

CRITICAL APPROACHES TO ROMANI STUDIES

May 18 – May 20, 2022

Hybrid conference at Södertörn University, Stockholm

ABSTRACTS

Organizers:

Critical Romani Studies Department, Södertörn University
Romani Studies Program, Central European University
Romani Studies Program at FXB Centre, Harvard University
European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture

HANNA ABAKUNOVA: BETWEEN ARCHIVES AND ORAL HISTORY: SURVIVAL OF ROMA IN OCCUPIED SOVIET UKRAINE DURING WORLD WAR II	4
BOGUS ALEXANDRU: TOWARDS CRITICAL ROMANI STUDIES FROM BELOW AND TO THE LEFT	5
EGIL ASPREM: THE PROBLEM(S) OF ROMANI MAGIC: CRITICAL PROLEGOMENA TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH	6
RUSSEL PATRICK BROWN: TOWARDS ROMANI INTELLECTUALISM: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AS METHOD OF ACTIVISM	8
IONUT CIORTA AND SIMONA TOROTCOI: CONCEPTUALIZING ROMA ACADEMIC ACTIVISM - BETWEEN GRASSROOTS RESEARCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE	9
STEFANIA COTEI: DISCOVERING WHITENESS: A CRITICAL AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF HOW MINDFULNESS CAN HELP US MOVE BEYOND THE VICTIM PERPETRATOR PARADIGM	11
GREGOIRE COUSIN: THE DEPORTATION OF THE SO CALLED "ȚIGANII NOMAZI" IN TRANSNISTRIA.....	12
MARINA CSIKÓS: DOING ROMA FEMINIST KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION - THE CASE OF THE "ROMA WOMEN WEAVING EUROPE" EXHIBITION.....	13
MARIAFRANCESCA D'AGOSTINO AND FIORE MANZO: THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF ANTI-GYPSYSISM: THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF COSENZA.....	14
MARIA GEORGIANA DUMITRU: EPISTEMIC PRIVILEGE AND RESEARCH ON ROMA ROUGH SLEEPERS IN LONDON	16
JEKATYERINA DUNAJEVA: THE ROLE OF CHURCHES IN ROMA EDUCATION	17
EVGENIJA FILOVA: THE ARTIST AS A GYPSY, THE GYPSY AS AN ARTIST: ANTIGYPSYISM AMONG POST-YUGOSLAV ARTISTS.....	18
ALLISON HULMES AND PETER UNWIN: CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON ANTI-ROMANI AND ANTI-TRAVELLER RACISM IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND PRACTICE IN THE UK	20
ALENKA JANKO SPREIZER: THE DESTINY OF ROMA AND SINTI DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS COMMEMORATION, DISTORTION, DENIAL: THE CASE OF SLOVENIA	22
GABRIELA MARQUES GONÇALVES: DESTROYING, HEALING AND REMEMBERING: THINKING ANTIGYPSYISM IN A DIALOGUE WITH ACHILLE MBEMBE	23
ANA BELEN MARTIN SEVILLANO: DEPICTING THE ROMANI SELF: THE CHALLENGE OF REPRESENTATION IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES	25
LESIA PAGULICH: EUROPEAN MODERNITY AND THE RACIALIZATION OF ROMA.....	26
DELIA POPESCU: THE TEXT BEYOND ITSELF: ROMANI IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION IN ROMANIAN SECRET POLICE FILES	27
SUNITA MEMETOVIC: ANTI-BEGGING PROVISIONS IN EUROPE THROUGH THE LENS OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY	28
FERNANDO RUIZ MOLINA ANTIGYPSYISM: FOUNDATIONS OF AN IDEOLOGY OF HATRED TOWARDS ROMA.....	29
JELENA SAVIC: GADJO PRIVILEGES.....	31

DANIEL ŠKOBLA: ROMANI PEOPLE AS THE “SUSPECT COMMUNITY” AND THE SLOVAK GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC	32
MARKO STENROOS: DRAFTING THE NATIONAL POLICY ON ROMA FOR FINLAND 2023-2030: EXPERIENCES ABOUT PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION.....	34
LAURA TITTEL: THE DEMONSTRATION OF STATE POWER IN VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ROMA	36
NATALIIA TOMENKO: REPRESENTATION OF ROMA FEMALE AS FORTUNETELLER IN MASS CULTURE.....	38
KRISZTINA VARGA: THE NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF SELF-TAUGHT GYPSY ARTISTS (1979)	40
EMMA VÁRNAGY: ‘PURELY GYPSY BEHAVIOR’: THE ECTHR AND NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES IN RACIST POLICE VIOLENCE CASES	41
MARIUS WAMSIEDEL: THE ROMA ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE: SYNCRETIC RACISM AND SUBTLE FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION	42
SARAH WERNER BOADA: “SINGING FOR THE JAMBAS”: DILEMMAS AROUND INSTITUTIONAL REAPPROPRIATIONS OF ROMANI FEMINIST RESISTANCE IN SPAIN	44
ROMA ZIMENKO: LOW KISS: POLITICS OF CANCELING CHACHO IN UKRAINE. SELF-CENSORSHIP WITHIN ROMANI MOVEMENT, LIMITS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOURSE, AND IMMANENT CRITIQUE OF CLAIMS OVER ROMANI IDENTITY	46

Hanna Abakunova: Between Archives and Oral History: Survival of Roma in Occupied Soviet Ukraine During World War II

"The proposed paper examines the ways and methods which Roma employed to survive in Ukraine under the German occupation. After the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany and its Romanian ally, the territory of Soviet Ukraine was divided into several occupied zones, three of which were under German control: Distrikt Galizien, Military Administrative Zone, and Reichskommissariat Ukraine. This research aims to identify and compare the ways and methods which Roma used to self-rescue themselves in the aforementioned territories.

The other level of comparison is related to approaching the sources. The analysis is based on documents found in various archives in Ukraine, Germany, and Israel along with oral recollections of Roma survivors. In many cases, oral recollections reveal information that cannot be verified through archival findings. Therefore, there is a methodological question, how to approach oral testimonies and what a researcher can learn from them. Thus, usage of the Roma oral history accounts helps a researcher to introduce the Roma voice regarding their survival in occupied Ukraine and demonstrate how this perspective differs or corresponds to the archival materials.

Applying the critical reading approach and case study method, this research answers the following questions: what was the difference in the circumstances in which Roma found themselves after the occupation? Whether Roma had enough information regarding their persecution to make a decision for self-rescue? What was the difference in ways to survive within settled, semi-nomadic, and nomadic Roma communities? How reliable are Roma oral testimonies in comparison to archival sources? Examining those questions will help to shed new light on Roma's surviving strategies if any, and Roma's self-rescue on an individual and collective level.

Biography: Hanna (Anna) Abakunova obtained her Ph.D. in History from the University of Sheffield (UK). Currently, Dr. Abakunova is a researcher in Romani Studies at the Hugo Valentin Centre, Uppsala University (Sweden). Previously, she was a postdoctoral researcher at Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, and Yad Vashem. Abakunova's research interests lie in the area of history and memory of the persecution of Roma and the Holocaust in Ukraine, particularly, rescue and self-rescue of Roma and Jews in a comparative perspective, inter-ethnic relations, and construction of memory about the persecution of Roma by the Nazi and Soviet regimes.

Bogus Alexandru: Towards Critical Romani Studies From Below and to the Left

The point of this article is to join the effort of non-Romani scholars to think about their whiteness, their privilege and see how to foster more inclusive and egalitarian academic communities. In taking part in this global debate on the issue, the point is to open the field of Romani studies to different and at times diverging methodologies and approaches, thus making the field more pluralistic and inclusive. This change of optics is apparent in the title of Dorobanțu and Gheorghe's "Problema românească" (2019), „the Romanian question” which implies not only that the issue to be taken up is with the majority population and its historical role in slavery and the Holocaust, but also that the manner in which is done inverts an old racist concept used throughout Europe in the inter-war period of the last century, namely “the roma question” (or the “Jewish question”). Thus, the point here is that we need to talk about the role and actions of the majority population on the minority (slavery, Holocaust, state assimilation) and not only talk about the minority population in terms of relative poverty, school admission and so on. We need to acknowledge and speak out against systemic and institutional racism instead of focusing exclusively on improving socio-economic stats.

Biography: Boguș Alexandru is currently a community facilitation coordinator at Centrul Cultural Clujean where he also runs the Jivipen project – a culturally mediated social intervention – and social inclusion expert on behalf of the Babeș-Bolyai University in the Pata-Cluj 2 project, an EEA grants project aimed at desegregating the Pata-Rât area in Cluj-Napoca. With a Ph.D. in Philosophy, he authors political articles in books or journals, translates at times. He is involved in the local anti-racist and housing movements since their inception more than a decade ago.

Egil Asprem: The Problem(s) of Romani Magic: Critical Prolegomena to Historical Research

From the earliest sources documenting their presence in Europe, the Roma were associated with a peculiar category native to Europe: “magic”. The association with magic is a *longue durée* in representations of Roma, yet its meaning, contexts and consequences have received little scholarly attention. This paper presents a critical prolegomenon to historical research on how the Roma were inscribed into European discourses on “magic”, addressing three major problem areas: 1) representations and reflexivity; 2) anti-magic polemics in the shaping of antigypsyist practices; and 3) whether Romani practices labelled “magic” can be re-represented in ways that recover historical agency.

The first issue of representations concerns the need for critical reflection on disciplinary biases. Similar to how representations of “the East” and “Africa” have amounted to reproducible clichés primarily concerned with the identity of “the West” through constructing its “absolute Other” (e.g. Mbembe 2001), representations of Roma have functioned as an internal Other. The notion of magic has played a central role in this process, which can only be fully understood by looking at how “magic” itself has been an ambiguous Other in relation first to Christianity and then to Enlightenment identities. I will briefly introduce a critical perspective on the operations of the category “magic” in order to better understand its function in representations of Roma. The main focus, however, is on how such representations were reproduced in early gypsylorist scholarship in the nineteenth century (notably Leland 1891, Wlislöcki 1891), in part via this speaker’s own discipline, the history of religions.

Related to the foregoing, we must look specifically at the role of magic in shaping antigypsyist practices in Europe. This is a complicated issue. First, we must not let modern narratives of the “great witch hunts” colour our thinking; while the Roma appeared in Western Europe around the time that the witch hunts began, we have no evidence that they were specifically targeted. Instead, we must recognize that the battle against sorcery, divination, fortune-telling, idolatry, and superstition for the most part took less spectacular, yet still consequential, shapes: exclusion from congregations, criminalization in the penal code, stigmatization and ridicule. This was particularly the case in those northern European countries that sided with the Protestant Reformation, which launched campaigns against divination and fortune-telling – subcategories of magic that became particularly associated with the Roma. While Protestant Reformers never actually succeeded in wiping out “superstition” (Coy 2020), the attempts would influence emerging ethics of work that contributed to the stigmatization and exclusion of Roma.

Finally, is it possible to move from critiquing representations of “Romani magic” to recovering the historical agency of flesh-and-blood Roma? I suggest that a first step is to recognize the existence of a thriving “occult economy” in Europe, in which particularly Romani women were among the suppliers of services. Highlighting the significant European demand for magical

services decenters narratives of the “rational West” and its “magical others” and let us interpret Romani activity in terms of both economic and cultural exchange.

Biography: Egil Aspren is professor of the history of religions at Stockholm University, specializing in European occult, esoteric, and magical currents. He has recently received a grant from the Swedish Research Council for the project “Roma in the European History of Magic: Transnational Entanglements of Race, Class, Gender, and the Occult, ca. 1417-1900”.

Russel Patrick Brown: Towards Romani Intellectualism: Autoethnography as Method of Activism

The marches of marginalized peoples towards full human rights have always required a fierce, diverse intellectualism as a method of activism. Alongside political protest, humanitarian aid, cultural preservation and education, philosophical debate among the marginalized and in association with allies has been central to the advancement of independence from the hegemonic. In the context of the Roma, Sinti, in this paper I propose autoethnographic frameworks as points of departure to the recognition and generation of our own cultures of intellectualism and our freedom from oppressive norms and the research methodologies that support them. Non-Roma allies have been critical to the study of oppressive systems and raising awareness on a variety of issues, but form only part of a liberating research paradigm. Diverse intellectual thought, independent as well as inclusive of positivism, among Roma, Sinti people requires agency to tell our own stories, to reflect upon them and uncover our own epistemology. In the process extant, hidden systems of knowledge are traced (and perhaps kept private) alongside new discoveries in the fields of activism. Intellectual traditions of Black people and People of Color (e.g. Paul Gilroy, Bell Hooks), Indigenous people (Joy Harjo, Paul Whitnui) and Queer/Trans people (Jack Halberstam, Paul Preciado) inspire my approach to autoethnography as method of PaR and practice-as-research-activism (PaRA). With this methodology and activist ancestry in place, I explore my own family's traditions as Bashaldé (musicians), our tradition of traveling in caravans along the Appalachian Mountain trails for over a century, and lastly my own activism with other Roma, Sinti and non-Roma. The American experience, with its attendant architectures of post/colonialism, contextualizes my narrative while a broader international conversation on PaR situates my methodology. The outcomes of this research include forging new paths of connection and healing within myself and my communities; generating new works of dance, music and research texts; and supporting Roma, Sinti people in our journey to join the great intellectual traditions of those who have come before.

Biography: Russell Patrick Brown is a Queer, American Romani living with disabilities in New York City. His research uses practice-as-research to explore dance and the impact of technology on human movement and embodiment. His first published text, "'This Little Wooden World': choreonavigating maritime dance", was released this year and opens the book, "Celebrating Flamenco's Tangled Roots: The Body Questions." He studied Irish Studies and Performance Studies in his MA at New York University and Arts Practice Research at the University of Limerick. He works as a techno-wizard (harper, coder, stepdancer and fortune teller) and is an activist with The Roma People's Project at Columbia University and with Chacho Bashepen, a networking resource for Roma, Sinti performers.

Ionut Ciorta and Simona Torotcoi: Conceptualizing Roma Academic Activism - Between Grassroots Research and Social Change

For a long period, the Roma have been the subject of numerous anthropological and sociological studies, which were led by non-Roma scholars. Thus, the nature of knowledge production on Roma was exclusively external, and sometimes, exclusionary. More recently, the number of Roma scholars in academia has increased, and therefore, the subjective (phenomenological) paradigm became more prevalent within Roma research. Many of the Roma academics used their work as a tool of activism, advancing an agenda in favor of community empowerment and recognition, as well as advocating against the traditional thinking about knowledge production on Roma. At the same time, some critics argued against the lack of objectivity of Romani studies.

Through this paper, we seek to explore a new concept of Roma Academic Activism (RAA) – its conceptual delimitations and approaches on the knowledge production on Roma. While we acknowledge the longstanding debate on Roma knowledge production and its objectivity (and lack thereof), and its impact on policy-making, we have not come across studies that focus on Roma Academic Activism (RAA) and how it can bridge an important debate in the scholarship produced on Roma. Engaging with a critical realist methodological approach, we aim to theoretically situate RAA, its roles as an emancipatory and intellectual movement, as well as its potential for social change for the Roma.

The paper starts with a discussion on the different phases of knowledge production on Roma and key characteristics of the transnational Roma movement. Based on the identified literature, interviews will be conducted with Roma and non-Roma scholars, which will help us engage in an analysis of discourses that can shape an understanding of the RAA as an emerging field of Roma activism and Roma academia. The paper concludes with potential avenues to further enhance the analytical purchase of RAA as an emerging concept.

Biography: Ionut Cioarta is a Roma from Romania, a student at the final stages of his Ph.D. undertaken at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, Scotland. His research varies from social work and Roma activism to social justice, homelessness, or universal basic income. Currently, Ionut conducts a study with I-SPHERE (Institute for Social Policy, Housing, Equalities Research), exploring the phenomenon of homelessness amongst the Roma population in the UK. He also collaborates with two Roma local organisations in Glasgow (Govanhill area), and as a tutor in social work at Strathclyde University.

Simona Torotcoi is a consultant on Roma inclusion for UNICEF Romania. In 2020, she received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the Central European University (CEU) as a Yehuda Elkana Fellow. Besides European higher education policy, her main research interests include the study of public policies, especially access to higher education, youth employment and political participation, and minority policies. Simona is a Ph.D. graduate from the Central European University (Public Policy Department, Budapest) and holds a MSc. in Public Administration from

Leiden University, Leiden (Netherlands). She has gained a diverse practical and research experience in the field of inclusion. Being a Roma activist, Simona was involved in activities of Young Roma Maramures, ERGO Network, the Roma Education Fund, Phiren Amenca, and the OSCE/ODHIR. She has also acted as a Global Teaching Fellow at the Bard College Berlin, teaching courses such as methods in social studies, equality and inclusion policies in Europe, academic research in the humanities and social sciences. She is currently involved in a mentorship program for Roma girls in Romania supported by E-romnja, and is tutoring Roma students from the Roma Graduate Preparation Program at CEU.

Stefania Cotei: Discovering Whiteness: A Critical Autoethnography of How Mindfulness can Help us Move beyond the Victim Perpetrator Paradigm

Whiteness is a habitus that contaminates societal waters and those who swim in them. This essay uses critical race theory approaches to argue that Romanians have been trained to see their whiteness as a desired social norm, and therefore to feel free from the responsibility of addressing the injustice it causes in society. By exploring personal embodied experiences through a critical autoethnography, the author shows how the unaddressed legacy of past crimes and injustices sustained by white supremacy continue to inform the marginalization of Roma in Romania. The essay argues that the body, as a knowledge making and keeping tool, informs academic consciousness and helps navigate the intersections of white supremacy, patriarchy, and other institutionalized oppressive forces. Autoethnography is used as an embodied, introspective, and reflective tool to explore Sarah Ahmed's phenomenology of whiteness through a theory of implication, and to account for legacies of systemic violence. This essay focuses on personal subjectivity to help bring compassion through mindfulness and understanding of the paradoxes and nuances of the victim-perpetrator dichotomy. Moral implications are examined through a reconciliation of the body to the present moment, and therefore expose impacts on personal well-being and morality that come from Romania's troublesome past of economic and sociocultural profiting from its Roma population.

Biography: Stefania Cotei graduated from The George Washington University with a BA in International Affairs, was a U.S. Naval Officer, and taught as a Fulbright Fellow at the University of Transylvania, Braşov. She just finished her MA in Sociocultural Anthropology at the University of Bern, where she studied anti-Roma racism in Romania. Stefania will pursue a Ph.D. in History of Consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz starting in September.

Gregoire Cousin: The Deportation of the so Called "țigani nomazi" in Transnistria

In 1942, the Romanian regime of Antonescu deported approximately 25,500 Roma to camps in the Transnistrian governorate of present-day Ukraine. Based on a nationwide census conducted on 25 May 1942, the deportation took place in two stages. First, from June 1942, 11,500 people were deported under the category of țigani nomazi (nomadic gypsies) and then, in September 1942, 13,000 people under the category of țigani nenomazi (non-nomadic gypsies). Several case studies develop local examples in the case of the September 1942 deportation, But the literature offers only a patchy overview of the June 1942 deportation, and so the present paper will focus on this June deportation.

According to the operational plan of the General Gendarmerie Inspectorate, the families of 'țigani nomazi' were arrested during June 1942 by the gendarmes. The gendarmerie legions rounded up the people who were then transported on foot, with their own vehicles and animals, to the jurisdiction of the nearby regional gendarmerie inspectorate. The people are then transferred to the custody of another gendarmerie legion. The convoys crossed the country for more than two months, arriving in an ad hoc transfer zone around the town of Tighinia and then being taken to camps in the Golta Judet (Mykolaiv Oblast of present-day Ukraine). This deportation required intense coordination between the gendarmeries, which left some documentation in the archives.

The conveying on foot is based on the use of the (real or supposed) mobility resources of the 'nomads' in terms of vehicles and capital. What are the elements that motivated this choice? Several converging lines emerge from the literature. On the one hand, the resources of the Romanian state were limited to organise train convoys, on the other hand, deportation, from one place to another, kept the final destination secret. Finally, based on interviews with survivors and descendants, I will hypothesise that the transfer of people with their possessions, by giving substance to the illusion of a transfer to agricultural land, limited Roma resistance. This illusion evaporated, according to the interviews, on arrival in the ad hoc transfer zone of Tighinia where systematic confiscation of property is organised before transfer to the camps.

Biography: Grégoire Cousin holds a Ph.D. in Public and Comparative Law from the Universities of Tours and Florence. His doctoral research was on the legal status of the migration of Romanian Roma. He is member of the academic board of Urba-Rom, and he was between 2013 and 2017 the main field researcher in the French team of the MigRom project at the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. His MigRom research is on the anthropology of power in and out of Roma communities. He was MSCA fellowship at the University of Verona with a project about marriage and social structure in a Roma community of Tulcea. He is now post-doc fellowship for the Fondation Pour la Mémoire de la Shoah is doing a quantitative research about Roma deportation in Transnistria.

Marina Csikós: Doing Roma Feminist Knowledge Production - The Case of the "Roma Women Weaving Europe" Exhibition

This thesis explores contemporary Roma feminist knowledge production, with a focus on art. Due to the consequences of the social-economic-political system which maintains the power and privileges of white, middle-class men in Europe, the vast majority of Roma women have not been in a position that would allow them to influence discourses about knowledge production. Their experiences were therefore not taken into account. But as Michel Foucault said, „Where there is power, there is resistance” (Foucault, 1978, 95), so it was just a matter of time for Roma women to start reacting collectively and challenge mainstream knowledge production. Inspired by scholarly works women of color have published in the USA since the 1980s, Roma feminist scholars, activists, and artists are challenging mainstream knowledge production about “Roma” in Europe and worldwide. The aim of this thesis is to discuss Roma feminist knowledge production, which challenges mainstream knowledge about Roma, by drawing on the lived experiences, culture and traditions of the Romani people, from their social-political-economic standpoints in the societies. In 2019 I did a three-month internship at the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture (ERIAC) in Berlin. ERIAC together with the Rumänisches Kulturinstitut organized the Roma feminist exhibition “Roma Women Weaving Europe”. The core of my thesis is an analysis of how six artworks that were part of the Berlin exhibition contribute to Roma feminist knowledge production.

Biography: Marina Csikós is a Roma feminist from Hungary. She holds an MA in critical gender studies from the Central European University, where she focused her research on anti-racism, feminist knowledge production, and intersectionality. Currently, she is a colleague of the Phiren Amencia International Network (Brussels, Belgium) where Marina works on challenging racism and discrimination while working with marginalized young people. Moreover, she is also a policy fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, where she researches how the Hungarian Roma inclusion strategies address Roma girls and women. She has been involved in the Romani movement for 10 years and engaged in different activities with several Roma organizations in Europe. Marina is also passionate about the art world and contributes to different artistic initiatives with her critical reflections, research, and coordination skills.

Mariafrancesca D’Agostino and Fiore Manzo: The Spatial Politics of Anti-gypsyism: The Role of Identity in the Urban Transformation of Cosenza

This article investigates the problem of anti-Gypsyism in the city of Cosenza (Calabria, Italy) to highlight the mechanisms through which it operates and that can explain its continuous reproduction over the last twenty years. The relevance of this case study is given by the presence of heterogeneous Roma groups, resulting by migratory processes that occurred in different periods, which have settled in Cosenza making visible housing policies and discriminatory acts only apparently disconnected.

We will in particular focus our analysis on two distinctive groups. The first includes Italian citizens who for decades lived in an informal camp, until when in the late 1990s most of them were relocated in an official “Roma village”, while a smaller number had access to public housing. The second group instead reached Cosenza recently, as soon as the enlargement of UE facilitated massive inflows of Roma coming from Romania and Bulgaria. As we will see, these new arrivals have had a profound impact, in particular encouraging the redefinition of the Roma identity along with patterns that, initially, stressed their different ethnic identity as a resource to regenerate the river areas in which they established, but that in 2015 culminated with a brutal campaign of criminalization and expulsion from the city. An evolution that has gradually involved also the Italian Roma community who were settled nearby those coming from eastern Europe.

Observing the overall situation of Roma in Cosenza, it thus returns complex patterns of “differential inclusion” that, following the main argument stated in this analysis, well reflect the urban transformation of the city. More directly, our case study intends to show how, in the city of Cosenza, the discursive frames within which Roma identities have been constituted have been representing for years a relevant device to legitimize new hypothesis of urban development. Hypothesis that, on one hand, include deserving and creative classes of citizens, while on the other hand make invisible the most vulnerable. All this leads to the idea that anti-Gypsyism can’t be interpreted only as a historical, political or cultural problem since it becomes fully intelligible also showing its structural matrix: highlighting the strict nexus linking identity policies with the spatial and economic order pursued at the local level. Yet, promoting the rights and inclusion of Roma also means reflecting on how a certain cultural dimension has been strategically constructed and reproduced over the last two decades to build a neoliberal city attracting new investments, but that also radicalize the fracture between those who benefit from these dynamics and the “others”, Roma and non-Roma, that suffer their consequences.

Biography: Mariafrancesca D’Agostino is Assistant Professor at the University of Calabria, where she teaches Political Sociology and Migration and Cooperation. Her current research interests include participation and mobility pertaining to European Roma minorities and refugees. Among her most recent publications: *Migranti, mercati nidificati e sostenibilità in territori fragili: i casi di Riace e Camini* (Mondi Migranti, 2019).

Fiore Manzo (1992, Cosenza) is a Roma activist and pedagogist. He is currently doing a Ph.D. in "Politics, culture and development" at the University of Calabria. Among his publications: *Gli effetti dell'esclusione. 20 anni dal trasferimento dei Rom da Gergeri a San Vito alto* (Cosenza, Coessenza edizioni, 2022); *Uguali, diversi, normali, stereotipi, Rappresentazioni e contro narrative del mondo rom in Italia, Spagna e Romania* (M. Giuffrè ed., Castelvechi, 2014); *Romanipè 2.0 – 99 domande sulla popolazione romanì* (Futura, 2014).

Maria Georgiana Dumitru: Epistemic Privilege and Research on Roma Rough Sleepers in London

Critical Romani Studies seek at challenging traditional knowledge against Roma by promoting knowledge production made about Roma with Roma. This forum aims at examining racial oppression, social inequalities and violation of human rights faced by the Roma. Yet, so far, very few or almost no researchers have devoted attention to a research methodology that involves the insider perspective.

In my presentation, based on the research project about Romani rough sleepers in London, research that aims to identify the needs for homeless Roma who survive from informal work, I pursue to initiate a dialogue in how using the epistemic privilege when researching vulnerable Roma groups. Based on the preliminary analyses of this project, being an insider when researching Roma it has a huge impact on the data collection, accuracy, and data interpretation. Thanks to the common experiences and shared struggles, during the semi-structured interviews, the informants have opened up easier and had related more profoundly to the researcher as we shared, culture, language, and experiences of discrimination. It helped at building trust, and there was not we and them but "us," aspect that strengthen our interaction and understanding of their issues.

The presentation will offer concrete examples, quotes, stories, and empirical evidence of the Researcher-subject of study relationship on the positive impact of being an insider. Overall, the goal of this paper and presentation is to open up new ways of doing research on Roma and encourage Roma scholars to use their 'privilege' insights& knowledge and contribute for what we call, Critical Romani Studies.

Biography: Maria Dumitru is a young Roma academic, feminist, and human rights activist. Maria holds a master's degree in gender studies from the Central European University, and in the past, she worked for the World Bank in Romania, for organisations in Spain and Norway, and collaborated with the Roma Feminist Theater Giuvlipen. Currently, Maria continues to collaborate with international organisations on Roma rights, homeless Roma, and Roma feminist studies.

Jekatyerina Dunajeva: The Role of Churches in Roma Education

With various churches gradually becoming key players in the provision of education in Central Eastern Europe in the recent years, churches also assumed the task of educating marginalized groups, such as the Roma youth. For example, since 2010 Hungary has experienced an expansion of church-owned school network, which has made Christian churches substantial actors in providing primary and secondary education: by 2015, 15% of all primary schools are maintained by churches, compared to 2001, when it was only 4.2% (Radó 2019 and Tomasz 2017). Today, it is not possible to fully understand the topic of Roma education without considering the role of faith-based schools and educational programs; yet, there is insufficient academic inquiry into this subject.

The role of church-maintained schools is a contentious issue. A growing number of observers suggest that church-based schools contribute to social segregation: religious schools either cater to the non-Roma elite and exclude Roma, or they tend to have a primarily Roma student body (turning into so-called “ghetto-schools”) (Ercse 2018; Radó 2018). There is a debate regarding the normative value of religious schools for Roma, with some scholars, primarily concerned with qualitative analysis of within-school practices, suggested that the value system of religious schools may be more favorable for long-term societal integration of Roma students and for building strong networks between teachers, students and parents (Pusztai and Török 2017).

Consequently, there are still open questions and more critical analysis is needed to answer questions such as: What role do faith-based school education play in Roma identity formation and antigypsyism? Do these schools advance or hinder integration of Roma? What role does religious spirituality play in the sense of national belonging of Roma students?

To address some of these questions, the proposed paper presents the findings of an ethnographic study from a Catholic primary school in Southern Hungary, which over the years of its operation has gradually become a “Gypsy school.” This is an instructive case study, in which the school was caught in the crossfire: accused of segregation, they see no choice but to continue providing a certain level of education to all their students, who have steadily become homogenously Roma. Through participant observation and series of interviews, I also reflect on structural and societal forms of antigypsyism and ways to mitigate that in an educational setting.

Biography: Jekatyerina Dunajeva defended her Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Oregon (USA) in 2014. She is a researcher at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences’ Institute for Political Science and an assistant professor of political science at Pázmány Péter Catholic University. She is the author of the book “Constructing Identities over Time” (CEU Press, 2021), and her research has been published in multiple book chapters and peer-reviewed journals, exploring topics such as Roma identity, discrimination, youth politics, nationalism, state- and nation-building, education policy, and contemporary Russian and Hungarian politics.

Evgenija Filova: The Artist as a Gypsy, the Gypsy as an Artist: Antigypsyism among Post-Yugoslav Artists

The paper identifies and analyzes an antigypsyist practice among post-Yugoslav non-Roma artists who use the racist figure of “the Gypsy” to capture the conflict between their own identities and work as artists. Furthermore, it underlines the anti-Roma racism inherent to the process of formation of national identity and belonging in the growing diaspora of the Balkans. Expanding upon the existing literature on the politics of representation, my goal is to further the discontinuation of the demand for racist and anti-Roma cultural practices. Since the cases of antigypsyism examined in the paper situate a relationship between being “an Artist” and being “a Gypsy”, I interrupt the linear logic of “the Artist as a Gypsy” to discuss “the Gypsy as an Artist”. I propose that through the othering of “the Gypsy” a critical difference is created—populated by the compelling work of Romani artists. Roma art that engages with self-representation has been a central tool of resistance to anti-Roma racism, working towards decolonizing the arts and cultural production. The first example analyzed is by a prominent post-Yugoslav writer who for decades has been using the racist figure of “the Gypsy” to name the discrimination she has experienced as an immigrant from the Balkans. In her use, the immigrant is always, already instilled as “a Gypsy”, foreclosing any possibility for an intersectional analysis of the multi-fold discrimination Roma immigrants experience in both origin and destination countries. In the second example, another prominent non-Romani artist impersonates “a Gypsy”, exercising a performance of othering, objectification, and racialization of difference.

Through the analysis of the two cases, I argue how the conflation of the artist, the immigrant and “the Gypsy” exclude the possibility of both Roma art and Roma migration, resulting in epistemic violence. A fellow Romani artist from the region, Selma Selman, in her performance piece “You Have No Idea / Vi Nemate Pojma”, is continuously screaming “you have no idea” to the audience passing by on the street. Selman’s scream releases—and questions—the resentment at the ignorance and complacency of the strolling crowd to the everyday antigypsyism and anti-Roma racism. The work of Selman and numerous other Romani artists challenges the silencing and exclusion of Roma art from the canon of European art, while racialized images of “the Gypsy” populate museums and books of European art history. Alongside her critical artistic practice, Selman is also running community projects, working on issues of social justice such as education and access to the arts among Romani youth in Bosnia. In its methodology and practice Roma art is hence at the heart of the decolonial movement that is enjoying a growing circulation in spaces of contemporary art and culture across the globe and in Europe. I conclude my article with a question to the art world: as one of the greatest art events, the documenta fifteen, is scheduled to open, preparing to rectify their mistakes of the past—why aren’t there still Romani artists on the list?

Biography: Evgenija Filova is a Praedoc at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna, currently working on her doctoral project on Contemporary Roma Art. She holds a MA in Critical Gender Studies from Central European University and a BA in Art and Art History from New York University Abu Dhabi. Evgenija's research interests span across Cultural Studies and Art and Anthropology with a particular focus on studies of decolonization of the arts and cultural production. She is also a writer, an artist and a poet herself, and an avid audience member of (queer)feminist Roma art.

Allison Hulmes and Peter Unwin: Conceptual Perspectives on anti-Romani and anti-Traveller Racism in Social Work Education and Practice in the UK

Anti-oppressive and anti-discriminatory practice have been core elements of social work qualifying programmes for many decades and there is a clear understanding that social work values and ethics are underpinned by anti-oppressive and anti-discriminatory practice. The principles of the International Federation of Social Workers, while not specifying a commitment to anti-racism, do state that; ‘Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work’ (2014).

The importance of integrating anti-racist practice into social work education has been recognised by a range of regulatory and training bodies such as the General Social Care Council (GSCC, 2002). The legal framework around social work is built on the Human Rights Act 1998, Race Relations Act 1976, Disability Discrimination Act 1995, Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Equality Act 2010, yet the standards and codes of practice set by regulatory bodies for social work do not include standards around anti-racism.

Social Work England (2021), England’s regulatory body, reported on a study into social work students’ attitudes towards social work education and training, in which findings were framed around rather generalized anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive practice discussions, and lacked any discourse around the need for anti-racist practice, even though most discussions were around race and ethnicity. Tadam’s (2021) statement that ‘racism is embedded in the fabric of social work practice where it is experienced overtly, covertly, systematically and institutionally’, addresses the real issues at the heart of social work. Social work qualifying programmes and social work regulators must be accountable for ensuring anti-racist practice is mandatory on all qualifying programmes and embedded into social work codes of practice.

Since the death of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement, we have seen an impetus to decolonize social work curricula, however institutional silence characterizes the approach to anti-Romani and anti-Traveller racism, even though outcomes for Romani and Traveller families in the UK following social work intervention, are often prejudicial (e.g. Allen and Hamnett, 2022).

Anti-Romani and anti-Traveller racism is still openly spoken about as the last acceptable form of racism, and this normalising of racism has an impact on the way that social workers approach Romani and Traveller individuals and families. In their ‘Seen and Heard’ paper, Allen & Hulmes (2021) shone a light on the paradox that exists when child protection practitioners who, by nature of their professional status, publicly sympathise with victims of injustice, support the principle of equality, and regard themselves as non-prejudiced, actually possess negative feelings, views, and beliefs about Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities.

The Gypsy Roma and Traveller Social Association was formed by social workers who are from Romani and Traveller families to directly confront the ‘racism...embedded in the fabric of social

work'. This presentation will detail the Association's journey, obstacles encountered along the way, and expound our strategy to change social work culture from the inside.

Biography: Allison Hulmes is a Welsh Romani social worker and co-founder of the Gypsy Roma and Traveller Social Work Association. Allison is a social work activist, her primary focus is radical transformation of social work practice with Romani and Traveller people working to address anti Romani and Traveller racism in all its manifestations, so that Romani and Traveller people are able to thrive without fear, discrimination, or retaliation.'

Allison is also active in preserving the Welsh Kale dialect, as a fundamental human right to access one's indigenous language as means of continuing ethnic identity, culture and history.

Dr Peter Unwin is Principal Lecturer in social work at the University of Worcester, England. He is active in the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) and allied member of the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller Social Work Association.

In common with most UK social workers, Peter knew very little about Romani and Traveller people or history until 2019 when he co-produced a research project into the missing voices of disabled Romani and Traveller people in UK, this work led to a successful motion at the 2020 BASW Annual Meeting which pledged to confront anti Romani and Traveller racism.

Alenka Janko Spreizer: The Destiny of Roma and Sinti During the Second World War and its Commemoration, Distortion, Denial: The Case of Slovenia

In my proposed presentation at the conference, I intend to present the outcome of the case study of Slovenia into the broader frame of the joint project of the Auschwitz Institute for the Prevention of Genocide and François Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at the Harvard University. As one of the scholars who cooperated within the project “Countering Distortion of the Genocide of the Roma in Southeastern Europe – a Key Element for Developing Anti-Racism Strategies and Anti-Discrimination Policies and Practices”, I made a research on scholars’ writing in connection with the Roma Genocide, commemoration, its distortion and denial in the Republic of Slovenia. As a numerically small country and a member of the EU, inhabited by a smaller population of Romani and Sinti groups in Slovenia, the Roma genocide studies in this country are somehow marginalised and not well researched by international and national scholarship. The study of the genocide was a neglected case until recently when the research of the history of the Second World War was invigorated by historians and other scholars after Slovenia became a member of the IHRA.

Slovenia experienced unique destiny during the Second World War since it was divided by four different occupational regimes (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Independent State of Croatia and Hungary). During the occupation, Romani and Sinti people who lived in Slovenia shared different destinies during the Second World War.

My presentation on the History of the Roma Holocaust, commemoration, distortion and denial in the case study of Slovenia will encompass bibliographical research on state of the art in historical research on the Roma Genocide and Massive partisan killings of Roma during the Second world war. After the section on the terminology, such as Roma and Sinti, along with Porajmos/Samudaripen, and based on interviews, I intend to present the analysis of the processes of acknowledgement, memorialisation, and raising awareness on the victims of the Roma and Sinti during Second World War. The paper will dedicate special attention to the discourse analysis based on selected online media and social media research, which published the posts about the Roma Genocide and its distortion and its impacts on the Roma and Sinti community’s everyday life in the Covid-19 pandemic time. My presentation would conclude with the recommendations for a future approach to the Roma genocide history and its memorialisation and acknowledgement.

Biography: Dr Alenka Janko Spreizer is an associate professor and senior research associate at the University of Primorska. She is an internationally recognised anthropologist and the author of the monograph *I knew I was a Gypsy – I was born as a Rom*, underlining the scientific racism in Slovene Romology. As a member of the Slovene national delegation at the IHRA, she is a member of the Committee of the Genocide of the Roma. She cooperated with the Auschwitz Institute for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities in research on the genocide distortion of the Roma. She was also a visiting lecturer at Budapest, Paris, Belgrade, Tampere, Plzen and Charles University in Prague.

Gabriela Marques Gonçalves: Destroying, Healing and Remembering: Thinking Antigypsyism in a Dialogue with Achille Mbembe

This article aims to make a theoretical reflection on the racism against the Romani population using as a base the Mbembe book “Critique of Black Reason”. We want to discuss how Mbembe’s reflections can dialogue with the Romani history and contemporary context. Thus we will bring texts from Romani thinkers from different countries to see how the differences of their origins reach a commonplace around the world: Antigypsyism.

When we talk about the Romani identity we need to think about internal diversity because there are a lot of different groups in different countries with their particularities. In the same way, Mbembe (2016) says that black is not a fixed notion, we can say it about the Romani, a name and a people which embraces diverse, multiple, fragmented and heterogeneous histories.

This tendency to put all the people from the same identity as a group with the same characteristics comes from eurocentric thinking which understands identity as the relation of identical elements and not the mutual belonging to the same world (Mbembe, 2016). This logic reduces these ethnic and racial identities to the same meaning in the dominant societies, the called white fantasy, which means what Whiteness think about and project on the racialized Other (Kilomba, 2019).

Mbembe’s book inspires us to think about the current Romani fights from three perspectives of action: destroying what destroys; assisting and healing; and guaranteeing the memory of those who were victims of the persecution and violence until their deaths.

The first perspective embraces the fight the Romani people are dealing in the different countries, especially from the ’70s, if we think on the formal organization movements, to reach the cognition of Antigypsyism as a specific form of racism against this group. A big challenge of the Romani people is to destroy what destroys them: racism.

The second one includes the different strategies to give support to the Romani people to understand how racism affects their lives and their conditions, on the one hand, and the creation of healing the marks racism leaves on them. One example is affirmative actions as public policies in different countries. Racism provokes wounds in the Romani people and thus they need to be healed from these violations and humiliations that cause traumas. Such traumas are the results of how racism acts, seeing the racialized Other not as “similar to oneself but as a menacing object from which one must be protected or escape, or which must simply be destroyed if it cannot be subdued” (Mbembe, 2016, p. 39-40).

Finally, there are some initiatives to recognize the violence against their ancestors to guarantee their memory, such as Holocaust Remembrance Day (Samudaripen/Porraimos) in Europe, International Roma Day, Local Roma Days (such as in Brazil, Andalusia and Basque Country). Moreover, we have some claims to reverberate the persecution they suffered such as the Romani enslavement in Romania, the Great Raid (Gran Redada) in Spain, among others.

Biography: Gabriela Marques Gonçalves holds a Ph.D. in Audiovisual Communication and Advertising at Autonomous University of Barcelona, external member of Institute of Communication and UNESCO Chair in Communication (InCom-UAB).

Ana Belen Martin Sevillano: Depicting the Romani Self: The Challenge of Representation in Autobiographical Narratives

The representation of Roma in the public sphere has been historically controlled by non-Roma. Therefore, putting forward new and organic depictions of Romani subjectivities and identities is a crucial element in the ethno-political agenda, and a prevalent trait in cultural production. In particular, literary practice teems with self-representation through memoirs and autobiographies a genre that this paper will initially explore. The analysis will focus on *American Gypsy* by Oksana Marafioti and *Gypsy Boy* by Mikey Walsh in order to unfold the complexities of representing a self that belongs to a historically marginalized minority.

A narrative of the self, autobiography offers what usually appears to be a seamless recollection of the past: a subject looks back into their life and presents it to the reader as a meaningful process. However, this recollection is not a linear process; events and experiences are not simply recalled but selected following a line of reasoning that the narrator (the subject who recalls) is pursuing. This narrative reason is informed by the present, the location from where the author/narrator decides what should be remembered and what not, what can be retold in the context of the present and considering as well who the implicit reader is. The collection of memories is first arranged into a sequence and then translated into a text, adjusting to an aesthetic editing process. Scholars have pointed out how narratives of the self are social constructions in which authors attempt to make themselves intelligible; this intelligibility is twofold: for the self (narrator) and for the other. Romani autobiographies are unique in the sense that they depict lives that had never been written from an inner perspective. Implicitly, they are read against a long tradition of representations and narratives that have reduced, stereotyped, and generally misconstrued Roma or their ways of life. A number of these autobiographies recall and write their life experiences using as framework the set of values, practices, and beliefs of their ethnic group, thus making the autobiographic account simultaneously an ethnic one. These texts can certainly be read as autoethnographic as they explain rituals, beliefs, traditions, and behaviors that are meaningful to the narrator's life and to their community, but widely unknown to the vast majority. Mary Louise Pratt has theoretically delved into these autoethnographic narratives, pointing out their dialogic character, in the sense that they often contest or negotiate previous hegemonic representations. Building on Pratt's work, this paper will examine Romani autobiographies as psychological and socio-cultural products.

Biography: Specialist in Hispanic and Comparative Literatures, her research focuses on issues related to diaspora, 'race'/ethnicity, and gender. She has received an endowment from the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council to work on Hispanic Romani Literature and has actively participated in the field of Romani Studies in the last few years, presenting and publishing in specialized venues. Some of her recent publications are "The Romani Ethos: A Transnational Approach to Romani Literature" (Critical Romani Studies, 2020), and "The Emergence of the Hispano-Romani Literature: Memory and Cultural Identity" (Preserving the Romani Memories, 2020).

Lesia Pagulich: European Modernity and the Racialization of Roma

Anti-Roma violence demands a complex analysis of the roots of this violence. In my paper, I use critical race theories to examine how the racial logic of European modernity finds its continuation on a global scale. I explore the racialization of Roma people in the East European context and how it is connected with the racial logic of European modernity, as well as different imperial formations. In this paper, I contend that East Europe has been entangled with racial fabrications of modernity; and I point out the complex interplay of factors that contribute to Roma disenfranchisement and racial violence in East Europe.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, state-sanctioned violence towards Roma and non-Slavic people from the former Soviet republics has increased significantly in East Europe and Russia. Anti-Roma violence can be seen in relation to the post-Soviet transition to a capitalist model of “Europeanness,” which is hostile to those perceived as non-European and non-white. In my paper, I consider East Europe as a location that has borrowed and reworked the racial logic of European modernity and contributed to racial logics in specific ways due to its social, political, and historical contexts. The position of Roma communities in East Europe is informed by the complex interplay of historical legacies that hold important potential for understanding anti-Roma racism today. The violence of colonial and imperial projects shaped and continues to shape the contemporary technologies of violence.

Looking at the diverse secondary historiographic resources about Roma communities in Europe, I investigate the roots of current anti-Roma racism in East Europe. Specifically, I critically examine the work of the Enlightenment scholar H.M.G. Grellmann and its long-lasting effects. To do this, I draw on Sylvia Wynter’s scholarship that places race at the center of the making of European modernity.

Biography: Lesia Pagulich is a queer feminist researcher and activist from Ukraine. Lesia holds the master’s degrees in International Economics and Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. Currently, she is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Women’s, Gender and Sexuality Studies at the Ohio State University. Her research interests lie in the fields of critical race, queer, feminist, and postsocialist studies.

Delia Popescu: The Text Beyond Itself: Romani Identity and Social Construction in Romanian Secret Police Files

Romanian Secret State Police (Securitate) files produced before 1989 are discoverable today through a lengthy process that requires official research authorization through a government office, the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității - CNSAS). The CNSAS General Document Fund includes a large issue-related file titled “The Gypsy Problem,” with hundreds of pages of both national and county-level reports and recommendations. This paper teases out the granular documentary clues (“spie” as historian Carlo Ginzburg puts it) in the Securitate files to explore the way in which a pattern of documentary communication is built to frame Romani identity as idiosyncratically marginal, oriental, and parasitic. A particularly interesting aspect of the knowledge production imposed through these files is reflected by anecdotes that purportedly illustrate the character of Romani ethnics. This study analyzes the relations of power built through hermeneutic devices like anecdotes and other clues, which further build “truth formulae” (Weir) that reify a particular view of Romani ethnicity, class, and gender. The architecture of knowledge production present in the files speaks to the continuity of social and political attitudes toward the Roma before and after 1989. This archival (de)construction has implications for a long view of policy, political memory, and exclusionary societal attitudes today and in the future.

Biography: Delia Popescu is Georg Endowed Professor of Political Science at Le Moyne College, in Syracuse, NY. Popescu is an applied political theorist with broad interests across deliberative democracy, resistance, totalitarianism, memory construction, and comparative political thought. She is author of *Political Action in Vaclav Havel's Thought: The Responsibility of Resistance* (Lexington Press, 2011). Popescu published work related to rhetorical constructions and institutional marginalization, nation branding and minority power relations, the Roma minority across Europe, and Eastern European political thought, including the recent chapter on "Eastern European Political Thought as a Conceptual Tool" in the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Political Theory*.

Sunita Memetovic: Anti-begging Provisions in Europe Through the Lens of Critical Race Theory

Although there is an unwillingness in Europe to recognise the impact of racism, Europe's largest minority, the Roma, still face unrestricted level of discrimination. The antigypsyism, that Romani people experience can be found in all facets of life: such as in the adoption of anti-begging measures, particularly those ratified following the 2007 enlargement of the European Union (EU). This paper examines whether neutrally framed anti-begging provisions in Europe target the Romani people. While the anti-begging measures made are neutrally framed, this paper argues that they target the Romani people due to the persistent stereotypical linking of Roma to begging.

Besides using the traditional legal dogmatic method which has the purpose to explain the law and use legal sources to determine, systemise and interpret *lex lata*. This paper offers an additional perspective by applying Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT provides the necessary framework for reviewing the legal framework of adopted anti-begging measures in Europe. The law plays a crucial role in the construction, subordination and discrimination against racial minorities in Europe. Yet, in a recent case from the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) that addressed the issue of begging for the first time, the Court did not mention racial discrimination at all even though a stereotypical link exists between the Romani people and beggars in mainstream European public opinion. The paper provides a critical legal analysis of the judgement and also examines anti-begging provisions in Sweden, Austria and Italy in order to give a more nuanced and accurate analysis of the issue of begging in Europe. To strengthen the analysis additionally, the paper compares current anti-begging provisions with vagrancy laws ratified in late nineteenth-century America, an example that demonstrates the parallel between discriminatory laws against African Americans and the Romani people.

This paper suggests that it is crucial for courts to examine cases through the lens of CRT, a theoretical tool that will enable judiciaries to see the racial message that underlies these neutrally framed provisions and thereby comprehend the marginalisation and exclusion persist because of antigypsyism and the legal system itself. In this way, this paper is giving voice to the most vulnerable ones.

Biography: Sunita Memetovic is Senior Partner at Advokatfirman Ericksson & Häggquist (2022) and became the first attorney of Roma decent in Sweden where she works in the field of Criminal Law. She is a graduate from the Legal Programme at Uppsala University and hold LL.M in law (2016) and LL.M from the Department of Legal Studies in Human Rights from Central European University (2021). She is member of the Swedish Bar Association in Sweden (2019). Her research topic is Begging, international law and Roma, and for the last 5 years she has published several research paper and articles on the begging issue.

Fernando Ruiz Molina Antigypsyism: Foundations of an Ideology of Hatred Towards Roma

Roma communities represent the largest ethnic minority in Europe (European Commission, 2020), dating their presence in Europe for nearly half a millennium (End, 2012). The history of the Roma community has been starring in marginalisation, oppression and violent manifestations of hatred and persecution (Martínez, 2007; CoE, 2012; Cortés et al., 2019; Matache 2020; Molina 2020). Hatred towards Roma has been manifesting systematically on the European continent over the centuries. These manifestations have been leading Roma to be victims of a specific form of racism manifested through explicit violence (End, 2012; Coe, 2012; End, 2015; Carrera, 2017; Rostas, 2019), hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation, and the most brutal discrimination (ECRI, 2011). This phenomenon, known as antigypsyism, has configured a specific widespread and customary ideology marked by hatred and fear and based on a set of sustained prejudices and stereotypes about the historically constructed artificial and fictitious image of the "Gypsy" (Alliance, 2017; End, 2014; Selling 2015; Selling 2018; Carrera et al., 2017).

Despite the cessation and prohibition of discrimination against racialised minority groups, as well as the gradual establishment of policies, strategies and measures to combat discrimination and socially integrate an excluded minority group such as the Roma; the manifestation of this ideology has been presented in a violent, persistent and recurrent way (ECRI 2005; ECRI 2011; CoE 2012; Perry, 2001) suffered on a daily basis by members of this group (James, 2020; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015).

Throughout this paper, the study will focus on categorising antigypsyism from the field of Hate Studies, inquiring about the ideology that underlies and promotes hatred towards Roma. This widespread and customary ideology represents the leading cause of the exclusion of Roma from the European socio-economic system (CoE, 2012). Thus, this categorisation of antigypsyism will produce a more complete and reliable knowledge about this phenomenon. Specifically, it will attempt to achieve a holistic understanding of hatred towards Roma and its manifestation, perpetration, and effects in the context of neoliberal global capitalism.

Biography: Fernando Ruiz Molina is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellow and a Ph.D. Candidate at the Department of Criminology, School of Society and Culture at the University of Plymouth (UK). As a member of the NetHATE Consortium, Ruiz Molina is developing research that focuses on Critical Analysis on Hate Perpetration against Roma.

Ruiz Molina is a Human Rights lawyer with nine years of experience in the field of social activism and Roma associationism at the local, national and international levels. This aspect stands out in his previous work within the international Roma framework as Junior Expert on Roma and Sinti Issues at OSCE-ODIHR.

Ruiz Molina holds a Degree in Law and a Master's in Law at the University of Murcia (Spain), an LLM Master's in Human Rights at CEU, a Diploma of Social Intervention with the Roma Community at University of Navarra (Spain), as well as alumni of the Roma Graduate Preparation Program at CEU.

Jelena Savic: Gadjo Privileges

The notion of white privilege showed up as a useful analytical tool of race relations in the American context providing valuable theoretical and policy grounding for the advocates of rights of black, brown, and other racialized people (Mills 2015, 218; McIntosh 1988). In the framework of global white supremacy (Mills 2003), European Gadjo privileges are demarcated as a modality of white privileges and defined as “an invisible package of unearned assets” (McIntosh 1988, 278) Gadjo people acquire by the contingent fact of their birth in self-defined or by others identified non-Roma family in Europe. The non-exhaustive list of European Gadjo privileges in different areas of life is offered.

Biography: Jelena is a Roma feminist and activist from Belgrade. She holds a BA degree in Adult Education from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Serbia, and she acquired her MA in Philosophy at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Her theses focus on dehumanization at the intersection of sexism, racism, and speciesism.

In 2019, she published a chapter “Heroines of Ours: Between Magnificence and Maleficence.” In *The Romani Women’s Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Angéla Kóczé, Violeta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic, and Enikő Vincze.

Daniel Škobla: Romani People as the “Suspect Community” and the Slovak Governmental Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic

Slovakia has one of Europe's largest Roma populations in Europe, with an estimated 400 000, around 8 % of the population—living in the country. Many Roma and international human rights groups, claim they face structural and institutional discrimination and general marginalization. Around a third of Roma in Slovakia live in segregated settlements where extensive poverty, overcrowding, limited infrastructure, absence of water pipelines and sewerage.

With the outbreak of the COVID-19, there were palpably different treatment of local Roma, including forceful testing residents of informal Roma settlements, focusing on those who have recently returned from abroad. There have been fears that an outbreak in Roma communities and other groups threatened by poverty and social exclusion could lead to a rapid spread of the disease. The COVID testing was carried out in several hundred settlements, with the assistance of the army. Upon the identification of infected individuals, whole settlements were locked down and people forced into quarantine. Discriminatory behavior was also recognizable in the use of Army Forces for Special Operations part of the Armed Force, which act in building a quarantine city, in testing and guarding the isolated neighborhoods. Normally, however, military is not used in public policy tasks.

This article, based on a concrete case study, critically assesses the measures and policies that were employed to manage the pandemic situation in the affected local Roma communities in 2020-2021. It concludes that although Covid pandemic intensified the inequalities and unequal treatment of Roma ethnic minority, this discriminatory approach towards Roma has been in line with a long standing, punitive, neoliberal governance by which central and local governments treat Roma population in Slovakia.

Important point of departure for analysis is the discourse on coloniality and post-coloniality. As Herza (2020) convincingly argues, in the Czech and Slovak context there is a substantial lack of theoretical insight and the discussions on post-coloniality due to the phenomenon of Czechoslovak ‘colonial exceptionalism’ based on the conviction that the Czech and Slovaks never been colonial masters. In Czechoslovakia and in other presumably non-colonial countries of Eastern Europe, race remained an under-explored attribute of the ideological universe and it was not seriously deployed as an analytical category. According to Herza, this was so despite the fact that colonialism and racism laid the foundation for the projects of modernity also in Eastern European countries, which developed specific colonial cultures without colonies. Thus, without employing the concepts and categories of colonial and post-colonial studies a researcher inevitably may slip into a superficial exoticisation of the Roma. This exoticization is anthropological escapism, instead of dissecting economic and political configurations and power hierarchies (Šotola et al 2018).

In this context I was guided by key works of post-colonial theory, examining the manner in which Western cultures investigate other cultures (Spivak, 1988). Of the utmost importance for me was the literature on post-colonialism influenced by Marxism, which draws on political-economy

approaches to explore how dominant groups came to exercise the power and authority over less powerful subjugated groups (Blunt and Wills, 2000).

Biography: Daniel Škobla is a senior researcher at the Institute for Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Science in Bratislava. He focuses on ethnicity, labor market, social integration. He carried out research on the living conditions of the Roma population in Central Europe. He has also been involved in Roma advocacy on an international level and also cooperated with the non-governmental organizations ERRC, Amnesty International and the OSI. He has written for academic journals such as Slovak Sociological Review, Polish Sociological Review, Ethnic and Racial Studies, as well as chapters in books on social inclusion and Roma integration.

Marko Stenroos: Drafting the National Policy on Roma for Finland 2023-2030: Experiences about Participation and Inclusion

As the name indicates, the new EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation sets the Roma agency in the centre of the European Roma policymaking. Finland will adapt next national policy on Roma starting from 2023 and the preparations are currently ongoing. This paper has a focus on the processes and suggests new, more transparent and inclusive approaches to co-create Roma policies at the national and local level. The study reflects upon the experiences attained among Finnish Roma during the planning sessions and elaborates the observations in alignment with the existing academic literature of Roma participation and inclusion. Furthermore, the study combines the experiences from the with the previous study commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Finland covering Roma participation in the Nordic and Baltic countries. The ethnographic nature of the paper derives from the researcher's position as a public servant responsible for drafting the new policy, a position that enabled direct observations of interactions between different stakeholders.

Biography: Marko Stenroos received his Ph.D. in 2020 from Helsinki University in social and cultural anthropology. His study covers the implementation of the national Roma policy. Currently he is working at developing new Finnish national policy on Roma up to 2030.

Sonia Styrkacz: My Culture Is Not Your Costume

Cultural appropriation is controversial and there is still little literature on the subject. Some view cultural appropriation as an invention and oversensitivity. Not seeing the duplication of stereotypes and their perpetuation. There are arguments that cultures have been intertwining for years, it is a natural process and there is nothing wrong with it. It is hard to understand for people who are actually in a privileged position, the cultural one. Minorities have the right to fight for theirs when this appropriation is about to take place.

The aim of the speech is to present the topic of cultural appropriation of the Roma as a social problem and a colonial element. The presentation shows examples of the appropriation of the identity and culture of the Roma, but also points to a movement against this practice. This presentation is part of the doctoral thesis: Gypsy lifestyle and perception by the Roma. Materials from the Internet and quotes from interviews were used in the presentation.

Biography: Currently, a Ph.D. student at the Robert Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw, cooperates with the Center for Research on Prejudice in the field of psychology. Her research focuses on the Gypsy Life Style phenomenon and cultural appropriation. She completed a master's degree in psychology and a postgraduate in pedagogy. She is socially, professionally, and scientifically engaged with the Roma community. She was an Erasmus Mobile Researcher – she carried out qualitative research for the SCIEX – Erasmus project and conducted focus classes. Currently, she is a scholarship holder in the research project: Transnational lives of Polish Roma - Migration, family and ethnic boundary making in changing European Union.

Laura Tittel: The Demonstration of State Power in Visual Representations of Roma

This contribution aims at getting a better understanding of the emergence of the antigypsyist image of the “criminal gypsy”. Therefore, it analyzes continuity and change in the representation of Sinti, Roma and Jenische used by the police in German-speaking countries over several centuries. Drawing on iconographic studies of visual antiziganism, it examines images and pictures produced by the police as an expression of a state securitization practice. Four case studies, ranging from painted "gypsy warning boards" to depictions of court proceedings and modern techniques of police photography, serve as spotlights through which the historical transformation of visual practices of securitization is demonstrated.

From a media analysis perspective, a distinction can be made between paintings, printed products, and photographs. The historically earlier painted pictures predominantly feature fictional figures meant to represent "gypsies". The modern photographs, on the other hand, show actual individuals who presumably belong to the minorities of Sinti, Roma, and Jenische. The basic difference between painted images, which are the result of production rather than representation processes, and photographs, which depict physical models and thus have a closer mimetic relationship to them, correlates with the difference between the "gypsy image" as imagination and the concrete images of Sinti, Roma, and Jenische stigmatized as "gypsies". Whereas the imaginary side of the "gypsy image" in the painting is obvious, in photographs it takes more effort to uncover and classify the notion behind the depiction.

As will be shown, these differences in the form of representation correlate with a shift in the exercise of power through the pictures. Whereas in the 17th and 18th centuries the threat of punishment and the exercise of state power was enacted as a spectacle directly within the image itself, this changed in the 19th century with the emergence of photography as a police technology. For the period between 1850 and 1937, we can trace a development from photographic experimentation to internationally standardised photographs of (suspected) criminals.

The article explores different forms of representation and pursues the thesis that images have been used by the state for centuries to demarcate groups of people from one another, to portray them as differently threatening, and to establish supposed differences. To do so, it draws upon general studies on the development of police images and identification photography as found in Susanne Regener (1999) and Jens Jäger (2009). In addition, a socio-critical perspective is adopted, drawing on Susan Sontag's studies on photography in the context of a capitalist social order (1987) and Michel Foucault's reflections on the transformation of penal practices in modernity (1989) to analyze visual antigypsyism as a form and practice of domination.

The article concludes that the once open threat of punishment continued to persist in a more subtle form of criminalisation and in the threat of social exclusion that this involved. It further shows that

the state institutions used the images to present themselves as powerful and strong, initially directly by displays of state power within the image itself and later by exercising their power to set the framework of the images.

Biography: Laura Soréna Tittel is a research associate at the chair of Political Theory and History of Ideas at Justus Liebig University Giessen. Since 2018, she is part of the research team in the subproject 'Between Minority Protection and Securitization: Roma Minority Formation in Modern European History' at the Collaborative Research Centre/Transregio 138 'Dynamics of Security', funded by the German Research Foundation. In her Ph.D. project, she examines the relationship between securitization, 'racial' conceptualizations, and imagination to formulate a political theory of antiziganism.

Nataliia Tomenko: Representation of Roma Female as Fortuneteller in Mass Culture

Nowadays, Roma are represented by a variety of mass culture products such as films, cartoons, photographs and pictures. Among those, the animated cartoons which are inspired by the ideas that emerged as early as in the Enlightenment are the most influential ones. They are watched since childhood and build the earliest agenda in the human mind about the “others” and their danger for society. During my investigation of the representation of Roma women as fortunetellers in animated cartoons *The Bremen Musicians* produced in the Soviet Union (1969; 1973) and *Robin Hood* (1973) created in the United States, I established the range of similarities in their messages. The presence of sexualized “Gypsy” females with orientalist appearance who predict future with use of symbolic attributes (cards Taro, crystal ball) is common for both animated cartoons.

The coincidence of antygypsyist depiction with gender discrimination, orientalizing and oppression towards Roma was created with the use of the image of “Gypsy” woman as a fortuneteller in two cartoons and period of both images makes to think about the negative historical context which existed in both states in that period. After examining the sources and outlining the stereotypes, I compared the situation in the United States and Soviet Union and their political view in regard to Roma in the 1960 – 1970s.

As far as there was no capitalist system in Soviet Union, the interesting point is that still there was some influence of capitalism in mass culture, like in the United States. It shows that political regimes in both countries were different but treatment towards Roma was the same. The outcome shows that both countries oppressed Roma for being the other, and this “otherness” is very much intersectional.

The explanation is that this kind of stereotype lies on a deeper level, as psychologists say, on a stage of “first desires”. It is there where, from the point of view of a White European Male (dominant gaze), the representational intersectionality of “Gypsy” females as fortunetellers was established, and it explains how pop culture portraits non-white women. The promotion of this idea found the best implication to depict it in a moving image. Nevertheless, the Roma representation was created with the use of Medievalism, which helped to create the appropriate presence of Roma in the context of the Middle Ages (use of folk stories), whose mysterious style of life reminds that epoch where religion, science, and magic could co-exist. This approach is a common feature of culture for both regimes of the United States and the Soviet Union).

Also, Medievalist stylization of depictions would add another degree of oppression to this representational intersectionality, because being a fortune teller in the Middle Ages very often meant a risk of being accused of witchcraft. To some extent, it gives the modern people an illusion that Roma do fit somewhere, at least in the Medieval period with its relative tolerance to harmless

magic. So, antygypsyist stereotypes have to be observed, analyzed and removed from Mass Culture with the aim to promote the real image of Roma culture.

Biography: Nataliia Tomenko is an artist, researcher and Roma activist. She completed her MA in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, and Management at Central European University in Vienna. She additionally holds an MA in Graphic Design from the Kharkiv State Academy of Design and Arts. Currently, she is working at ERIAC: European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture as a coordinator of the History and Commemoration section. In parallel, she is working as a board member and a Creative Director at ARCA: Agency for the Advocacy of Roma Culture in Ukraine.

Tomenko is also a National Volunteers Coordinator and Roma Rights Defender at the European Roma Rights Centre in Ukraine on a volunteer basis, with the aim of supporting the principal's work in defending the human rights of Romani people across Europe and fighting against digital anti-Gypsyism. In the meantime, she engages with the visual representation of Roma history and culture, in the framework of art projects connected to Roma cultural heritage and the Roma Genocide.

Krisztina Varga: The National Exhibition of Self-taught Gypsy Artists (1979)

In my presentation I would like to take a closer look on The National Exhibition of Self-taught Gypsy Artists (organized by Ágnes Daróczi, Institute of Folk Culture in 1979, at the Pataki Centre, Budapest).

This exhibition is significant not only for Hungary but also for the European Roma cultural movements, it was the first independent exhibition for Roma artists to declare the existence of Roma art. The exhibition aimed to place Roma artists in the history of Hungarian art at the end of the 1970s.

As a "breakout" from systemic oppression, the Roma minority was demanding a place and space for itself not only in art scene but also in national history, as well as adequate representation in museum spaces. The aim was to create their own narrative and assert their right to access their own culture.

In my presentation I will introduce the institutional background of the exhibition, its organizers and artists, as well as the travelling exhibition that followed the Budapest exhibition.

However, The National Exhibition of Self-taught Gypsy Artists is often referred as the first milestone of the Roma art, an art historical/historical study of this exhibition and its reception has not yet been carried out, which is currently a gap in European art history and the history of the Roma emancipation movement.

Biography: Krisztina Varga is a Ph.D. student in Film, Media and Cultural Studies and researcher at the Minor Media/Culture Research Centre, ELTE. Prior to this, she graduated from the Contemporary Art Theory and Curatorial Studies program at the Department of Art Theory, Hungarian University of Fine Arts, where she examined questions of contemporary Roma art institutions in Hungary. The focus of her Ph.D. is on the cultural representation of minorities, the question of the Roma museum, and participatory practices in museums.

Emma Várnagy: ‘Purely Gypsy Behavior’: The ECtHR and Negative Stereotypes in Racist Police Violence Cases

The case-law of the European Court of Human Rights concerning discrimination against Roma contains a number of judgments which highlight and condemn harmful stereotyping. Other judgments, while recognizing, and offering protection from discrimination suffer from a paternalistic and stereotype-based reasoning (Timmer 2013). Paradoxically, in cases which concern the most devastating manifestation of discrimination, namely, those where the victim’s bodily integrity is violated, the Court has a particularly bad track record of engaging with the discrimination aspect of the complaints. It has been argued that the Court’s evidentiary regime prevents it from finding substantive violations of the anti-discrimination clause (Möschel 2012). The exacting level of evidence requires that the racial motivation behind the violence be proven to the highest standard of proof. In order to assert their claims, applicants primarily rely on documents from the domestic proceedings, which often present traces of institutional antigypsyism. These may factor in the reasoning of the judgment, or on the contrary, go largely unnoticed by the Court, which may even reproduce them.

This paper focuses on four illustrative cases where the materials before the Court indicate that the domestic authorities held strong prejudices – such as believing in the existence of a ‘purely Gypsy behavior’ (Stoica v Romania §122), that Roma ‘strategically exaggerate their complaints’ (Petropoulou-Tsakiris v Greece §29), or that Roma are prone to violence (Cobzaru v Romania §108) and theft (Kleyn and Aleksandrovich v Russia §7). The aim of the paper is to examine whether the Court responds to such stigmatizing prejudices and how this response impacts the judicial outcome.

The following points will be made. First, in cases concerning racist abuse under state control, the Court is inconsistent in recognizing the vulnerability of Roma applicants to stigmatization and violence either as a group or as individuals (Timmer and Peroni 2013). Second, when this context remains unacknowledged, the Court’s focus on assessing the individual perpetrator’s subjective mindset, coupled with its insistence on applying the highest standard of proof, renders it unable to give due attention to the prejudices which are present in the materials before it. Finally, suggestions are offered as to how the Court could better balance the considerations of the victims’ as well as its own vulnerability and to avoid becoming complicit in antigypsyism.

Biography: Emma Várnagy holds an MA in Human Rights from Central European University (2016), where her thesis focused on legal avenues to tackle involuntary sterilization of Roma women. She also holds an LLM in Public International Law from Utrecht University (2018) where her thesis focused on the standard and burden of proof in anti-Roma violence cases in the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights. She is currently a doctoral candidate at Ghent University where her research focuses on the lack or neglect of evidence in racist police violence cases and its consequences on accountability.

Marius Wamsiedel: The Roma Access to Health Care: Syncretic Racism and Subtle Forms of Discrimination

While the barriers that Romani people face in accessing health care services have been well documented in various settings and different countries, there is a dearth of evidence on the very process of negotiating access to care and its consequences. By drawing upon long-term ethnographic fieldwork at two emergency departments in Romania, this paper unravels the complex social categorization process through which triage nurses make sense of clients and prioritize cases. More specifically, it argues that triage nurses typify Romani patients as prone to make illegitimate visits to the emergency service and morally undeserving of care. Deeply entrenched assumptions about Romani people, whose origin is to be found in the long history of ethnic marginalization and oppression, are mobilized during the admission interviews to make the sanctioning of Romani patients morally and procedurally accountable.

The ethnographic approach to triage admission interviews has three merits. First, it sheds light on the staff's beliefs about Roma in a way that would not have been possible by using other data collection instruments, such as surveys or interviews. By analyzing what nurses say about Roma in formal interviews and informal conversations, how they act towards Roma during triage admission encounters, and how they make sense of these interactions in the back stage of the triage room, the paper provides a vantage point for understanding the ethnic discourse on non-Roma health care practitioners. I advance the concept of 'syncretic racism' to describe the coexistence of blatant racism, built upon biological or cultural essentialism; 'red racism,' the socialist discourse explaining ethnic disparities in social and economic terms; and color-blind racism, the discourse that rejects essentialist interpretations while turning a blind eye to the structures producing ethnic inequity. Albeit lacking logical coherence, syncretic racism is instrumental in misrecognizing and legitimizing discriminatory practices.

Second, the ethnographic approach unravels the subtle forms of discrimination to which Romani patients are subjected when navigating the emergency health care service. Ethnic microaggressions, which take different forms (e.g., dismissing Romani patients' lived experience of illness; mocking their appearance, language or interactional performance; casting doubt on the credibility of their accounts; or questioning the use of Romani language in the waiting room), are subtle ways of putting Roma patients 'at their place,' that is at the very bottom of the hierarchy of deservingness of care. While these forms of discrimination are apparently minor, they convey an unambiguous message of not being welcome.

Third, the data in this study invites to a reconsideration of the Roma access to health care services beyond structural and cultural factors. The mundane forms of discrimination and the ethnic discourse that makes them possible are less conspicuous yet pervasive barriers to care. As such, they contribute to the ethnic health disparities and the perpetuation of Roma's social exclusion. The paper discusses some public health interventions to address the subtle forms of discrimination.

Biography: Marius Wamsiedel is a sociologist by training (BA University of Arizona 2009; Ph.D. University of Hong Kong 2016) and a lecturer at Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University in Suzhou, China. His works have examined the Roma health mediation, the Roma access to health care services, and the social categorization of patients. He has published in *Social Science & Medicine*, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *BMC Public Health*, and *Time & Society*. He is working on a monograph about the moral evaluation of emergency room patients in Romania.

Sarah Werner Boada: “Singing for the jambas”: Dilemmas around Institutional Reappropriations of Romani Feminist Resistance in Spain

The latest general election results in Spain proved both promising and frightening for the Romani minority in the country. Although the left coalition government that was subsequently formed is working on measures to combat antigypsyism, neo-Francoist party Vox and its far-right racist ideology also achieved an unprecedented breakthrough. In this context, it has become all the more important to consider the political implications of knowledge production. This paper reflects on the performances around Romani cultural recognition and gender that are staged by state institutions, the racist hierarchies they paradoxically rely on, and the negative or positive impact that exposing this could bear.

Postcolonial scholars are increasingly arguing for shifting the focus towards coloniser countries and their failure to address internal colonialism within their own borders (e.g. Wekker 2016). Despite being a recurrent target of orientalist representations within Europe, Spain is no exception to this. Ever since its “transition to democracy”, it has been self-positioning as a post-racial state and human rights champion on the international scene, while turning a blind eye to its racist imperialist legacy (Valdés 2005).

The Francoist dictatorship reportedly gave way to “a new, democratic and inclusive conception of nationhood” that “[recognises] the internal diversity of Spain” (Muñoz 2009:520). However, the “expropriation” (Buhigas 2018) of Kalé culture that Spanish national identity has been building on for centuries is still systematically overlooked, and the historically rooted racialised categorisation of Kalé people as inherently “dangerous” (Motos Pérez 2009) and “anti-Spain” (García López and Castillo Ortiz 2013) is swept under the shiny carpet of post-racial politics.

In a first part, this paper seeks to support from a gender lens the under-represented claim that state antigypsyism must be addressed as a continuity of the “coloniality of power” (Quijano 2000) established under Spanish imperialism (Garcés 2016). Relying on a year of ethnographic research in Madrid, I analyse mediated events organised by state authorities in the name of Romani cultural recognition and feminist empowerment that, I argue, folklorise Romani culture and objectify “the Gypsy woman” and what is constructed as her “newly-found freedom”. In contradiction to the emancipatory discourses that are put forward, Romani women are financially coerced, through neoliberal workfare schemes, into performing dancing and singing acts and celebrating their gratitude in front of authority representatives and journalists. I relate these performances to colonial technologies of power that “[require] slaves to sing and dance for the owners’ entertainment and feign their contentment” (Hartman 1997:8).

In a second part, I explore the political and ethical questions raised by the fact that state institutions reappropriate performances around Romani pride and feminism in order to disguise remnants of state racism. I interrogate the role that Gadge (non-Romani) feminist researchers/activists play in this arrangement, as well as how and where such findings can be shared without jeopardising the

tools that Kalé people have forged for their resistance, and without feeding white supremacist discourses that are currently on the rise in the country.

Biography: Sarah Werner Boada (Ph.D.) is a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Gender Studies of the Central European University. Her Ph.D. thesis (2021) argues that the unaddressed legacy of six centuries of gendered antigypsyism has led the Spanish state to paradoxically produce violence against Kalé women in its response to gender violence. She has worked on violence against women legislation in collaboration with several umbrella NGO networks and international organisations. Her research interests include Gender Violence, Critical Race Theory, Antigypsyism, Motherhood studies, and Neoliberalism.

Roma Zimenko: Low Kiss: Politics of Canceling Chacho in Ukraine. Self-censorship within Romani Movement, Limits of Human Rights Discourse, and Immanent Critique of Claims over Romani Identity

In 2021 Chacho won the 11th Odessa International Film Festival as the best short film. The movie's storyline depicts a teenager Janush who is in the midst of wedding preparations while being secretly in love with another man, which is considered among the greatest taboos within the Roma society in Ukraine. Even prior to its release on screen, the movie has mobilized a great number of Roma civil rights leaders who attempted to ban its production and formed a new kind of social movement with claims over true Romani identity.

Employing autoethnography as a method, I reflect on why it has failed to provoke an open discussion about homophobia in Romani society by using my personal experience as a manager of the Romani film festival for which it was first accepted for a screening, but then eventually revoked. I use Hannah Arendt's concepts of the social versus political as well as her discussion of the public sphere, to demonstrate the limits of human-rights discourse in relation to the civil rights Romani movement in Ukraine, shows how Romani identity in Ukraine is formed through discourse and performativity, and argue that this movie is not only about gay rights, but also constitutes a feminist critique of practices that verify woman's virginity as a sign of purity during weddings. Finally, as a Roma, I reflect on the possibility of immanent critique from within Romani society.

Biography: Roma Zimenko is a researcher of culture and politics. 2017 he graduated from RGPP and in 2020 from the IR department at CEU. He is interested in themes that touch upon cultural critique, identity, and historical memory.