, our efforts point to an approach centred on understanding whiteness as a basis for a particular agency observed repeatedly in the field and being exercised by non-Roma, the aim of which is to promote and maintain power asymmetries for their own benefit.

The articulation of whiteness opens the possibility of discussing assumed frameworks on significant questions, such as who belongs to the region or national space and its consequence: who is the outsider? Roma are conceptualised as eternal outsiders in the land of Slovaks. A remarkable aspect in this regard is the insistence, in many texts, of the Indian origins of Roma implicitly remarking on their exotic nature and stating their non-belonging to this land. Roma are framed as a minority living among Slovaks. The conceptualisation of any "minority" requires the acceptance that a "majority" exists. It is significant to observe how in debates surrounding "minorities", the so called "majority" is taken for granted, as a non-problematic concept (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Clarke & Garner, 2010). The concept remains behind the discussion as an unquestionable scenario. Both categories, majority and minority, are complementary and are portrayed as homogenous and essentialised. A classic example is the fact that key aspects of social differentiation (gender, age, social position) suddenly disappear when constructing the dichotomies "we" and "they". Establishing the majority as a distant category serves as legitimisation of power dominance (Šotola & Rodríguez Polo, 2016: 17). The social success of an individual from the minority is understood as a "smooth" integration into the "majority society". Our argument is that such a concept of "majority" is the product of dominant discourses, and thus leads to a significant reduction in the way social mobility is understood in relation to the articulated otherness. Consequently, the "majority" concept is also masking but at the same time strengthening the power domination of all who can present themselves as a "majority". For this reason, we also consider the concept of "integration of minorities into majority" as a project conducted by those who wield the power.

Recognising white agency, its goals and its subjectivities opens a new umbrella of research possibilities to approach power asymmetries observed in the field. Whiteness studies make use of qualitative methods in order to explore interethnic complexity. The personal narratives of whiteness served as a mechanism to shed some light on the way speakers confront their privilege and their complicity in oppression (Thompson, 2006). Such knowledge constitutes a lacuna in the Slovak and Czech context and will certainly provide precious material for any social study attempting to understand the social complexity around Roma. A deeper knowledge of non-Roma will also uncover their privileges and costs. The concept of white privileges and costs refers to the idea that whites experience both positive and negative consequences as a result of racism.

The idea points to psychological aspects of dominance. The cost of racism to those who exercise supremacy will not be comparable to the dramatic economic and social costs of racism that Roma face. However, costs incurred to the "whites" could include guilt and shame when exploring diachronic aspects of local politics and public affairs, irrational fear of Roma despite decades of a mostly peaceful neighbourhood even given power asymmetries, and distorted beliefs regarding race that make whites essentialise their Roma neighbours.

THE PERFORMATIVE CHARACTER OF WHITENESS

Understanding whiteness as a performative act provides the social researcher with a new lens through which to discuss field situations commonly taken for granted, serving as an example of the existence of clear patterns of spatial segregation between Roma and non-Roma. Roma exclusion is commonly understood as their failure to integrate into the "majority". The existence of Roma settlements or colonies not only separated in terms of space but also mostly socially excluded from non-Roma is commonly read as the incapacity of the Roma population to act socially in "our" society. Once the concept of "majority" has been put under question, such a supposition is unsatisfactory. Traditional foreign approaches to spatial and social segregation are from a different perspective. Residential and social hyper-segregation of whites from blacks furthers a socialisation process referred to as "white habitus", which geographically and psychologically limits whites' chances of developing meaningful relationships with blacks and other minorities (Bonilla-Silva, Goar & Embrick, 2006: 232). Whiteness studies have chosen to analyse the mechanisms and strategies implemented by whites to avoid coexistence with other ethnic groups. Knowledge grounded on field experience reveals the active agency of whites keeping themselves apart from Roma. The strategies include: marking the space in ethnic terms; duplicating the public space in institutions and other common places so that socialisation and everyday life will be separated (schools for Roma children and schools for non-Roma, maternity rooms for Roma and separate ones for non-Roma in hospitals, differentiated mass services at church...); controlling the access to property and housing according to ethnic criteria; and controlling the access to labour and education. All of these practices serve as an example of the wide spectrum forming the extreme ethnic segregation under which Roma are forced to live. In order to understand and ethnographically describe such processes, the social researcher should avoid practices previously described as anthropological escapism and include the white areas, strategies and habitus in the research.

To avoid cultural explanations on the basis of a non-existent Roma essence is not to negate the value of analysis of cultural aspects. Roma are present in historic and current literature, cinema and arts in the region. No less important is their presence in all forms of everyday media and in the complex emergence of the virtual world. As a consequence of the argumentations below, Roma should be understood as objects of cultural constructions created under white hegemony (Berger & Luckmann, 1999). In foreign contexts, literary criticism or cinematic studies revealed the importance of focusing on whiteness. More than reflecting reality, media construct reality under white dominance. Anyone familiar with Slovak TV media or newspapers will not escape the continuous presence of Roma as a counterpart of whites as the natural and deserved

centre of Slovak society. The analysis of such cultural motifs from a perspective which takes into account the particularities of whiteness studies will certainly shed new light on our understanding of current societies.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we attempted to critically reflect a trend in Slovak and Czech anthropology and social science, generally described as an anthropological escapism focused on the articulation of the cliché of marginality and exotic otherness as a scenario in constructing etic views on Roma. This optic entails that one of the main differentiation features of the Roma is the sub-ethnic division based on the assumed country of origin (*Slovak, Olašské Roma, Sinti*, etc.). With regard to this perspective, great attention is also paid to the mutual delimitation of the Roma towards other – somehow different – Roma groups, whether based on the concept of ritual purity, or other distinctive signs. These conceptualisations of Roma diversity can therefore be seen as an example of exoticisation of "the other" and can lead to highlighting the inexorable barriers and otherness.

The way of perceiving and presenting local issues related to ethnicity and poverty as cultural dispositions supplies dominant discourses with ethnographic arguments that only reinforce the exotic perception of the Roma groups as the bearers of a unique cultural formula and thus the embodiment of otherness par excellence. This tendency, palpable in the mainstream of the Czech and Slovak scholarship on Roma, is comparable to the openly-reflected sin of anthropological discipline – through the production of knowledge to control the "others" and support colonial forces. In contrast with this, we are convinced that it is time to concentrate more on the forms of power than on essentialisation and alleged cultural characteristics of marginalised groups. The relative stability of the social order at the local level is working through the way social hierarchies are produced and reproduced and sustained. Hierarchies are exemplified in the positionality of Roma who are disempowered vis-a-vis institutions and municipalities where they live. Life truths, such as Roma "laziness", "irresponsibility" and "scrounging on welfare" are common parlance, and are taken for granted; indeed, they do not need to be explained, since they function only as "doxa".

Social trajectories of Roma can be very differential. Not everyone lives in absolute poverty, as the fake image of dominant discourses impose on us, and many of them have experience with at least partial upward social mobility. However, we are not talking about exceptional individuals – about Roma elites – physicians, artists, or teachers, but about whole groups of "ordinary people" living in municipalities of eastern Slovakia, who have to cope with the structural disadvantages they face and who, despite this, have achieved remarkable social advances. Their strategies to manage structural pressures have been our main subjects of exploration.

Not only social hierarchies but also the reproduction of dominant discourses maintain and strengthen power-asymmetric relationships which we understand as dominance. This is the case here with an oppressive hierarchy in which the Roma face significant pressures from the so-called "majority". Part of the power hierarchy is also hiding these forces, by pointing to the supposed essentials of the Roma, which are the main cause of their marginality – it is a strategy known as blame the victim. We examined the role of social science by questioning its active contribution to dominant discourses and giving substance to essentialised constructions, hiding under cultural

argumentation the relevance of white supremacy and in doing so contributing to Roma oppression as the reproduction of dominant discourses maintains and reinforces power asymmetries, which are understood as dominance.

Both the recognition of articulated emic diversity and the identification of structural power-asymmetries at the local level point to the need to understand Roma social complexity in interaction with their counterpart, the non-Roma. We refer to a collection of studies called whiteness studies to explore alternatives and possibilities that enable us to deconstruct certain fallacies which we described in previous analysis. We believe that such approaches will certainly provide new substance to the knowledge of Roma in our region. Whiteness studies are often reacting to postcolonial legacies and questions related to the capitalist system, as well as they are discussing the strong impact of white dominance in interethnic relations. The literature explores the intersectionality of white supremacy, male supremacy and the economic order. Analysing the situation of Roma in Slovakia, we believe that focusing on the local context in a diachronic way could be productive. We give preference to analysis and aim to rewrite the historic impact of interethnic coexistence and conflictual moments (such as forced population movements), the impact of communist politics, and the diversity of their results; we also wish to rewrite the impact of the earthquake produced by the change of the regime in the early 1990s and the lasting decline brought about by the capitalist economic restructuralisation, as well as the impact of emerging job positions in delocalised industries targeting Roma as a precarious labour force. Thus, our aim is to connect knowledge on Roma to their existence among realities, where the impact of the structures of everyday life matters. This impact also makes it possible to recognise the malleability of racial categories and their continuous construction and reconstruction through time.

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CAUGHT BETWEEN THE EASTERN EUROPE EMPIRES: THE CASE OF THE ALLEGED *NETOT* ROMS[1]

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In the seminal study of Marushiakova and Popov (2013) on the "Gypsy" groups in Eastern Europe it is hinted that the issue of the ethnic groups, and precisely that of their appellations (ethnonyms and/or professionyms), their unclear, nay, hazy demarcation, are specific to a greater degree to the Southeastern Europe and adjacent areas, and less to the Romani groups in Western Europe who have, largely speaking, Romani endonyms (*Manuš*, *Sinti*, *Kaale*, etc), which delimitate them more accurately. In Romanian quarters, the different ethno-socio-professional Romani categories are described for the first time in the first Romanian Constitution (1832), chapter "Improvement of the status of the Gypsies", article 94. Among the 6 categories described, mention is made of the alleged *Netots* 'stupid', who were the real nomads of that time, were not practicing any specific skill, and were held responsible for all transgressions. The current article is an historical and linguistic investigation of this alleged ethno-professional category, demonstrating that the "Netot" issue is a connivance conceived by the Russian administration and the local politicians in order to solve the "problem" of the errant groups, in the context of the plague outbreak in 1831–1832, by creating a political reason to dispatch them to the defeated Ottoman Empire. The article provides sources and open questions instead of giving answers.

Key words: Netot Roms, "German Gypsies", Romanian Roms, Barbu Constantinescu, Romani folk stories and songs, Ursari (dialect)

0. INTRODUCTION

The history of the *Netots* was issued out of a tale and remained at an imaginary level[2] of the historical discourse, based on the resumption of clichés from one research work to another. The adverse consequences of this unsystematic research are visible now, when one is burdened with ignorance on the *Netots*' past. We should state from the outset that there are no written records about the *Netots*' migration to and from Romanian territories. Nevertheless, in the Romanian archives, there is information dating from the 18th and 19th centuries about the *Netots*' coexistence with the majority population, in the context of regional realities.

During these centuries, Eastern Europe was subject to the Russian-Turkish wars and to the national liberation movements in the Balkans. Romania was represented by three politically separated provinces, Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, each with the specificity imposed by the suzerain empires, Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian, respectively. Transylvania was integrated in the Habsburg Empire and was subject, from 1718, to its legislative and administrative systems; Wallachia and Moldavia, located in extra Carpathian regions, were simultaneously under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Protectorate, as a result of the "Küçük Kaynarca treaty of peace" signed in 1777 (Apostol, 1999: 2). Although they availed of autonomy in regard to the domestic policy, nevertheless the legislative initiatives bearing major administrative, economic or social impacts, as well as the lines of foreign policy could be adopted only with the endorsement of the suzerain or the protectorate.

1. THE ROMANI COEXISTENCE WITH THE MAJORITY POPULATION IN ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES

The *Netots*' past represents only a part of the Roms' history in Romania, and does not refer to a community or an ethnic group of people with radically different customs and traditions. Due to their nomadic living, somewhat isolated from the rest of the Roms, the *Netots* were those who kept more archaic Romani traditions and customs, noticeable in their language and folk songs as it will be further shown.

There are no written records about the beginnings of the Roms' migration to the Romanian territories. In Wallachia, the Roms are first mentioned in 1385, in an official record issued by Prince Dan I that reinforced a donation of 40 Romani dwellings which was made earlier by Prince Vladislav I (probably between 1375–1377)[3] to Vodiţa

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2 The nowadays state of art about the history of the *Netots* is not different from the narratives of foreign travellers in second half of the 19th century. To quote as an illustration, from the editor of the first English translation of Romanian popular poetry: "There was also, I learn, at one time a distinct race of the Zingari settled in Romania. They called themselves Netoti, and wandered about the forests, little better than petty robbers. They had their chiefs, however, and paid a regular tribute to the Government. They adored the sun and the stars, believing in a faith which they are said to have brought from India. In 1831 they were forcibly baptised, and became slaves to the Boyards. The rest of the Zingari formerly lived a roving life, and were spread over the country, divided into Vatachii, or companies." (Murray, 1854: xxv-xxiv).

3 And not between 1371–1377, as currently presumed (Achim, 1998: 21). Clarification is provided by a document issued by ruler Vladislav in 1374, which reconfirms the previous donations made to Vodiţa monastery. This is a very important document which mentions among other issues the way of choosing the abbot of the monastery. However, this important document does not mention the Roms in the donation. The Roms are but mentioned in a document issued in the next year, 1375. This entitles us to

monastery.[4] It follows that slaves were the property of the Crown, and that they were not sold, but donated. So, in the Romanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, in the beginning, only royal ownership over the slaves was known, whereas monastic and boyars' ownership appeared only through donations; there wasn't a slave trade nor sale markets. With time, sales of slaves appeared, especially among the private owners; but sales were made through direct transactions, and mostly, only when the owner fell into a precarious financial situation.

In Western Europe, beyond the Austrian territories, the presence of the Roms is officially recorded between 1416–1419, in the terms of wanderings. Contemporary with such wanderings, the institution of slavery still occurred in medieval Europe, although it had a predominantly domestic character and was in a state of dissolution, especially after the abolition of the slave trade (Verlinden, 1955 passim). The Western intransigence towards the Romani migration was concretized through the creation of an actual institutional fence. The Roms were not accepted in the Western society and were subject to expulsion, deportation or condemnation till the end of the 17th century (Cleber, 1962).

Therefore, Western Europe does not have the experience of living together with the Roms, to the extent that some historians, notwithstanding criticism, have asserted that Western Europe does not have the insights for the history of this people (de Vaux de Foletier, 1970). The origins of the Romani coexistence with the majority population are traceable only in Central and South-Eastern Europe. From this perspective, the specificity of the Romanian history, in a state of interaction with Central Europe through the Habsburg Empire, but also with the Eastern European regions, through the two empires, Ottoman and Russian, allows one to achieve a comprehensive image of the entire continent. It can be seen both through the effects generated by the enlightened despotism reforms introduced by Maria Teresa (1740–1780) and Joseph II (1780–1790) in Transylvania, as well as by the impacts of the social modernisation of Wallachia and Moldavia, a process initiated mainly by the Russian government by promulgating the Constitution of the two Principalities, in 1832.

The coexistence of the Romanians and the Roms knew all the characteristics of the national spirit, especially specific tolerance, and did not meet with adversity *ab initio*.[5]

2. THE ENACTMENT OF THE STATUS OF THE ROMS

In Europe, the first legislative regulations on the Roms' status were issued in the Habsburg Empire. The synthesis of all previous legal regulations regarding the situation of the Roms from the Habsburg Empire is *Hauptregulatio*, promulgated on October 9, 1783 by Joseph II (Schwicker, 1883: 56–58). The Act had 59 articles that imposed very clear and restrictive rules: the Roms were forbidden: to dwell in tents, to practice nomadism and begging, to change their names; it became mandatory: the adoption of

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set 1375 as *terminus post quem* for the presence of the Roms in Wallachia. It is worth saying that all these documents I refer to are published in the same volume (DRH B I), at few pages from one to another. Nevertheless, the record *per se* is not significant for an exact date of the Romani arrival in Wallachia, but the date is not far from the actual facts.

4   *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, DRH, B, vol. 1, 1966: 19-21.

5   The following working hypothesis is not sustainable and is undocumented: "Due to their behaviours, their way of life and their organization in groups, Gypsies were seen as enemies and enslaved." (Achim, 1998: 65).

the language and clothing style of the inhabitants from the villages wherein the Roms settled, the house numbering, the schooling of their children under the priest's guidance; the conversation in Romani and eating carrion was punishable by 24 club strokes; the land owners were obliged to provide the Roms with land for the construction of their dwellings and for a garden.

The legislative initiative of the neighbouring empire[6] certainly influenced the political class of Wallachia and Moldavia, where the Russian occupation, during 1828–1834, as a part of their legislative reform, prioritized the adoption of the Constitution, legislation common to both Romanian Provinces and designed with the explicit aim of modernizing the Romanian society.

This first Romanian Constitution, rendered in Romanian and French, and entitled "Organic Regulation", represented a *de facto* recognition of the common history of the two Provinces, and created the prerequisites of the political union of the two Provinces in 1859.[7] The model for the Romanian and Russian law-makers was furnished by the French Constitution, *La charte constitutionelle du 4 Juin 1814*, issued by King Louis XVIII (Negulescu, Alexianu, 1914: XXXIII). Nonetheless, the French monarchical system of aristocratic pattern could not be applied to the *Organic Regulation*, due to the absence of the bourgeoisie in Wallachia and Moldavia. Here, the Lord and the members of the parliament belonged to the same social category, that of the aristocracy. In this way, the first Romanian Constitution ushered in an important stage of modernity, by implementing the principle of separation of the State powers: the Lord and the government represented the executive power, the Public Assembly represented the legislative power, and the judiciary system represented the justice, and was protected by the principle of the tenure authority. For the Trade Law a special legal code was not drawn up but the French *Register of Commerce* was used instead.

The peculiarity of the Romanian Constitution compared to other European Constitutions lies in the existence of a special chapter dedicated to the Roms called "Improvement of the status of the Gypsies", written at the personal initiative of the Russian Military Governor Pavel Dimitrievich Kiseleff:[8]

March 21, 1831, Bucharest, today, Saturday, 9 a.m.: In the courtroom of the Public Assembly, where His Excellency Mr. Vice-president set with 44 members. [...] His Excellency Mr. Vice-president, by command of His Excellency the High Commissary

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6 Shortly after the completion of this article, I came upon the learned article of Vladimir Shaidurov (2017). In the beginning, he summarizes the legislative initiative concerning the Roms in the Russian Empire, from the 18th century. He is thus quoting from a compendium of legislation carried by the Sankt Petersburg Academy, authored by I. Danilovich: "the Russian legislation will forever leave a mark in the history because it never oppressed the Roma by persecution, but from the very beginning it was committed to making them useful citizens of the state" (Danilovich, 1826: 184).

7 *Organic Regulation*, art. 37; All the references in the article to this are from the edition of Negulescu, Alexianu (1914). Vide Negulescu, Alexianu, 1914, vol. I: 130. Vide Annexe 1.

8 Beside bettering the conditions of the Roms and the Jews, among other ideas prompted by Kisellef in the *Organic Regulation* were: the personal income tax replacing the taxation for the owned cattle, mutual consents between landlords and the peasant cultivators, the census of the population every seven years (first in 1831, second in 1838). In a personal correspondence to Count Zakrevskii, March 1830, Kiseleff said about one such commission appointed to draft the Constitution before being approved in Sankt Petersburg (December 1830), that is working hard, "although with desires to preserve harmful privileges of the boyars, against whom I act as executor of the Tsar's will and like a Christian" (Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva, according to Lewis-Krueger, 1940: 45).

President, proposed to the Extraordinary Public Assembly, in regard to the Gypsies that are referred to in the Chapter 3, "Finance", in the last paragraph of art. 94, to prepare a "Commission" responsible for both, investigating the present state of art of this category of people and their occupations, and also to find from this time on the means to improve their lives, in order to get settled and to start toiling the earth. Immediately afterwards, four members of this Committee were appointed: Mr. chancellor Scarlat Mihailescu,[9] treasurer Alexander Nenciulescu[10]; and the great dignitaries Filip Lenj[11] and Constantin Brăiloiu.[12] (*Analele Parlamentare*, I, vol.I, 1890: 9-10).

Remarkable is the concern for improving the conditions of the Roms. After several months of work carried by the Constituent Assembly, the Governor Pavel D. Kiseleff personally stepped in and asked to prioritize the draft of the Chapter concerning the regulations on the Roms. Shortly afterwards, on April 11, 1831, the chapter entitled "Improvement of the status of the Gypsies" was submitted for approval.[13] In this way, the Romanian Constitution becomes the only constitution in that time Europe, which includes a chapter on affirmative actions for the Roms, and describes for the first time the different ethno-socio-professional Romani categories (Ro. *tagmă*< Greek τάγμα 'socio-professional category')[14] (21): 1. the *Lingurari* 'spoon-makers', 2. the *Aurari* 'goldsmith', 3. the *Ursari* 'bear tamers", 4. the *Zavragi*, 5. the *Laeti*, 6. the *Netot*s.[15]

The description of the different ethno-socio-professional categories of the Roms and the measures to improve their lives according to the specificities of each category, is a positive aspect as compared to the Habsburg Empire legal system, where all actions are identical for all Romani categories, regardless of their traditions and socio-professional differences.

The description of the Roms' categories as outlined in this Act will be taken *tale quale* in the studies addressing this people, without mentioning the source document. The best-known case is represented by the first systematic work on the Romanian Roms, published in Berlin by Mihail Kogălniceanu (Kogalnitchan, 1837: 12–13).

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9   Scarlat Mihailescu is known for the fact that in 1832, as a Chancellor, signed together with other Romanian landlords a letter of gratitude to the Sultan to the effect that he restored the autochthon reign in Wallachia.

10 He was appointed treasurer in the very same year, 1832, replacing thus one rich boyar Alexandru Villara. Accessed on: http://cautare-b.arhivelenationale.ro/cautare-b/detail.aspx?ID=347472.

11 Filip Lenj (1779–1853), governor, great treasurer and chancellor of justice, is harshly presented by Hagi-Moscu (1995): "A fake genealogy. He is the illegitimate son of a Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Linchou, Alexander Ypsilanti's private secretary and instructor for the Ruler's children, born with a Gypsy slave of the Boyar Dumitrache Hriscoscoleu Buzoianu". In one of his houses, known today as Lens/Vernescu Mansion in Bucharest, the Russian army headquarters was established, and it is here where, in March 17, 1854, the young officer and the great writer Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy lodged.

12 Constantin Brăiloiu (1809–1889), studied at the Faculty of Letters and Law in Geneva and Paris. In 1834 he was prosecutor, and in 1837 university professor of criminal law, Minister of Justice from 1861 to 1862, the Capital's mayor in 1873; in 1831, member in the "Drafting Commission for the Regulation for improving the status of the Gypsies", and in 1849 he was appointed by Barbu Stirbey, the Ruler of Wallachia, member in the "Commission for the promulgation of the Act of the Emancipation of the Gypsies".

13 "The Report No. 19, drawn in March 31 by the Public Assembly for the sake of the Gypsies [...] being well approved and unanimously voted, was signed by His Excellency Mr. Vice-president." (*Analele Parlamentare*, 1, vol, 1, 1890: 36).

14 Vide Annexe 2.

15 *Organic Regulation*, art. 94; vide Negulescu, Alexianu, 1914, vol. I: 109–112.

3. THE ALLEGED ARRIVAL OF THE *NETOTS* IN ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES

These [*Netots*, author's note] came here from the Germanic lands and gathered in groups of over 50 families. Although they belong to the *Ursari* [bear tamers, author's note], due to their outrageous behaviours they are called *Netots*, because they do not practice any craft or occupation, and, men and women alike, are prone to reproachable actions, namely stealing goods and money from the villages, robbing road travellers, and often killing them; basically, they have no law. Dirty, eating rotten food, wearing dirty rags, they are like pest, and of little use to the community and the state. They should be banished from the Principality and should be sent to where they came from. (*Organic Regulation*, art. 94, 6)

Apparently surprising, after almost two centuries since their mention in the first Romanian Constitution (1832), today the origin of the alleged *Netots* is still unknown. The *Organic Regulation* states that they came from Transylvania "about 40 years ago", that is around the years 1780–1790, following the discriminatory reforms adopted by Joseph II. The argument would be plausible as it is underlined by an ingenious coincidence between the date of the promulgation of the law called *Hauptregulatio* by the Emperor Joseph II in 1783, and the year mentioned in the *Organic Regulation*.

In this context, the construction of their self-perception recorded in Romani folk stories and songs, according to which they came from Austria-Hungary[16], is interesting:

The whole village to laugh / That you're put to shame / **As the soiled *Netot* / From the German country** [highlighted by author]. (§ 36, *Ursari*[17] song, Gheorghe Lăcătuşu from Ghighiu, near Ploieşti)

I didn't eat and didn't drink / I cried out from hunger / The great lady / *Bulibasha*'s daughter / She made me to be without food/ So I'm hungry today/ I lay my hand on the dog / And I'll hit your head / Get it from here, don't be mad / **For I'm a German chap / Get out from here, you *Netot*** [highlighted by author]! / For I'll hit you behind your ear. / (§ 160, *Netot* Song, collected from Martin Tilea, *Netot*, German Gypsy).

I didn't eat anything today / Apart from a little cake / Not salty, nor baked / Give me some little fish / To salt my heart / To give you one golden coin / Stolen from the merchant / The merchant is from Braila / He caught us and he hit us / And in the pit he put us / From there he got us out / And he let us go home. / (§ 161, *Netot* Song, collected from Tuţea Nedea, German Gypsy found in Ploiesti). (Rotaru, 2016: 330, 454, 455)

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16 Rotaru, 2016: § 27, 36, 160, 161, 163, 222. Vide among others Barbu Constantinescu's information about one respondent, "Mihai Anton, at work in the village Filastake, County Ilfov. The *Netots* hail from the Austro-Hungarian Empire." (Rotaru, 2016: 321).

17 the *Organic Regulation* speaks clearly about the association of the *Netots* with *Ursari* as shown above.

Their perception by the majority population was, similarly, that of "nomad (in the sense of itinerant) Gypsies", as recorded in an ethno-linguistic *Questionnaire*[18] conducted in 1878 through village teachers and priests:

§ 15. How are *Țigani* regarded by the people? The Jews and *Țigani* [are regarded] with the worst eyes, because they are treacherous and thieves, but only those nomadic *Țigani*, such as *Laeti*, *Ursari* and *Netots* (Muscel, Pl. Podgoria) (BAR Mss. Rom. 3438, vol. II: Muscel).

The *Paparuda*[19] is performed by the wives of the itinerant *Țigani*, those *Netots* with tents [...] (Brăila, Pl. Bălți, Com. Ceacârul); (BAR Mss. Rom. 3418, vol. I: Brăila).

3.1. The *Organic Regulation* stipulation on the *Netots* is not supported by documents. There is no written evidence about any *Netot* migration from the Habsburg Empire to Wallachia or about the fact that the *Netots* do not understand Romanian language, as they would presumably speak German or Hungarian. In the event of such realities, it is impossible to imagine their absence in the contemporary documents. On the contrary, numerous documents referring to the *Netots*, issued by state authorities, have been preserved, and none relates this potential state of art. In all these instances, the representatives of the Romanian authorities never complained about the impossibility to have a dialogue with the *Netots*. Likewise, it would have been impossible that in just 40 years, the whole *Netot* community forgot German language and spoke only Romanian.

3.2. An undeniable argument to refute the hypothesis of their arrival from the German lands is a clear reference in a document issued prior to 1780s (the alleged period of the *Netots* arrival in the Romanian Principalities). In an act of delimitation of Boanga estate, Dâmbovița County (which was donated in 1731 to the Metropolitan Seat of Ungro-Vlachia), conducted in February 20, 1750, the toponym "*Netots* Meadow" is mentioned.[20] The "*Netots* Meadow" toponym mentioned in 1750, proves beyond doubt the *Netots*' presence in Wallachia at least 30 – 40 years before their mention in the

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18 In August 1877 the polymath B. P. Hașdeu, (v. Hașdeu, 1877 and 1878) launched a questionnaire through village teachers and priests of Wallachia and Moldavia, in order to gather the customs and laws of the Romanian people. It has 400 questions, some with direct reference to the Roms: Are there *Țigani* living in your village? How are they regarded by people? What are their nicknames? Are there any marriages between *Țigani* and Romanians, and how are they regarded? What are the *Țigani*' occupations? Do *Țigani* work individually or in guilds?; and more general questions, which applies to Roms also: What do you mean by "foreigner"? Whom do you consider a Christian? etc. There are 39 responses of this questionnaire, hailing from 17 counties of Wallachia and Moldavia. They are available in 4 manuscripts, cca. 1200 pages. The manuscripts (apart from answers of one county) are not published, or digitized and are in a quite advanced state of degradation. This questionnaire was somehow used by ethnologists until '80s, and more constantly by the linguists. However, the information about the Roms was not examined so far. I have examined all instances referring to the Roms in the 1878 Questionnaire (cca. 1200 pages) and edited the respective portions of the texts which will be soon published.

19 An ancient agricultural ritual performed in Southeastern Europe, in which young women wearing merely weeds around the waist were enacting a scenario for bringing rain, dancing and having water poured over them by the housewives. In time, the role of Paparuda came to be assigned to girls from (vagrant) Romani communities.

20 ANIC, fond Mitropolia Țarii românești, Pachet XLVII, dos. 6, f. 3. Vide Annexe 3.

Organic Regulation, as a toponym passes in the collective memory with the lapse of at least one generation. Whereas in genealogy a generation is considered to be a 33-years period, it follows that by 1710–1720 *Netots* existed in Wallachia.

3.3. Another argument against the alleged arrival of the *Netots* from the Habsburg Empire is their appellation,[21] which is derived from the Romanian adjective *netot*< *ne+tot* 'stupid' (lit. 'not whole'). This type of derivation is specific to 16th and 17th century Romanian. The appellation *Netot* is idiosyncratic and untranslatable to a language spoken around Romanian Principalities, that is Turkish, Russian, Hungarian or German.

We may thus assume that they were since long Romanised and that they were present in Wallachia at least one century before the promulgation of the *Organic Regulation*. They might have belonged to that *Ursari* 'bear tamers' group, as it is specified in the law text, and refused basic rules of coexistence, did not learn any craft and were thus rejected by their own community. All the ethno-socio-professional categories described by the law text are settled, with the exception of the *Ursari*, *Netots*, and precisely 150 families from the *Laeti* group who "are unstable and wandering with tents, being prone to theft".[22]

Thus, with the legal provision of the article 94, paragraph 6) from the Constitution, the "Netot" was created as a category to embrace the unsocial elements from other Romani communities, such as *Ursari* and *Laeti*.

3.3.1. In support of this conclusion we have the answers to the ethnological and mythological *Questionnaire*, sent by the Romanian polymath B. P. Hașdeu in 1878 to school teachers and priests in the villages, as mentioned above. The *Netots* are there recorded as a special category of Roms, itinerants like *Ursari* or like *Laeti/Laesi*, but equally shunned by the Roms and Romanians alike, for the reasons already mentioned above.

3.3.2. In the folklore collection of Barbu Constantinescu there are five songs termed as *Netot* songs, and two "German Gypsy" songs precisely, which do not display grammatical features which would particularised them from the other texts. However, they display certain similarities with the *Laiesi* songs; but the *Laiesi* "dialect" as represented in the collection is not a uniform entity.[23] Based on nowadays synchronic data collection, Granqvist (2018) arrives at the conclusion that the language in the *Netot* songs is Northern Vlax Romani, and specifically Kalderash, whereas Ursari is a Balkan dialect.

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21 The reference about the *Netots* from the *Organic Regulation* is taken subsequently, without indicating the source, and without verifying the information, by all Romanian reviewers, writers, linguists and historians. Lazar Șăineanu 1896: 383: "*Netots* (m.n.pl.) nomadic Hungarian Gypsy class, dishevelled and uncombed, stealing and eating carrion". Some of the quoted sources of Șăineanu for this dictionary entry are: Ion Ghica – "*Netots*, homeless and casteless people, nomads who wandered bareheaded in flocks", and Petre Ispirescu – "Skinny and harassed as the *Netots*"; and later, in 1939 (*sub voce*), August Scriban – "*Netot, -oată*, adj., from ne-tot 'not whole', i.e. 'incomplete', 'non- human'. A nomadic Hungarian Gypsy class who stole and ate carrion, who were banished from Transylvania by order of Emperor Joseph II and who were enslaved in our countries in the 1800s."

22 *Organic Regulation* Vide Annexe 2, paragraph 5.

23 Mikhail Oslon (The Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences), personal communication, December 28, 2017. About the identification of the Netots with the the Laiesi, see also a very interesting observation in one standard study (Fraser, 1992: 133): "Some Lăieśi were able to escape and form communities in the Carpathians; under the name of *Netotsi* they acquired a sinister reputation."

It might also be the case that the *Netots* did not sing in their own language or, as it shows in some cases, the respondents were not *Netots* themselves. However, undeniable is that these songs were perceived by 1878, when they were collected, as belonging to the *Netots*. They are more archaic in content and in vocabulary (Rotaru, 2016).[24] The preservation in their "dialect" of many archaisms allows us to admit that their separation from the *Ursari* or *Laeti*, if at all, might have happened long before the envisaged period for their "arrival", most likely in the 16th and 17th centuries.

3.4. The reference to the *Netots* as a distinct Romani ethnic category in the 1832 Constitution, as against the absence of a document referring to their migration from Austro-Hungary to Wallachia in the years 1710–1720 or later, is conspicuous.

3.4.1. The precise reference to the *Netots*' expulsion in the *Organic Regulation* is a nonsensical legislative text, in the chapter dedicated to improving the situation of the Roms. Moreover, the *Organic Regulation* acts as a Constitution and in no way can prescribe a punishment, which is only the function of the Criminal Code. Obviously, that cannot be due to a legislative error. Barbu Stirbey, the General Secretary of the National Assembly, is the first Romanian Doctor of Law from the University of Paris. Constantin Brăiloiu, before being nominated as a member in the Commission for drafting this section, just returned from Paris wherein he completed his PhD in Law.

3.4.2. There is another contradiction between the text of the *Organic Regulation*, which states that the *Netots* came from Hungary and the actual historical events which will be further narrated in chapter 4. In documents issued by the local administration,[25] the expulsion of the *Netots* to the Ottoman Empire, as an indication to the place "where they came from", is precisely recorded.

These inconsistencies in the text of the Constitution discloses that drafting the paragraph about the *Netots* is a connivance agreed between the Russian Military Governor of Wallachia and Moldavia, General Kiseleff, and the representatives of the Romanian political class of the National Assembly, especially the group around Barbu Stirbey (the ruler responsible for the Emancipation), in order to create a **reason** for the expulsion of the *Netots* from the Romanian Principalities. As to the place of expulsion, none really believed that the Austro-Hungarian Empire would be the destination. In

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24 Rotaru (2016: 295, footnote 2109; 296, footnote 2112 and 2113)

25 The sources underlying the present study are so far unused, and belong to the National Historical Archives, Bucharest. A publication exists (Manole, 2006: 101–109), which reflects the author's research in the archives, unfortunately limited only to file no.15 from the Department for Prisons Fund, which is duly recorded in the catalogue. In fact, for this subject, there is a comprehensive file in the same archives, about the Romanian Government's attempt to transfer the *Netot* Roms in the land of the nowadays Bulgaria, file no. 490 from the Ministry of Internal Affairs Fund, which is not quoted so far in any scientific study. This file covers most of the documents from the file no. 15 from the Department for Prisons Fund (researched by Manole), as this department was part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Naturally, the file no. 15 includes only the Ministry's correspondence with its department, and does not include correspondence with county and canton leaders, and local administration under the Ministry. It is this correspondence which I have exploited, in addition to that already researched, available in file no. 15. In addition, this file no.15 is only partially researched by Manole, which is why it does not reflect the totality of the facts reflected in the documents contained in the file. Incomplete research of documents relating to historical facts ultimately compromises historical truth and validity.

reality, the Romanian politicians and the slave owners wished to obtain a benefit by removing from the country an alleged permanent danger to the public order, in a very favourable historical circumstance, in which Turkey was defeated and, due to its tacit consent with Russia, could not oppose to the expulsion of the *Netots* into its territories.

4. MONITORING THE *NETOTS*

The promulgation of the *Organic Regulation* and consequently the creation of the premises for the expulsion ushered in a very close monitoring of the *Netots*. Their deeds were investigated and prosecuted with celerity in the whole country, in order to produce evidence supporting their swift expulsion. The abuse sometimes identified in the authorities' office was amplified by the vicissitudes which the country faced. To the difficulties inherent to any military occupation, the vandalism specific to the uncertainties of the post-war period, natural calamities were added: the plague outbreak in the summer of 1829; earthquake and floods in 1829; the extreme winter of 1829–30; drought and locust invasion in 1830; the cholera outbreak in the summer of 1831; the Romanian government abuses in the name of the foreign administration; the insecurity of the roads due to looting gangs and to large groups of *Netots*.

All these adversities imposed extremely resolute actions, in the implementation of which the direct supervision of the Governor Pavel D. Kiseleff is clearly seen.

Although disowned by their own community, the *Netots* plundered and robbed often in association with Roms from other categories. In Romanaţi County it is recorded that the *zapciu* 'policeman and tax collector' responsible for the Roms belonging to the State, was protecting the *Netots*. On June 4, 1831, the local authority informed the Interior Ministry, that in Recea village, the *Netots* robbed two houses.[26] The Police investigation was able to discover the stolen things and the *zapciu* was removed.[27] One may come across similar situations in the counties of Dâmboviţa, Muscel, Argeş, Ilfov and Olt. In Marginea village, Olt County, the *zapciu* of the rural canton is beaten off by the *Netots*, while travellers passing along the Olt River are robbed by the *Netots* jointly with the villagers from Viişoara village.[28]

An alarming warning on the risk of cholera spreading was transmitted by the Administrative Council of Wallachia Committee Quarantines, the institution responsible for preventive measures. One of the dangers was coming from the damaged headquarters of the Committee Quarantines in Drajna and Teisani villages, Teleajen Canton, following attacks by means of clubs of over 1,150 *Netots*, hailing from Moldavia (Buzău and Focşani, v. Annexe 7). The events were signalled by the tax collector Alecu Filipescu, the Chief of these Quarantines.[29] The reply of the Interior Ministry is surprisingly fast and proposes the expulsion of the *Netots* "in accordance to the *Organic*

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26 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, f.30.Vide Annexe 4.
27 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Ispravnicia Romanaţi către Marea Vornicie, 28 iulie 1831, f.21. Vide Annexe 5.
28 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Ispravnicia Romanaţi către Marea Vornicie, 28 iulie 1831, f.44. Vide Annexe 6.
29 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Ispravnicia Romanaţi către Marea Vornicie, 28 iulie 1831, f.30. Vide Annexe 7.

Regulation".[30] Extremely fast for that time, as early as September 1831, all counties of Wallachia acknowledged the receipt of the address from the Military Governor Pavel D. Kiseleff "with regard to the *Netots* who have to be banished from the Principality and sent to **where they came from** [highlighted by author]".[31] Or they hailed from Moldavia, as seen above, and not from Transylvania.

5. THE EXPULSION OF THE *NETOT*S

The inclusion in the Constitution of a punitive measure such as the *Netots'* expulsion from Wallachia is in contradiction with the spirit and purpose of the fundamental law of a state which cannot act as a Criminal Code, as already said. This paragraph is underlined by political and economic reasons, and by the determined need to resolve as quickly as possible an issue which was financially burdensome, through the expensive apparatus necessary to prevent and control the transgressions done by the *Netots*, and which was likewise, totally devoid of economic interest, for the *Netots* were eluding paying their capitation.

The priority and celerity given to the investigation of the transgressions committed by the *Netots* throughout the year 1831, immediately after the entry into force of the *Organic Regulation* leads us to the same conclusion. On July 4, 1831, the Interior Ministry sent an order to all county Prefects to catch the *Netots* with the help of the villagers, in case the Police squad was outnumbered, and to send them under escort to the prison of the Interior Ministry.[32]

After several months of exceptional efforts carried out by the Romanian officials (speaking for the fact that the action was directly supervised by the Governor Kiseleff), on December 8, 1831, the expulsion of the *Netots* to the Ottoman Empire was done at the border check point called Izlaz. Surprisingly fast, in only two days, on December 10, 1831, the administrator of Izlaz estate, one Petre Apostol, filled in a denunciation against the *cinovnic* 'the representative of the Department of Prisons', who led the convoy of the expelled *Netots*. The denouncer reported that an envoy of the Pasha of Nikopol arrived in Izlaz to announce that Pasha intended to return the *Netots* because they were naked and could not stand the cold winter. The *Netots* testified that they had been robbed of their belongings precisely by the Department of Prisons representative who was in charge of taking them over the border. The Pasha stated that he will inform the Russian Military Governor of Wallachia and Moldavia about that Romanian civil state officer, who was depicted as a real thief.[33] In the end of his delation, whereby Petre Apostol described the savage dangers which the *Netots* might cause if returned by the Pasha, there is a description underlining their public perception:

> God save us from the return of these Gypsies back to our country, who not only will rob the villages and will damage them so badly, that there won't be any sanitation in the quarantine, but they won't be caught again in spite of huge efforts and lots of army.

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30 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor, 30 august 1831, f.52: 30 august 1831. Vide Annexe 8.
31 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Launtru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, septembrie 1831, Vornicia Temnițelor, f. 59, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.
32 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Launtru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, f.84. Vide Annexe 9.
33 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor, 8 decembrie 183, f.95. Vide Annexe 10.

The administrator Petre Apostol's testimony is supported by another, Constantin Floroiu.[34] In December 19, the Interior Ministry begins the investigation against the Department of Prisons' representative who accompanied the convoy of the *Netots* across the Danube, to the Ottoman Empire.[35]

6. THE RETURN OF THE *NETOTS*

The hasty arrival of the envoy of Pasha of Nikopol and the swift delation made by Petre Apostol, the administrator of Izlaz estate, who was quite possibly involved in the border smuggling, only two days after the actual crossing of the Danube by the *Netots*, reveals a conspiracy against this unpopular measure. The intention of expelling the *Netots* from the Principalities across the Danube, and not into the Austro-Hungarian Empire ("where they came from"), was known many months in advance by the local authorities from the south of Danube. There was, thus, sufficient time to prepare certain procedures for annihilating the plan. Pasha of Nikopol didn't have the naivety to believe in the *Netots*' history as mystified in the *Organic Regulation*, according to which, having arrived in the last 40 years from the Habsburg Empire, they would be deported to the country where they came from. The perception of the reality boosted him to adopt firm actions: consequently, on December 16, 1831, the *Netots* were already transferred to the left bank of Danube, in Wallachia.

The high dignitary Cămărăşescu, responsible for the Army headquarters of Izlaz, responded to the Prefect of Romanaţi County that he safeguarded the *Netots* by settling them on an island on the Danube. There, he regularly supplied them with food consisting of merely corn, transferred by boat. Since they were naked, and were "left merely with their souls", Pasha did not accept them: "because they are naked, and, as I was told by Pasha's envoy, since we robbed them and crossed them over the Danube, he said that he does not need such people".[36]

The catastrophic failure, in just seven days, of a connivance established at the highest level, probably between the Governor Kiseleff and the most influential Romanian politicians, constructed with firm actions in over seven months, could not be a mere coincidence. Certainly, the causes of failure are underlined by the local corruption on both sides of the Danube. There is a series of inaccuracies in the actions of the Russian and Romanian authorities which demonstrates the power of corruption and the fragility of the State institutions, still infiltrated by agents of Turkish influence, and unable to defend their own employees: the lack of reaction of the Russian and Romanian authorities who did not analyse the facts and did not assume any responsibility regarding the *Netots*, the interruption of the investigation against the *Netots*' robberies demanded by the Interior Ministry, even though the objects found on them could provide enough evidence; and the delay in the investigation against the official of the Department of Prisons. The conclusion of the two bodies of investigation has clearly established: "The *Netots*' snitching was a cunningly invented story against the *cinovnic* ('official') which was worked out of the hate they had against him for the harshness which he showed towards them, under such circumstances".[37]

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34 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temniţelor, 12 decembrie 1831, f.96. Vide Annexe 11.
35 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temniţelor. 12 decembrie 183, f. 94. Vide Annexe 12.
36 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temniţelor. 12 decembrie 183, f.112–112v. Vide Annexe 12.
37 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temniţelor. 20 februarie 1832, f. 147. Vide Annexe 13.

7. CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF THE *NETOT*S

Within eight to ten months, the *Netots* passed through two extremely harsh moments of their existence, their crossing over the Danube and their crossing back to Wallachia in the middle of winter, when they were kept in custody on an island on the Danube, with no food and clothes. Although the investigation carried against them in the same case in which the official from the Interior Ministry was investigated, was discontinued, this was not understood as a sign of kindness and did not cause any change in their behaviour. The resumption of their transgressions happened immediately after they left the Danube island going in a convoy to Craiova city. The administrator of Deveselu estate, Petre Popescu, complained that the *Netots* returning from the Ottoman Empire stopped overnight in the outskirts of Deveselu village, an occasion to cut more than 400 trees in order to make a fire, and lit several hay barns.[38]

The *Netots* reached Craiova and from there headed to Bucharest under the custody of the Department of Prisons. The number of guards was insufficient and not infrequently, groups of *Netots* managed to escape surveillance and reportedly plundered villages in their way. In Colibași village, Muscel County, a band of *Netots* robbed six houses. "The yeomen of the village quickly solved the case and the culprits were handed over to the vice-prefect".[39] Probably detached from the convoy and hiding in the woods of Romanați County, another band of *Netots* robbed, in March 27, 1832, several houses in Greci village. They took everything they found, but they were seen in a neighbouring village where they were trying to sell the stolen items. The yeomen interfered but were numerically inferior and the *Netots*, with clubs in hands, drove them away. The yeomen came back together with the *vataf* 'Gypsies' chief' and searched their wagons but couldn't find anything, as the things had been hidden in "unknown locations".[40]

Under these circumstances, the Government of Wallachia adopted the Decisions 1) to include the *Netots* to the "State Gypsies" category and thus entrusted them to the responsibility of the Department of Prisons of the Interior Ministry, and 2) also, to assign them to different owners who were in return freed of any taxes for their work, with the obligation to teach them agriculture and to teach their children any craft or agriculture.[41]

The Government measures were quite successful and many *Netots* were assigned to different owners. However, there were many challenges of this new experiment. After four months, on September 30, 1832, the Department of Prisons sought help of the Interior Ministry to catch the *Netots* fleeing from their masters[42] and returned with the same request on October 13, 1832.[43] The Administration of Bolintin Canton, Dâmbovița County, recorded an incident in Slobozia village, wherein 10–12 *Netot sălaș* 'a unit similar to an extended family' stopped and robbed two houses. The villagers wanted to catch them, but in the altercation, the *Netots* hit them with their own children, so the villagers gave up and let them flee and they eventually entered Vlașca County.[44]

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38 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 13 ianuarie 1832, f. 133. Vide Annexe 14.
39 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 26 martie 1832, f. 184. Vide Annexe 15.
40 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 26 martie 1832, f. 201. Vide Annexe 16.
41 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 22 aprilie 1832, f. 319–319v.
42 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 30 septembrie 1832, f. 248.
43 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 13 octombrie 1832, f. 254.
44 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 21 octombrie 1832, f. 255. Annexe 17.

8. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE *NETOTS*

Barbu Stirbey, the Parliament Secretary, who adopted the *Organic Regulation*, the closest collaborator, by force of his position, to Kiseleff, the Military Governor of Wallachia and Moldavia, when he eventually became Prince of Wallachia (1849–1856) did not forget all the measures taken to improve the lives of the Roms, and sought to complete the entire programme issuing the decree of the emancipation of the "State Gypsies", in 1856. There were two other categories of Roms, according to their owners, namely "Monastery Gypsies" and "Boyars' Gypsies", the latter being the last one to be redeemed by the State and emancipated.

As the *Netots* were since 1832 "State Gypsies", as shown above, they became the first emancipated Roms.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The *Netots* were certainly a category of Roms present in Romanian Principalities at least one century before the promulgation of the first Constitution (*Organic Regulation*, 1832) wherein their first description is recorded. They were named with an idiosyncratic Romanian word, untranslatable into a language spoken around, Turkish, Russian, Hungarian or German. They may[45] have belonged to the bear tamer group (*Ursari*) and refused basic rules of living together, did not learn any skill and were thus rejected by their own community.

Drafting the paragraph about the *Netots* in the *Organic Regulation* represented connivance between the Russian Military Governor of Wallachia and Moldavia, General Kiseleff, and representatives of the Romanian political class, who intended to regulate the Gypsies issue and remove an unadaptable category from the country. Their origin from the Habsburg Empire and the stipulation of their dispatch to "the place from where they came" was a construction provided in the Constitution with the aim of misleading the defeated Ottoman Empire of the real intention of the Russian and Romanian authorities, that of sending these itinerant and thus uncontrollable people across the Danube.

Based on so far unknown official documents from 1831–1832 from the Central National Historical Archives in Bucharest, we have reconstructed one of the decisive episodes from the *Netots*' history, before and immediately following the promulgation of the Constitution. These documents prove that the *Netots* were subjected to close monitoring of the Interior Ministry authorities for seven months, and that they were investigated and prosecuted with maximum celerity, with the aim of producing evidence supporting their hasty expulsion. The documents prove that the local administration knew about the connivance and acted accordingly, gathering the *Netots* and crossing them over the Danube, to the Ottoman Empire. Through the local corruption on both sides of the Danube, the Pasha of Nikopol was informed about this plan, and artfully forestalled it. The scapegoat was a *cinovnic* 'official' of the Interior

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45 The *caveat* is that the linguistic arguments explained under 3.3.2 partially contradicts this identification, because Ursari is not a Northern Vlax dialect. Yet, we might not rule out completely this identification based on a few language samples collected from respondents who were not *Netots* themselves or/and did not sing in their own language, if at all, as already said.

Ministry who was entrusted to cross the *Netots* over the border, accused through the *Netots'* false testimonies of having their belongings and even clothes stolen. This was the pretext for which the Pasha of Nikopol could oppose the representative of the Russian Empire and send back the *Netots*, who were allegedly robbed by a corrupted officer. The bare *Netots* were kept for some weeks on a Danube island, until the representative of the Russian Empire acknowledged being defeated by the representative of the Ottoman Empire regarding the issue of the so alleged Gypsies hailing from the Habsburg Empire, being thus caught between the policies of the two Eastern European Empires.

Soon, the National Assembly of Wallachia adopted protective measures for the *Netots*, changing their status and including them in the category of "State Gypsies" and distributing them among different owners. The official documents further attest that these inclusions proved inefficient, that the *Netots* continued fleeing from their landlords and resumed their itinerant way of living. Paradoxically, although shunned by their own ethnic groups and regarded as unadaptable, they were the first emancipated Roms.

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1. *Regulamentul Organic*, 1944, art. 371, p. 130: "The beginnings, the religion, the similar customs and language of the inhabitants of these two Principalities [i.e. Wallachia and Moldavia, author's note]: There are many elements showing their close union, which until now have been withheld, and were procrastinated, and which, only after favourable circumstances and followed by proper conditions and useful consequences arising from the union of these two peoples, they cannot be subjected to any doubt; the premises are thus set in the *Regulation* through the creation of similar administrative institutions in both countries."

2. *Analele Parlamentare*, anul 1, vol, 1, Bucureşti, 1890, p. 109–112: "The *Regulation* is drafted for improving the status of the State Gypsies by the Commission appointed precisely for this ordinance. To Hon. Public Assembly, in full accordance with the art. 94, drafted with the purpose of restraining their wanderings and making them to work the earth. The Hon. Public Assembly summoned us to deliberate on the issue and indicate what is necessary for their implementation. Thus, assembling in one place and carefully pondering on their status, we humbly indicate what should be done for each respective Gypsy category (*tagma*, lit. 'guild'), namely:

1) The *Lingurari* Gypsies 'spoon-makers'. They live on wood work, namely crafting tubs, spindles, spoons, etc., and some of them on crafting fences and clubs. They live in steadfast huts and houses near the woods. They are under the care of a *vataf* appointed by their Canton Officer. It is mandatory that they should not move from their locations. There are Gypsies living at the outskirt of the villages, up to 40 to 50 families. They should be under the maintenance of their caretaker appointed from among the most faithful and prone to rule them as per the superiors' regulations, namely to prevent them from wandering and make them toil the earth, and to collect the duly imposed taxes; he [i.e. the *vataf*, author's note] should be responsible for them in front of the *zapciu* 'policeman and tax collector'. In the case that there are more than 50 families, two *vataf*-s should be appointed or as many as required by the families' number. These Gypsies have the obligation to work the *claca* 'tax consisting in work days' for the landlords, like the other inhabitants, including the tax for cultivating the earth and using the pasturage. The landlord has the obligation to give them lands for ploughing, grassland and cattle pasture according to the contracts; they will supply their needs for the wood required for their craft, through agreements and bargain with the forests owners. But for the fire logs needed for warming and cooking, the owner will obey the regulations imposed for the other inhabitants of the Principality.

2) The *Aurari* Gypsies 'goldsmiths'. A part of them lives on gold sale, representing the surplus collected by them from nature, apart from the three drachm which are due to the State. Others are *Lingurari* 'spoon-makers', and another two parts live on brick making, ditch and pound digging, etc. Similarly to the above mentioned *Lingurari*, they have stable dwellings, hence, the provisions referred to under no. 1 above should be applied also to them.

3) The *Ursari* Gypsies 'bear tamers'. They live on displaying bears through cities and selling brooms, crafting wax and other small smithery works (such as scale weights, needles, saws, drills, etc.). They live in unstable tents. Their caretaker should gather them from wherever they are scattered and settle them in stable dwellings in decent locations, near villages and woods, gathering them in due proportion with the estate, so that the landlord may give them necessary lands for ploughing, grassland and cattle pasturage, and to hand them over to the care of one *vataf*, as has been provided under no. 1 above; they [i.e. the *vataf*-s, author's note] should report to the landlords of the estate on which they live the fulfilment of their duties, and in return, the landlords should guarantee their rights (*folosurile*, lit. 'necessities'), as it was said above. Because this Gypsy category is not familiar with the working the land, all provisions should be taken to guide them and monitor them in working the earth.

4) The *Zavragi* Gypsies. The *Zavragi* Gypsies, around 300 families, belong to *Ursari* group,

but have different customs. They work in construction. They are prone to theft, unstable, wondering with tents. They regularly practiced smithery, but due to working in construction, they lost that skill. In order to be prevented from stealing, they should be dispersed through villages under the care of the Prefect County, merely five to six families to one village, and settled in houses and huts. They should be also settled and placed under the care of a faithful and trustworthy *vataf*, who will be responsible for four or five adjoining villages, and who will keep a watch so that they will remain settled on the approved locations and behave correctly towards the villagers. On the other hand, he should make them work the land and should prevent them from going away without a written certificate, so that they should not wander through villages without an appointed mission known by him [i.e. by the *vataf*, author's note]. If he will act otherwise and will not pay attention to that, he will be made responsible for all bad consequences done by those families. When the *vataf* will come to know that the families transgressed the rules and do not obey his regulations, he should immediately report to their caretaker who will fine them [lit. give them *chisâm* 'contribution in cash and in nature, due by the serf to the owner instead of the assigned working days', author's note]. They also should report to the landlords of the estate the fulfilment of their duties, and in return, the landlords should guarantee their rights, as it was said under no. 1 above.

5) The *Laeti* Gypsy. They practice blacksmithing and coppersmithing. Because some of them are steadfast people living in houses and huts at the outskirt of villages, their behaviour being safe from unpleasant habits, they should be taken care of as provided under no. 1 above. But others, over 150 families, are unstable and wandering with tents, being prone to theft, hence they should be taken care of as provided under no. 1 above.

6) The *Netot*s. They came from the lands of the German Country around 40 years ago, and total over 50 families. These, although belonging to the *Ursari* group, due to their improper behaviours bear the name of "Netot", not having any skill, and doing, men and women alike, many transgressions, such as stealing goods and money from villages, robbing travellers on the roads and many times killing them, and above all, not obeying any rule. They are dirty and polluted in regard to their eating habits and clothes; so, being harmful to society and of very little benefit for the State, they should be thrown out of the Principality and sent to the place from where they came.

The Gypsies from the first five gilds, due to the fact that most of them are away from the path of the Orthodox faith, should be taken care of the Metropolitan Church and dioceses."

3. ANIC, fond Mitropolia Țarii Românești, Pachet XLVII, dos. 6, f. 3: "[...] Similarly [is] the second division; and the share of the Holy Archbishopric lies besides the estate of the cavalry commander Ianache, at its border, on the road that is called 'the Twins'. Then we came out into the Elms Meadow, by a swamp where there's a stepping stone between the cavalry commander Ianache [and the estate Boanga], and we drew a line by a large and prominent oak, and we delimitated a share of 300 fathoms for the Holy Archbishopric; similarly, we delimitated a share of 200 fathoms in the vicinity of the freeholders, from this point over the forest, as far as the '*Netots* Meadow', by the burrows, where we painted an oak on its side that is facing the burrows in the vicinity of Andrew, the saffron seller [Ro. *șufrar*?, author's note]."

4. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, f. 5,3: "The Governor of Romanați County to the Interior Ministry, July 4, 1831: 'A band of *Netots*, trespassing Recea village, found two houses whose owners were away, and by force of their inborn proclivity to steal, they broke the doors and took from there whatever valuable thing they found. A citizen saw them and alerted the owners who were returning home. They seized their *zapciu* 'policeman and tax collector', but to no avail.'; f. 3: 'The Police Inspectorate responsible for the Gypsies' *zapciu* of Romanați County took actions to replace this one with another *zapciu* [...] for the evils done by the *Rudari* and the *Netot* Gypsies belonging to the Reign, throughout the county, and for their *zapciu* who supports them.'"

5. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Ispravnicia Romanați către Marea Vornicie, 28 iulie 1831, f. 21: "The Governor of Romanați County to the City Hall: 'The evils done by the *Netots* and their *zapciu* in Recea village, where they robbed several houses, were investigated, and we duly inform you that the captain of the police squad was sent to fetch some of their leaders, and that the mission was completed. 'Having fired' some of them inside the jail, – he merely brought two persons –, I detained them for 4-5 days, and because they got scared, they gave all the stolen things back up to the last one, and in good condition, and the people were compensated, and the sacrificed lambs were paid back. To the said *zapciu*, claiming that he had an amount of money which he was due to carry to Bucharest, and asking us to give him that back, I 'visited' him with a few rods at his feet as a punishment, and I gave him back his petty belongings.'"

6. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Ispravnicia Romanați către Marea Vornicie; August 8, 1831: f. 44: "The *zapciu* of Marginea Canton, for the intimation of the Olt County Administration: Following the instructions to safeguard the sanitation in the county, and to walk from village to village, I followed the directives and went to Țigănia village to accomplish the sanitation. So, I reached Țigănia village and proceeded to accomplish the order (*nizam*). Instantly, one Ion Belitu, the Gypsies' chief (*vătaf*) jumped on me in a great mob (*zurbalâc*) with all his folks. It wasn't enough that they beat to death the servants and they broke their arms! Then they hit me with clubs, pulled my hair, shouting loudly that they do not want to acknowledge the Hon. Governor nor the report issued by the Quarantine Committee and informed by us to them for the benefit of their health. Resolution: the cashier (*zaraf*), the *zapciu* and the county captain should secretly catch that rebellious chief of the Gypsies, without making any uproar nor to beat him, and to send him to the Administration under escort."

f. 45: "The *zapciu* of Oltul de Jos Canton, for the intimation of the Olt County Administration: today, August 11, two groups of *Netots* mobbed the court of the High Steward's wife (*stolniceasa*) Marghioala, and encamped in Viişoara village, behind the garden of the High Steward Hristache, and not only that they encumbered the travellers on the Olt valley and robbed them, but they also got into the vineyards and cornfields in groups of 15, destroying and setting fire to them. Some women from Marunțiu village, returning back home with some largely pounded grist, were robbed of that grist and of whatever belongings were found on them. Moreover, Panait Sârbul Gheorghe, who lives by the Iminog river, was robbed of the food he had in his house. Again, some residents of Comani village who were carrying bricks for building the holy church, were caught and robbed of whatever possibly could be found on them: winter coats, and for someone, even the shirts and suspenders. Another one, Dumitru, witnessed that he had in his bag 15 pennies, and another boy, one Stanciu, barely escaped alive. And a sheepfold located between Comani and Marunțiu, was completely ransacked, and the cauldrons, the food and the cheese vats were thus stolen. In addition to all these, there might be many more others who bear in silence, not being noticed by us and not being safeguarded by the Administration."

f. 48: "In the plum orchard of the High Steward's wife (*stolniceasa*) Gigartoaia, from Viişoara village, they ruined throughout, picking all the plums from which it could be gathered up to 4-5 barrels of plums. And when she said that they had stolen her plums, they jumped with clubs to kill her, in her own yard."

7. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, f. 30: "August 3, 1831, Bucharest: To Hon. Administrative Council: I, the tax collector Alecu Filipescu, Chief of the Quarantines (*lazaret*) of Teleajen Canton, South-Saac County, through the report I received from the Quarantines Committee, I inform that on the estate called Drajna of that gentleman [i.e. Alecu Filipescu, n. author], over one thousand Gypsies violently broke in, hailing from Buzau, and the canton chief of the Gypsies went to drive them out, but they jumped with clubs and he couldn't do anything. Also in this canton, in Teisani village, around 30 'tents' of Gypsies hailing from Focsani and passing through the quarantines by power of their clubs, broke in. The Committee informs the Hon. Administrative Council on all these, and kindly requests order

to be made for the inhabitants who suffer from such Gypsies, who may cause the spreading of cholera through their wanderings; and the Committee kindly asks to be informed about the measures thereon taken."

8. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, Vornicia Temnițelor, 30 August 1831, f. 52: "August 30, 1831, The Department for Prisons: In regard to the instructions of the Hon. Interior Ministry concerning the Gypsies and the *Netots* who wander about the country in their usual lifestyle, to the population's unrest and damage. With regard to the State Gypsies, this Ministry is responsible for maintaining as much as possible the due public order and to constantly force those to give up their wrongdoings and to make them settle down as provided in the *Regulation*. Notwithstanding that the greatest part of the *Laeti* Gypsies is the property of the monasteries and landowners, and because these ones likewise distress the inhabitants, consequently, the Hon. Interior Ministry will take the right actions in regard to these private Gypsies as well, in order to prevent them from disturbing the peace of the inhabitants. In regard to the *Netots*, taking into consideration the *Regulation* provision as to their expulsion from the Principality, I consider it necessary not to postpone their evacuation, but, as soon as the prevention measures of the cholera spreading in the country will permit, to get them gathered in one place by force of authority, and, due to the fact that their families aren't numerous, to escort them across the Danube; all the guards watching the Danube border will be strictly instructed to prevent them from returning to Principality."

9. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Launtru, inv. 309, dos. 490/1831, f. 84: "The Administration of Vâlcea County, to the Interior Ministry: By the instruction of the Hon. Interior Ministry that we received by July 4, we were directed to expel all the *Netots* from the county and to get help from the villagers for their evacuation. In certain places there exist large communities, and in no way could we oppose them, as per instructions, because, it is well known that, when asked to comply to the regulations, they can also commit crimes, as per their bad nature; it is well known that they don't obey others, least for the officers of the Hon. Department of Prisons."

10. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor, 8 decembrie 1831, f. 95: "The Administrator of Izlaz estate to the sub-prefect of Balti Canton: on December 8, an official came from Bucharest, escorting a number of *Netot* families and he took them over the Danube through the check point called Izlaz. I asked two infantries who were sent back to Bucharest, and I found that the official allowed the Gypsies to rob the villages through which they passed and, having loaded the various looted things in a cart and on 8 horses stolen from those Gypsies, he sent them [i.e. these stolen goods, author's note] to Bucharest, to his home. And there was another cart with robbed things; and I saw with my own eyes that those Gypsies were robbed and complained that the official had taken their clothes and whatever money they had. Today an envoy (*gavazi*) sent by the Pasha of Nikopol came and asked an officer by whose instruction these naked Gypsies were taken across the Danube; the envoy said that the Pasha ordered to send them back to the left bank of the Danube, and that the Pasha will inform the Hon. Governor of Wallachia and Moldavia about the complaint of the Gypsies against the officer who robbed them of their horses, clothes, and money; due to this reason, the Pasha sends them back in order to show to what extent they have been robbed."

11. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor, 12 decembrie 1831, f. 96: "December 12, 1831, Constantin Floroiu to the Romanati County Administration: On December 5, an official passed by Schela Rahovei heading towards Izlaz together with a lot of *Netot* families; there were some reports from certain villages that the official in Corabia village beat some people, so that one lays in bed even now, and robbed many things from the inhabitants. The Hon. Administration will further avail of a more detailed report from the Administrator of Izlaz estate, Petru Apostol."

12. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 12 decembrie 1831, f. 94: "December 12, 1831, the Interior Ministry to the Administration of Romanati County, the sub-prefect of Balti Canton and the Administrator of Izlaz estate, in regard to the outcomes of the former

official's actions in connection to the transfer of the *Netots* from the Principality in Turkey, on which the Hon. Ministry has received a detailed report, and on which the Administration is expected to produce its due report." "December 19, 1831. Resolution: a copy of it [i.e. the Administration's report, author's note] should be sent to the Department of Prisons, to the effect that the official be seized and compelled to give back all the stolen things to the Gypsies and the Gypsies' chiefs, under their signature. The Governor of Romanati County should investigate from where those Gypsies stole the things and to find out the injured persons."

13. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 20 februarie 1832, f. 147: "February 20, 1832, Department of Prisons to the Interior Ministry: Report on the *cinovnic* 'official' who was ordered to cross the *Netots* over to Turkey, who allegedly robed those *Netots* of their belongings; on which issue they made a complaint as soon as they returned here; the said Department undertook to investigate the circumstances and proceeded to ask the *cinovnic* how could he carry out such a transgression; [...] He took those belongings because they were the property of the villagers from whom they were robbed by those [i.e, *Netots*, author's note] and in support of this, documents signed by the villagers were sent. The Department but could hardly rely on his [i.e. the *cinovnic*'s, author's note] report and the villagers' testimonies, and entrusted the case to the Department's cashier; he [i.e. the *cinovnic*, author's note] went to Craiova[46] and argued that he could get the signatories of the testimonies, and showing proof of the actions therein described, convinced the Administration of Dolj County. Next he was judged by the Department who saw that the *Netots*' snitching was a cunningly invented story against the *cinovnic* which was worked out of the hate they had against him for the harshness which he had shown towards them, under such circumstances. He does not fail to show to the Hon. Department those papers as evidence for investigation."

14. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 13 ianuarie 1832, f. 133: "January 13, 1832, the Romanati County Administration to the Interior Ministry: Petre Popescu, the administrator of Devesolu estate, came with the complaint that the *cinovnic* of the Department of Prisons who was in trust with the *Netots* turned back from Turkey [...] They [i.e. the *Netots*, author's note], having proceeded towards Craiova, camped in a part of Devesolu village, where there was a forest reserve; they stopped over there and, having found some hay and straw barns belonging to the infringed party, they removed the fences and took as much hay and straw as they needed, and from the saplings they cut around 400 young trees out of which they made fire for warming up over the night, and in the morning, when they wished to leave, they burnt the hay on which they slept. For all this, compensation is required."

15. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 26 martie 1832, f. 184: "March 26, 1832: A *Netot* band arrived in Muscel County, having robbed six houses in Colibași village [...] The *Netots* have been caught by the captain of the soldiers, and were handed over to the Canton vice-prefect."

16. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 26 martie 1832, f. 201: "March 26, 1832: A band of *Netots* arrived in Greci village, Romanati County. When people were at work in the field, they broke into the village and breaking into the houses, they stole whatever they found, and went on to other villages to sell them. Afterwards, when the yeomen proceeded to catch them and compensate the people, they fought back and jumped over them, chasing them with clubs in the hands. The yeomen returned and the Gypsies' chief came to them and asked them to fetch the *Netots* and search for the stolen things, but they couldn't find anything on them, because the things were hidden in unknown locations. Wishing to send the chief to the Administration, they [i.e. the *Netots*, author's note] jumped on them with clubs, to kill them."

17. ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, Vornicia Temnițelor. 21 octombrie 1832, f. 255: "October 21, 1832: The vice-prefect of Bolintin Canton, Dambovița County, fills in the complaint that on last Monday, October 17, about 10-12 *Netot* family groups (*sălaș*) emerged in Slobozia village and looted two houses of the inhabitants. And as the villagers wanted to catch them

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46 Major city of Dolj County further mentioned.

[...] the *Netots* jumped on them hitting them with their own children."; f. 269: "October 21,1832: The Administration of Dambovita County announced that the *Netot* Gypsies arrived in Slobozia, broke the blockade by hitting the inhabitants with their own children and fled to Vlaşca County."

Translated from original Romanian by the author of this article.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JULIETA ROTARU – PhD, currently works as a research leader of Romani Studies at the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES) in Södertörn University, Sweden. She studied Classical Philology, the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures (1994–1998), later she studied Sanskrit at the University of Delhi, Faculty of Arts (1996–1997) and at the State University in Pune, India (1998–2000). After more studies in Agra, India and Leiden University, Netherlands, she defended her Doctoral dissertation in 2008, being a critical edition and translation of an ancient ritual Vedic text, supervised at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Department of Classical Philology and Freie Universität Berlin, Institute of South Asian Languages and Cultures. In the years 2004–2015 she taught Sanskrit, Romani, and Romani culture and civilization at University of Bucharest. Her fields of research are Vedic and Sanskrit language and literature, Vedic and Hindu ritual, text editing, reflected in her articles and monographs published in journals: *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies*, *Indologica Taurinensia*, *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia*, *Classical Studies*, *Stvdia Asiatica* etc, and series: Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. The other field of research in which Julieta Rotaru specialized and recently published is Romani studies, as reflected in many scholarly articles, the critical edition *Barbu Constantinescu. Cântece ţigăneşti. Romané ghilea. Gypsy Songs; Critical edition, Introduction, Chronological table and Indices by Julieta Rotaru, forward Viorel Cosma*. (Bucharest, 2016) and the volume *Contribuţiila istoria romilor din ţara românească în secolul al xix-lea* [Contributions to the history of the Roms in Wallachia in the 19th century] (to be published in December 2018).

TATIANA PODOLINSKÁ, TOMÁŠ
HRUSTIČ (Eds.):
Black and White Worlds. Roma in
the Majority Society in Slovakia
(Čierno-biele svety. Rómovia v ma-
joritnej spoločnosti na Slovensku)
*Bratislava, Institute of Ethnology SAS,
VEDA, 2015, 597 p.*

The collective monograph *Black and White
Worlds* is a representative demonstration of
the current state of knowledge regarding the
situation of Roma in Slovakia from the point
of view of social sciences. The almost 600
pages offer a total of 17 articles by 21 authors
from Slovakia and abroad, from various sci-
entific disciplines: sociology, social anthro-
pology and Romani studies. Given its size,
it can be compared to the book *Čačipen pal
o Roma. Súhrnná správa o Rómoch na
Slovensku* (*Čačipen pal o Roma. A Global Re-
port on Roma in Slovakia,* Vašečka, 2002).
There are, however, several differences
which, in my opinion, demonstrate the shifts
in the scientific discourse in a very concise
manner. The reviewed book does not seek
to create the impression of complexity or en-
tirety; on the contrary, the intellectual back-
ground of the authors is diverse, as well as
the methods of their research work and the
depth of their focus on local phenomena.
While Vašečka's publication refers (includ-
ing with its title) to the notion of one scien-
tific truth that it seeks to reveal, the *Black-
and White Worlds* avoids presenting such
uniform truth explicitly and on purpose.
This is not a disadvantage, though. The
authors were left free to show what they
have been working on recently. This, how-
ever, does not mean that the publication is
just a collection of texts without any links to
one another. On the contrary, the book is
characterised by thorough editorial work
aimed at attaining unity in diversity. This
uniting factor had the form of seeking new
frameworks enabling an exit from the dead
end that marked the conceptualisation of
Roma ethnicity in the first decade of the 21st
century, known for the conflict concerning
the perception of Roma ethnic identity (Šo-
tola, 2018) and discussions on the causes
and nature of social exclusion within the
Czech environment. Nevertheless, unlike
the publication from 2002, the book by edi-
tors T. Podolinská and T. Hrustič shows
much greater embeddedness in the current
social-science discourse, which is a delight-
ful discovery. Both editors declare in the
introductory part that their paramount pur-
pose was to compile an up-to-date publica-
tion highlighting the plurality of the con-
cepts and methodologies that can be used
to explore the issue of "Roma" in society.

The texts are arranged in three chapters
according to their respective areas of focus.
With regards to this division, it should be
noted that it is not always fully intuitive: the
first chapter entitled *Black and White Poli-
cies* with the sub-title *Discourses, Attitudes
and the Possibilities of Participation* is about
discourses, both public and scientific ones.
It is understandable that the boundaries be-
tween them are not sharp; however, it is not
clear why the third chapter entitled *How We
Talk about Ourselves (The linguistic and
social images of Roma as tools to keep the
world of the "black ones" and the world of
the "white ones")* is presented separately, as
several articles deal with the historical de-
velopment of the discursive approach to
Roma otherness. It is a question then to what
extent different arrangement of the book

chapters would influence the final impression from reading the book and whether it would provide a different perspective (e.g. with greater emphasis on chronology or the level of approaching the specific elements). On the other hand, it can be assumed that the large extent of the book will rather result in selective reading based on reader interest.

The first chapter contains four highly innovative articles, each with a different focus. The text by M. Hrabovský *Anti-Gypsyism as a Barrier to Roma Inclusion* opens (quite logically) the publication with a clear purpose: to show that open as well as latent, yet de facto socially tolerated anti-Gypsyism is a significant component of the "Roma issue". The principal thesis of this text is that as long as Roma are commonly viewed by society "as inferior biological species", any endeavours to "empower" Roma would fail (p. 43). Hrabovský is right in noting that anti-Gypsyism is produced on a racial (and not only ethnic) basis and that it is not only about biased attitudes, but primarily about social behaviour as the result of somatisation of a certain social situation. As a reader, I regret that this perspective (commonly designated as *embodiment* in anthropology), which I have lacked in recent research, is

more evident only in this article and is not elaborated further in the book. E. Marushiakova and V. Popov bring a critical perspective, seeing the current scientific discourse about Roma in Central and Eastern Europe through the optics of orientalism. In addition, they offer a clear proposal as a solution to this desperate situation: they note that Roma should also be viewed through the paradigm of exoticisation (as a specific community) and, at the same time, through the paradigm of marginalisation (as a specific social group defined by social exclusion). The article *The moral foundations of the dispute over social justice in Slovakia* (A. Findor, Z. Maďarová and A. Ostertágová) describes the results of interesting research based on the moral foundations theory; this application documents the difference between the political and value-oriented focus of the "majority population" and auxiliary professions staff, which represents the point of departure for any political and human-rights approach to Roma emancipation within Slovakia's public space. The first chapter of the book ends with an article by T. Hrustič, offering a reflection of the different forms of Roma participation in post-1990 public policies, focusing specifically on the barriers to the establishment of political parties with an ethnic background and to the inclusion of Roma candidates in majority political structures. He also highlights the increased role of Roma representation in local politics.

The second chapter entitled *Where and How We Live,* with the subtitle *Socio-Economic Images of Two Different Worlds* explores the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships in the different areas of society – from economics and infrastructure through healthcare up to spatial exclusion. The analyses are made at different levels – from micro-probes into partial locations through the generalisation of conclusions from a single location on the basis of long-term comparison up to studies based on results at the national level. By reading these studies, the reader gets a picture of the potential of the various approaches to understand the complexity of the role of ethnicity in contemporary Slovak society. Through the example of the town of Gelnica, E. Mazárová shows that spatial exclusion of Roma is not a neutral

mechanism, but that it is related to the perception of public space by the dominant part of the population which reacts with irritation to the presence of Roma in the representative parts of the town centre – both by its behaviour and by creating spatial barriers. On the other hand, the case study by J. Grill is from a rural environment, highlighting the so-far little commented example in literature of the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships in connection with the local economic situation and social mobility of Roma on the basis of migration, having its roots in the socialist period in the form of strategies of trespassing the narrow limits of local environments. The economic and "cosmopolitan" Roma capital puts in doubt the hierarchy based on long-term power asymmetries and results in growing feelings of insecurity and threat among the "white ones". The extensive text by A. Belák offers a representative summary of his long-term research on public health policies and the specificities of the self-perception of Roma in segregated environments. He deconstructs the networks of actors who are responsible for public policies and the discourse contained in the documents, and notes that the failure to achieve the objective of improving the health condition of the Roma population relates to the hidden assimilationist background of the policies and to the negligible participation of people who are the target of such policies. Based on a complex analysis of their attitudes to their own health within his long-term field research, he notes that, for Roma, the concept of good life prevails over care for their own health. T. Hrustič reveals in his article an emic perspective of the usury phenomenon in Roma settlements and points out that this problematic element is perceived by the local actors as the only realistic solution to their situation characterised by absolute poverty; for moneylenders, on the other hand, it is one of the few lucrative possibilities of improving their social position. The text by D. Škobla and R. Filčák offers an analysis of the local power fields and the impacts of big asymmetries on the basic infrastructures in terms of availability of drinking water at Roma locations. The highest level of the macro-perspective is offered in the

study by A. Mušinka and K. Matlovičová who comment on selected methodological aspects and results of the nationwide collection of ethnic data (Atlas).

The third book chapter deals with language and language images and can be divided into larger sections. The first one includes three papers by the representatives of the Czech Romani studies who analyse the dynamics of auto-ethnonyms in different contexts (J. Červenka), the form of language plurality in an Eastern-Slovakian community of Wallachian Roma (M. Hajská) and the specific form of autonomous Slovak language socialisation of children in a segregated settlement (P. Kubaník). The second part with texts by E. Krekovičová, Z. Panczová and A. B. Mann deals with stereotypes in the form of caricatures and jokes in publications or on the internet. All three articles suggest that, after 1989, the form of the originally rather comic figure of a Rom has changed to become the enemy of society. I personally took interest in the historical excursion, according to which the main public enemy of Slovak society before World War II was the figure of a Jew – not only in connection with the economic exploitation of Slovaks, but, for instance, with reference to the lower level of hygiene; topics related to (im)purity represent a universal form of degrading a group of people viewed in opposition to the collective "us". This chapter and the whole book close with a study by T. Podolinská on the discursive emic reframing of the concept of Romahood within the pastoral discourse of Pentecostal churches. She notes that by emptying the original content the convert can get rid of the stigmatising group "Gypsy story".

Tatiana Podolinská concludes her programme introduction by emphasising that the aim of the book is to encourage further debates and by highlighting that we must explore more extensively "the emic, inner perspectives of *all* parties to the imaginary dialogue in their specific forms and under the local conditions" (p. 34). Despite the emphasis placed on "all parties to the dialogue" (in italics), this book has fulfilled this purpose only partially – the exploration of the "Roma perspective" remains dominant. The perspective of the non-Roma is analysed

rather at the level of the discourse, while non-Roma agency is conceptualised and explored to a much smaller extent. I consider this asymmetry highly representative – especially with respect to the authors' emphasis on the emic perspective. The book editor views the distinction between the emic and etic perspective as significant, since the "etic analytical level of research is often 'contaminated' with apparently neutral contents from the emic level of the majority group" (p. 35). Nevertheless, the criticism of the etic level of research remains halfway, since the solution is not to make the emic perspective superior as the more truthful one. The emic and etic perspectives are not in contradiction; they cannot work without each other in the social science practice, because one needs the other one. Despite the authors' thorough efforts to use different concepts, I consider the one-sided preference of the inner approach as an opportunity for further development of the research and discussion on ethnicity.

I will try to elaborate on this objection and explain it. I understand the researchers' effort to comprehend the "Roma (micro) world", commonly denounced by the "majority", and to bring relevant information about it. Nevertheless, the unintended consequence of this effort can be the reproduction or the deepening of the notions on the different world/values/culture of the Roma living within the "majority society". In order to understand the different life experience and trajectories of Roma at different locations, it is not enough to provide an emic, i.e. agency perspective; it is necessary to analyse and interpret it within the wider social context with major power and economic aspects that cannot be neglected with respect to any, even seemingly unrelated issues (e.g. religion). As anthropologist Allaine Cerwonka wrote in her critical essay about the research on identity and experience, many researchers aim at "giving voice to members of the community" (Cerwonka, 2011: 61). However, within the poststructuralist identity theory, the objects are not clearly distinguished from the power structures that produce them. Hence, this studied experience of the actors cannot be a sort of final standpoint that we present as

a finding, but we must ask further what factors constitute such experience and what factors create the positionality of the actors. According to Cerwonka, experience is not "a window into social reality", but only one part of the complex social location. Therefore, research should not aim only at providing testimony of the valuable inner world of marginalised actors, but – on the contrary – at showing how social mechanisms lead to their oppression and in what manners.

In his detailed study, Andrej Belák provides an overview of the comprehensive system of attitudes of the stratified Roma community to their physical health and explains why its local conceptualisation is contrary to the dominant representations. He refers to the emic concepts of *gizdy* (pride) and notions of good Roma life. The local Roma community is presented as a group of people which, to a certain degree consciously and of its own will, cannot or is not willing to satisfy the demands of the surrounding society. I am afraid, though, that the actor's perspective is absolutised in this case. I do not mean that the results are contrary to the field experience of the researcher – author of the study: on the contrary, I trust these results and consider them personally enriching, since I usually do not encounter similar conceptualisations within my research in Roma locations in the Spiš region. The problem, however, is that the assumption of the actor's perspective without thorough analysis of the context – i.e. the factors that shape the positionality of the actors – can lead to a risky movement on the edge of potential misuse by uninformed readers (this refers specifically to the description of the aspects of good Roma life). If we conducted research among homeless people, I can imagine what kind of answers we would receive to questions about their subjective perception of the quality of life, including formulations seeing life on the streets as a demonstration of freedom and independence. Nevertheless, to understand the homelessness phenomenon, we cannot stick to the actors' representations, but we must also understand the mechanisms leading to the ostracism of thousands of persons.

The emphasis on understanding the nature of Romahood in A. Belák's text sharply

contrasts with certain trivialisation of the discriminatory practices faced by Roma in the field of healthcare – just like in many other aspects of life. I trust his note according to which his contacts rather diminished the very fact of racism and attributed the extreme expressions to isolated individuals – but is this not a sign of adaptation to the long-term existence of double standards on the basis of which Roma are judged as second-class persons? I recently visited the medical emergency service with my Roma contact and her child and, while waiting, she shared with me her experience saying that Roma children are examined by doctors much faster and that non-Roma patients receive much more attention. Yes, it is also an emic perspective, but such experiences and accounts make me personally focus my research not on those who are marginalised, but on the mechanisms and pressures that have long shaped their habitus in the way that facilitates adaptation under the living conditions in which a common member of the "majority" can hardly imagine to live. Therefore, the problem is not the "willingness or unwillingness of Roma to be or not to be integrated" (p. 35), but rather the multi-layered forms of segregation, oppression and exploitation they face from non-Roma or other Roma who obtained a more favourable position in the otherwise largely asymmetric ethnic hierarchy.

To conclude, I would like to present my opinion on the graphical design of the book. It is very well done, attractive, exceeding with its high quality the common standard of scientific publications. The editors' choice of the artist proved to be excellent. However, I must share certain ambivalence in my feelings in connection with the above discussion: even though the editors justify the choice of two graphical antipodes of black and white as intentional provocation, they do not elaborate on this choice and leave it to the reader to figure it out while studying the book content. This raises the following questions: are the "two internally similarly constructed concepts of two different worlds" conceptualisations that commonly exist in society, or are they scientific conceptualisations? It is important with regard to the message of the book – if the black and white division is too schematic and the scientist is to disrupt and problematise it, why is it then necessary to strengthen it with the chosen design of the book? I understand the emphasis placed on the need to have thorough knowledge of the specificities of the Roma environment which can evoke the image of a certain *sui generis* world, but we should not forget that such specificity is the product of an asymmetric relationship, and we should therefore look more extensively and with greater detail at those relationships and threads which interconnect and create these two "worlds". We should constantly question the common notion of Roma isolation – and with reference to the book sub-title we can say that Roma do not live in the "majority society", since it gives the impression that the majority creates its own society: however, all people living in Slovakia create one society, though its members differ largely in the possibilities of shaping it. And it is this social context of the limited Roma possibilities that should become the main topic of future research. It should be stated as a conclusion that the reviewed book represents within the Slovak context a significant step forward in this direction. This shift is especially obvious when we return to the comparison to Vašečka's collective monograph of 2002 which placed great emphasis on the historical roots of Roma and on Roma identity and culture, i.e. optics focusing exclusively on one part of the ethnic relationship. On the other hand, the reviewed book tells us, at the declaratory level and through the studies contained in it, about both sides of this relationship, in the absence of which we would be unable to analyse any data from field research and quantitative surveys. I therefore think that we will return to the texts of this book in the forthcoming period, as this collective work is mandatory reading for anyone willing to seriously study ethnicity in the Slovak context.

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SOŇA G. LUTHEROVÁ,
MIROSLAVA HLINČÍKOVÁ (Eds.):
Beyond the Limits of Science?
Applied Anthropology in Society
(Za hranicami vedy? Aplikovaná
antropológia v spoločnosti)
Bratislava: Veda, 2016, 167 p.

The book *Beyond the Limits of Science? Applied Anthropology in Society* published in 2016 stands out among the anthropological literature on our market for the past several years, not only because of its content, but also because of its innovative aesthetic form. The central focus of most chapters is the principal question of the usefulness of anthropology as a scientific discipline for society – what makes our science useful? What is the impact of social anthropology and ethnology on social events?

In their common introduction to the book, the editors Soňa G. Lutherová and Miroslava Hlinčíková present their opinions on the limits of scientific works and their purpose. They point out the application aspect of anthropology and the ability to apply the obtained knowledge in "addressing burning social problems" (p. 11). They thereby define applied anthropology as an independent sub-discipline of social and cultural anthropology, the aim of which is practice-oriented research with results applicable in various practical areas. It is also a specific "set of theoretical, methodological and methodical approaches" (pp. 12–13). All the book chapters focus on the different manners of applying the findings in practice through usefulness, participation or major engagement of experts in the public, social or institutional world.

In Chapter 1, Miroslava Hlinčíková elaborates the central topic of the book, i.e. applied anthropology and the ability to achieve social changes. She also reflects on the important topics and issues arising from research in connection with her position and relationship to partners in research. The author brings up many questions which, in the context of contemporary research, raise plenty of ethical dilemmas on a daily basis and which I consider fundamental: the questions of our position, unequal relationships between researchers and partners in research, the limits of academic work or the ability to contribute to social changes (p. 20). Along with the need to reflect on the unequal relationships in research, one question occurred to me while reading the book. As Marlene de Laine argues: "In contemporary fieldwork [...] the gap between researcher and subject has to be closed" (2000: 2), wouldn't it be more appropriate to replace the term *informer* (which appears in the introductory and in the final book chapter) with another term that would better correspond to the participative and non-hierarchic approach claimed by this chapter and by the entire book? I would also like to mention the duplicated text on pages 27 and 34 in connection with repeated citations of A. Appadurai. The author's reflections suggest that major engagement in social topics brings to anthropology an increased need for the art of "taking a position on different human issues" (p. 25) and that an imaginative equal sign can in fact be put between moral and anthropological responsibility, especially in connection with the need to react to "xenophobia, religious discrimination and all forms of cultural racism" and fundamentalism (p. 25).

In Chapter 2, Alexandra Bitušíková focused on applied anthropology and public space and on the question of how the application of anthropological methods can be beneficial to all those "who decide on the public space" (p. 42). Besides defining the public space from the anthropological perspective, the text deals with the possibilities

of "the application of anthropological methods used in the research and planning" of the public space (p. 43). Regarding the benefits and new possibilities for the use of applied anthropology, the author makes the readers familiar with REAPs (rapid ethnographic assessment procedures), i.e. intensive methods that were developed not only for deepening knowledge, but also for "strengthening the local community by involving its members in the research team" (p. 55). What I also consider important is self-criticism, i.e. the pointing out of the insufficient preparation of the students of ethnology in Slovakia regarding the art of applying the obtained theoretical knowledge in practical life and the capability of interdisciplinary cooperation (p. 66).

In the next chapter, Kamila Koza Beňová presents the essence of the feminist perspective applied in research and deals with her own complicated position as a researcher who is also a feminist and an activist. The text highlights again the question of usefulness of anthropological exploration (mainly in connection with its availability outside the enclosed academic world), which is, moreover, related to engagement and the voice of our heart. According to the author, ethnography is becoming feminist depending on who is conducting it, i.e. whether it is "in the hands of feminists" (p. 89). I assume that it is not exclusively women feminists, but everyone who claims feminist values and who explicitly and consciously applies the feminist perspective in ethnographic research, e.g. people outside the gender binary system (see Monro, 2005) or other excluded "minorities". In the final part, the author offers her own reflective story: I would like to highlight the author's critical reflection of the current situation in the civil sector in Slovakia, i.e. the functioning of the market principle and the creation of a competitive environment or personal networks, which is, in its essence, contrary to the original values of the political resistance movement. I also consider important her pointing out of the prevailing NGO-isation tendencies and the processes of "institutionalisation, professionalisation, depolitisation and demobilisation of the movements fighting for social" change, when organisa-

tions answer more to "their donors than to the people among whom they work" (p. 99).

In the penultimate chapter, the authors Helena Tužinská and Ľubica Voľanská deal with intercultural communication in Slovakia and with the reflections of the problems related to education in this field. Highly valuable is the fact that the authors use knowledge from their own practical work, i.e. from lecturing facilitation of seminars on intercultural communication and competences for employees of multinational corporations, state authorities and the academic sector. Their experience suggests that in spite of the participants' efforts to be open towards other cultures it is difficult to resist the prevailing stereotyping that relates to the "human need to simplify and organise social information" for the purposes of their easier comprehension and control (p. 124). The participants' expectations then often relate to the desire to obtain clear and permanent models and manuals of how (not) to deal with other cultures. The importance of applied anthropology in connection with the presentation of knowledge lies in the uneasy art of the experts to problematise these expectations, ideally through self-experience, and to shift the attention from labelling others "to the manners we classify ourselves" (p. 126).

In the last Chapter 5, Soňa G. Lutherová focuses on applied anthropology between science and art. The author deals with many important and in the current Slovak science relatively marginal issues related to a creative approach to research, such as the application of innovative methods of research; experimental genres and the formats of writing that reach beyond traditional analytical conventions; but also, for example, manipulation in relation to textual representation. This chapter deals broadly with ethnographic film and audio-visual techniques which are, in spite of their undoubted importance in anthropological tradition, used only marginally by contemporary experts in humanities. I would like to highlight the author's call (omnipresent between the lines) for spreading our research experience among the wider public not only through text but mainly as an experience for which the use of creative and innovative methods can be a suitable instrument of achieving or contributing to a social change. Apart from the known anthropological "interest in visual materials as objects" and the related "observation of interaction" between people and these objects (Rose, 2007: 2017), the author's findings also suggest that in spite of its temporary marginal nature, a certain form of playfulness, creativity and inventiveness in research (and related conscious crossing of the boundaries of the academic environment) has an important social benefit and importance.

The editors Soňa G. Lutherová and Miroslava Hlinčíková and the authors managed to cover quite a wide topic in almost 170 pages, which they personally consider very important and still little represented in the Slovak literature in the field of humanities – the topic of applied anthropology and applied research in general. In conformity with the reviewers of the book, I am of the view that it is an important contribution to the still little developed discussion, the importance of which is growing with respect to the dynamic development of (not only) European society. The book is an inspiring introduction to applied anthropology and presents to readers the important Slovak context in the different areas of research and its benefits to society.

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ZUZANA PANCZOVÁ:
Conspiracy Theories: Topics, Historical Contexts and Argumentation Strategies
(Konšpiračné teórie: témy, historické kontexty a argumentačné stratégie)
Publisher VEDA – Institute of Ethnology SAS, Bratislava, 2017, 155 p.

Conspiratorial interpretations of social reality have become part of reality. They are present in the public discourse as its integral part, and affect the consciousness and behaviour of a large number of people. As shown by public opinion polls, conspiracy theories are popular not only within certain strictly defined segments of society (e.g. among people with specific socio-demographical characteristics – education, age, profession, type of the place of residence, etc.), but are believed in by a large part of society, sometimes even by the majority. One such example is the United States where more than a half of the population still believes in a conspiratorial background of the murder of President John Kennedy in 1963 (Swift, 2013). According to recent research by the Institute for Public Affairs (Bútorová, Gyárfášová, 2017) and GLOBSEC Policy Institute (Milo, Klingová, Hajdu, 2018) in Slovakia, almost an equal share of the country's population is inclined to believe in various

conspiracy theories (one half up to around two-thirds).

The dissemination of conspiracy ideas in the era of advanced information and communication technologies has become a kind of epidemic. It is not only a good profit-making business for a wide range of obscure actors (authors, advertisers, sponsors), but also a tool in the hands of players with clear political and power objectives (in particular, rogue regimes and states, as well as radical or extremist movements). The impacts of toxic contents with a social message, which have recently been intentionally disseminated by conspiratorial and disinformation "media", on the behaviour of numerous masses of people in crucial situations is undeniable. Their impact on the fundaments of the social and political establishment of modern democracy can be devastating. The gradually published empirical studies which seek links between the results of important societal decisions in selected democratic countries and the ways of shaping the opinion environment of people who make such decisions (e.g. through participation in voting) lead to concerns about the growing power of conspiracy delusions, including considerations that without the conspiratorial awareness caused by activities on social networks the current US President would hardly be called Donald Trump. Or, that without the conspiracy-tuned campaign with slogans about the hegemony of the "Euro-bureaucracy", the United Kingdom and the European Union would hardly struggle with the Brexit deadlock today. Or, that in such case, the Dutch Parliament would have apparently ratified the EU's association agreement with Ukraine smoothly, without dealing with the results of the very strange referendum on this question, initiated by people who had suddenly appeared on the Dutch political and media scene like the genie let out of the bottle, while carefully hiding their full visual identity.

In mass society, conspiracy theories are a mass phenomenon – socially and politically relevant. This phenomenon should be explored systematically. Specifically explored should be the factors of its survival and reproduction, preferably within topical con-

texts. The biggest benefit of the noteworthy book *Conspiracy Theories: Topics, Historical Contexts and Argumentation Strategies* by ethnologist Zuzana Panczová lies precisely in the exploration of conspiracy theories as a mass phenomenon in socially relevant contexts.

The author has long dealt with conspiracy theories in a systematic manner. Three years ago, she edited the high-quality monothematic issue of *Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology* (number 3/2015, volume 63), dedicated to conspiracy theories, which was such an accomplishment that the entire domestic community specialised in historiography, sociology and political sciences could envy Slovak ethnologists. She later prepared and moderated a panel on rumours and conspiracy theories as part of the international conference "Ethnology in the Third Millennium: Topics, Methods, Challenges" (Smolenice, autumn 2016). Thirdly, she came with a unique publication in which she presents to readers issues related to conspiracy theories, the basic lines of the research of such theories, and the effects of conspiracy ideas as parts of the public, political and even scientific discourse.

As a professional ethnologist, Zuzana

Panczová offers in her book a description and interpretation of conspiracy contents that targets "end consumers" (recipients), some of whom are then involved in the development of the conspiratorial discourse either through dissemination of such content or by commenting and modified recycling. Thanks to targeted mapping, we get to topics which run rampant (any other expression would probably not be appropriate enough) in the Slovak media (not only "alternative") sphere – Jews, America, the West, capitalists, freemasons, foreigners, migrants, etc.

As Ted Goertzel noted, conspiracy thinking at the individual level is saturated with the individual's need to logically explain certain events under the conditions of uncertainty and the lack of control (Goertzel, 1994). The feeling of uncertainty and insufficient control can be multiplied in individuals in the late modernity period, when risk is becoming the dominant model of social and institutional behaviour in society (Matten, 2004) and when even society as such is becoming "risky" (Beck, 2009). Well-established patterns and structures, which just recently evoked feelings of certainty and stability, are disappearing and are replaced with new, not very comprehensible challenges and changes which disrupt the existing order and the adaptation to which requires intensive individual investments.

Post-Communist transformation is an illustrative example of such development. Society is fundamentally changing. People's ability to cope with the upcoming changes, handle the new life situation and apply their own skills affects their readiness to perceive and accept changes and, subsequently, the entire system that is derived from them. For many people, especially those for whom individual investments needed to cope with the upcoming changes and challenges are not necessarily taken for granted, such disrupting development cannot be random: there must be someone in the background who provoked, inspired, prepared and implemented it intentionally, someone powerful who is ready for everything and resistant against any disagreement – and especially, someone who is able to use it all to their own benefit and to the detriment of others.

Zuzana Panczová presents and analyses in her book authentic expressions of a similar interpretation of specific events in our country, in Europe and in the world which have in recent years emerged in the Slovak cyber space in huge numbers. It is no surprise that extreme political views are successful in this opinion environment, which is dealt with by the author in a separate chapter. Conspiracy ideas represent an integral part of the ideological credo of anti-system extremist political forces (as opposed to democratic and pro-system ones). The current Slovak radical scene is literally obsessed with conspiracies and it programmatically targets their instrumentalisation: it is much easier to convince supporters about simple and fast solutions (when, moreover, truth is within reach, it's enough to identify the culprit hidden in the background, behind the scene, in the backstage) than explain them the need for complex decisions with long duration and uncertain results.

At the end of her book, Zuzana Panczová concludes that "the research on conspiracy theories provides the possibility to better understand the signs of mistrust in the existing system and anxieties related to the negative image of contemporary society". I think that, as a researcher, she has successfully coped with her task. Her book will become a source of reference about conspiracy theories and about their research in Slovakia, and will surely be included in the list of mandatory literature for all those dealing with this issue in this country. It would also be desirable if these useful results of the author's research activities were utilised by those whose task should be to neutralise the destructive impacts of conspiracy delusions on the development of the democratic state and free society, i.e. journalists, teachers, civil activists, and democratic politicians, especially the ones in higher positions.

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"WHY LABELLING MATTERS"
ON SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ROMA/GYPSIES
IN EUROPE

TATIANA ZACHAR PODOLINSKÁ, DANIEL ŠKOBLA

Decision makers, governments, national policymakers, European institutions and as well as many scholars, not to speak about the general public, operate with the term "Roma/Gypsies" as if it was a fixed appellation for a monolithic ethnic group. Policies of the Council of Europe, EU strategies for inclusion of Roma, different position papers and other texts and documents label various groups of people with various social positions in society under one roof. Political parties, government and inter-government representatives across Europe often operate with the term "Roma" ignoring the fact that there are various groups of people and identities around the world with different Romani, Sinti, Travellers and various other origins. Moreover, the term "Roma" as it is used in most of these documents and in mainstream political and public discourse is imbued with implications of "socially excluded", "marginalized", "vulnerable", "poverty-stricken", "dependent on welfare" and many other adjectives which consequently generate resources for strategies, proposals, measures and action plans for example for "integration of Roma" into the mainstream society. The group labelled as "Roma", are a "convenient" and recurring target of "hard hand" policies, often serving as a populistic magnet for generating support in political preference polls of political parties of any kind.

Academic literature on Roma/Gypsies also often shows a preference for portraying Roma/Gypsy as a specific, unique, exclusivist group/groups of people, existing in a form of "cultural and ethnic diaspora" dispersed in Europe. In many times, this discourse, fixing the Roma as static group in a form of a "category" is in fact contributing and reinforcing general essentialist discourse, which understand Roma as a given and "fixed-in-the-world" group of people, disconnected, asocial and intentionally excluded, i.e. marginal in relation to the mainstream population.

No doubt, it is not possible to deny that a great number of persons belonging to various groups and subgroups of Roma, Sinti, Gypsies and Travellers and other, live in segregated conditions in deep economic hardship and are facing marginalisation and discrimination in many spheres of life. But these facts cannot be used as an excuse for

essentialisations leading to approaches and policies often mislead by those who design them. Moreover, the supposed homogeneity of Roma, constructed as poor and unconnected social actors, leads to simplified and erroneous explanation of the causes of poverty, blaming Roma agency itself as the foremost factor bringing about this condition. This perspective is deceiving because it overlooks structural conditions and conceals the agency of the dominant non-Roma majority, which generates and sustains the general environment, in which Roma groups live.

When discourse, both homogenising Roma and muting structural conditions and non-Roma agency, is reflected, mainstreamed and transformed into specific interventions, reconfirmed by many social scientists, it creates new strains and obstructs empowerment, participatory and bottom-up actions. At the same time, it might be reflected by Romani activists, leaders, scholars and representatives who call for ownership and better control over resources, political influence and public discourse, can be viewed by many as emerging Romani nationalism or radicalism. Whatever it may be called, it is a logical and understandable reaction on long lasting political and social hegemony of dominant "whites", non-Roma groups.

This volume of Slovak Ethnology is intended to explore how the power of ethnic labelling, categorization and conceptualization from the side of dominant non-Roma actors, puts a vulnerable minority into a subordinated position, and is conducive to production and reproduction of inequalities and social marginalization. It suggests that the static categories, representation of Roma/Gypsies, and overall fixed characteristics of an entire group create a falsely homogenous and harmful image of Roma that conforms to negative stereotypes. The volume is also a reminder of the role scientists can play in a struggle to maintain their dominant position in the social hierarchy through accumulation and reinforcing of symbolic capital.

In drafting the call for this special volume we called into play recent broader social theory discourse on social power and impact of ethnic labelling (Eriksen, 1991, 1995), categorization (Brubaker, 2002, 2014), social networks (Putnam, 2000) and forms of symbolical power and capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1994). According to Brubaker, ethnicity should be studied as a category of practice, observed and described from a dynamic perspective at a concrete level as the agenda of concrete actors (organizations, political parties or leaders, activists, etc.). Brubaker insists that we as scientists cannot uncritically adopt categories of ethno-political practice as our categories of social analysis (2002, 167). In this regard, the volume applies Brubaker's *non-groupist approach* studying the Roma ethnicity as a category of practice, analysing processes of constructing and working with the label "Roma" in the agenda of concrete actors, institutions and organizations.

As a sort of open discussion, we encouraged authors of the presented volume to make comments on (1) the present-day controversies among Romani Studies' academics and the general social theory and anthropology and (potential) ethical and practical consequences of adopting the approach of speaking beyond the "ethnicity" and "groups", (2) to contextualize construction of "Roma" as a group (Barth /Ed./, 1969) and the usage of labels "Gypsies" and "Roma" in ethno-political praxis in various parts Europe, and to reflect potential country and discourse dependant differences.

In political discourse we frequently face forced or intentional "ethnicisation" of the categories "Rom/Roma" and "Roma nation". Starting from the classical definitions of the nation in terms of enumerating the elements that together constitute the ethnic group or nation (Hroch /Ed./, 2003) in the case of the Roma, we find ourselves in

serious problems in the key points of these definitions. "Roma nation" consists of different heterogeneous ethnic groups without a state, without their own territory, without a common language, without a unified religion, common customs or traditions, without awareness of a unified collective identity and historical memory (Podolinská, 2015: 488). From this point of view, the "traditional type of ethnicity" (based on traditional definitions of the "nation" in terms of common origin, shared language and collective memory etc.), is often intentionally over-communicated, which may "disqualify" those groups/communities, that do not fit into this 19th century definition of "nation". The current European Roma elites speak in this context about a thin layer of "international" or "professional" Roma (Marušiaková, Popov, 2001: 15-17), within the so-called "global Roma nationalism". Therefore they are attempting to construct a "Roma nation" as a transnational entity, regardless of the link to a specific Roma group, state or country, with a strong emphasis on certain constitutive elements of "Roma" ("Romipen", "Romanipen") and insist on the use of umbrella label "Roma", come up with new insights into Roma history, put a strong emphasis on the Holocaust and the standardization of the Roma language (Op. cit: 17, Marushiakova et al., 2001). Although some researchers are actively involved in this direction, others strongly criticize it as "methodological nationalism" (Cottaar, 1998; Lucassen, Willems, Cottaar Eds., 1998). From the analytical point of view, without taking sides, this is an extremely interesting phenomenon and a unique opportunity to monitor ethnogenesis in conditions of late modernity. At the level of political and civic practice (we are now out of the plane of scientific discourse), this process is absolutely legitimate and all the elements of romanticism, historical idealization and mythmaking (as sometimes is with an irony emphasized) are all the elements of the identity of all the surrounding, already established European nations existing within the nation-state (Podolinská, 2015: 485-491).

On the other hand, "de-ethnization", speaking on Roma using (merely) social markers (describing Roma as "social group" or segregated, marginalized people with lower social status) may not only foster a reductionist picture of Roma as a "culture of poverty" (Lewis, 1966) but represent also a crucial obstacle in the current process of Roma ethnogenesis and the right to construct the idea of "nation" on (trans)ethnic principles and positive constitutive elements.

From this perspective, it is important to highlight, that both ethnicisation (over-communication of ethnicity) as de-ethnicisation (under-communication of ethnicity) may serve as practical (political) tools for an objective fixing of the unfavourable position of the Roma ethnic minority in contemporary Europe, which is still deeply rooted in the idea of a union consisting of "nation states" with historically fixed boundaries, territories, privileges and positions of powers (Podolinská, 2017b). At least we as the scientists should be aware, without explaining, that – for instance – the "group of Slovaks" is the same "social construct" and imagined community (Anderson, 1983) as the "group of Roma", we would easily foster existing racist public discourse (Podolinská, 2015, 2017a, 2017b). Thus, even methodologically correct and neutral "speaking beyond the ethnicity, culture and group" in the case of Roma/Gypsies in Europe may in fact foster their further marginalization and invisibilization. That is why it is extremely important to thematise the impact of labelling in order to improve the sensitivity and reflexivity of our (scientific) language and approach, especially in the case of vulnerable groups and communities.

Last but not least, we want to emphasize that we have concentrated here on the

various forms of the social construction process of the Roma label, in particular, to highlight the need to distinguish analytical and practical categories in the current scientific discourse of Romani studies. However, we also want to emphasize that in employing the critical methodological reflection (of any) abstract or imagined groups/communities we do not automatically "deny the right to their existence", that is, it does not mean that we are not aware of their social and practical "existence". On the contrary, these groups/communities work in the realm of practice as real actors with real agendas.

In Romani studies, however, it is necessary to critically reflect on cognitive grasping of social reality as well as our verbalisation of it through categories. People socially construct, create groups of objects and phenomena, categorize, and adopt categorization schemes, and then behave and act on the basis of these schemes. Social construction and its language representations in the form of labels enable us to organize our social practices more efficiently and manage a substantial part of social behaviour (Eriksen, 1995; Brubaker, 2002). We have tried to highlight in the title of the volume ("Why labelling matters") this "power" of language and social representations, the need for their critical methodological reflection, and finally the ethical "responsibility" for them.

Regarding the above written, this volume of the Slovak Ethnology/Slovenský národopis journal is based on contributions exploring the question how the label "Roma" is conceptualized and used in academia, policies and what is the impact on social construction of collective Roma identities in Europe. This was conceived as a main research objective within the framework of the VEGA project *Label "Roma" – Emic and Ethic Reflections and Social Impact* (VEGA 2/0099/15). This volume of the journal has assembled a group of distinguished authors from various European countries, who are exploring the question of "constructing" "Roma" as a group and attributing them "labels" from different angles and theoretical perspectives.

Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov look at what they call historical and contradictory process in which "labelling" of Roma developed. More specifically, their article explores the question of the relationship between academia on the one hand and the political ideologies on the other. For the authors the most important, but open question is, what is the political responsibility of academia and whether academia is primarily examining the reality and bringing new knowledge, or it is merely presenting the reality according to pre-defined norms.

Sofiya Zahova's contribution explores the process of ascribing "Roma" labels to various groups in the EU-integration discourse in the Republic of Montenegro. She pointed out the assumption that the definition of the Roma groups was done in the top-down approach. The terminology and ethnonyms implanted from the EU discourse thus, had influenced the state politics of identity regarding supporting and promoting Roma identities. She discusses the impact of this discourse on legislation and agenda of non-governmental organizations, that supposedly aim to flag Romani identity and language, according to the activism models taken from abroad.

Ismael Cortés Gómez, sharing similar research interests, reconstructs the genesis of contemporary debates on Roma in Europe, since the early 1990s. Based on discourse analysis he focuses on official documents and key experts' opinions in the Europeanization process in the sphere of human and minority rights. The author examines the genesis of EU Roma policies pointing out two core antinomies, which are on the one hand the ethnicity blind liberal conception of individual emancipation and on the other hand the ethno-communitarian conception of collective emancipa-

tion promoted by NGO-networks, which left the power differences in democratic elected bodies and public institutions unaddressed. To overcome such antinomies the author explores different political scenarios, as pathways for Roma equality.

Tomáš Hrustič in his study analysed the opinions of the Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), which cover the situation of all national minorities in all parties of the Council of Europe who signed and ratified the treaty. While the situation of Roma, Sinti and Travellers is an important issue in most of these documents, the author analysed how the FCNM opinions use the terms Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Gypsies and other appellations in respect to groups and people who are discussed in these texts. According to the author, the FCNM as an instrument which is in existence for 20 years, was authored by various compositions of experts in the Advisory Committee and reflected various trends and socio-political situations in Europe. The author takes advantage of his personal experience as a member of the Advisory Committee between 2014 and 2018 and reflects on the most recent developments in approaches towards labelling the Roma.

Sławomir Kapralski in his paper critically analyses two main approaches to Roma identity, cultural essentialism and social relationism. He argues for a multidimensional concept of identity which would incorporate both the cultural and social perspectives and which would be supplemented by an historical approach. He is building his concept on a volume of empirical data, which he collected in long-term research, in which he intended to show that groups with similar cultural values may have different standpoints regarding some important issues, for example gender constructs, and that culturally different groups may have similar views. The author presents Roma identities as the result of "double encoding" whereby the existential anxieties associated with transgression of the social boundary are transformed into concrete fears related to cultural boundaries, and vice versa. This process is framed in history and he illustrates this impact by the different fate of Polish and Slovak Roma communities during the Holocaust which still influences the way in which these communities encode the boundary between Roma and non-Roma into the boundary between cultural constructs of men and women.

A rather different angle to the construction of Roma identities, and at the same time, a more radical perspective is offered by Jaroslav Šotola, Mario Rodríguez Polo and Daniel Škobla.The authors critically discuss the prevailing construction of Roma in social science of the Slovak and Czech provenience as the "exotic", problematic and disconnected "others". For the authors making Roma exotic is a form of analytical escapism, which means that instead of building argumentation on historical, economic and political facts and analysing social and power hierarchies, some social scientists are focusing on phenomena, which are visible on the surface. The authors argue that diverse social positionalities of Roma are often ignored, and Roma are viewed inappropriately as a socially homogeneous group. The authors try to provide inside optics to a different Roma conceptualisation and explore interrelations between the overrepresentation of supposed Roma otherness and the muted existence of dominant non-Roma. Using approaches close to whiteness studies, the authors discuss the role of non-Roma agency and its social power, omnipresent in structures of everyday life, as a key factor in etic constructions of Roma.

Besides these main studies we also decided to include into the volume interesting information from archival research done by Julieta Rotaru on the case of the "Netot" Roma. Her report is an historical and linguistic investigation on this alleged

ethno-professional category, demonstrating that "Netot" was a political construction conceived between 1831–1832 by the Russian administration and the local politicians in order to solve the "problem" of the errant groups, by creating a political reason to dispatch them to the defeated Ottoman Empire. Finally, a reader of this volume will find three reviews of recent publications, all written and edited by scientists from the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

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