Main seminar: Third session 9:00 -11:00 am
Session "Squaring the Circle of protection and empowerment" – 3 papers
Chairs & Discussants: Matthew Kott & Timofey Agarin (we will do both together!)

On the Transcendence of National Citizenship in the Light of the Case of Roma, an Allegedly Non-territorial Nation"

Márton Rövid
Central European University

The Roma are increasingly seen as a group that challenges the principle of territorial democracy and the Westphalian international order. While diverse in customs, languages, church affiliations, and citizenship, the Roma can also be seen as members of a non-territorial nation. One international non-governmental organization, the International Romani Union, advanced claims for the recognition of the non-territorial Romani nation and advocated a general vision in which people are no longer represented on the basis of state. The manifesto "Declaration of Nation" claims that the Roma have survived for several centuries as distinct individuals and groups with a strong identity without creating a nation-state, so therefore, their example could help humanity find an alternative way to satisfy the need for identity without having to lock it to territorial boundaries.

The paper studies theories of post-national citizenship in the light of the case of Roma. What are the empirical preconditions of the transcendence of liberal nationhood? Under what circumstances can claims of post-national citizenship be justified? To what extent do transnational social, religious, and ethnic movements challenge the foundations of the so-called Westphalian international order, in particular the trinity of state-nation-territory? What forms of political participation do they claim? Do transnational nations pose a different challenge to normative political theory than other transnational communities?

By studying the case of Roma, the paper relates the literature on diasporas and global civil society to cosmopolitan theories thus offering a new typology of boundary problems. The paper demonstrates that the trinity of state-nation-territory is challenged from all three directions. Trans-state, transnational and non-territorial forms of solidarity and political action are thriving. Such developments challenge state-centric liberal, multicultural and nationalist theories alike. However, these developments in themselves are not sufficient for the emergence of transnational forms of democracy. On the contrary, by studying the case of Roma, the paper identifies three dimensions of exclusion: ethnic stigmatization, social exclusion, and denial of citizenship. These forms of exclusion may reinforce each other and push the racialized poor and the racialized stranger to the margins of the polis.

How to protect the Roma: can the collective right to cultural identity be the way?

Claudia Tavani
Associazione 21 luglio, Italy

Discrimination faced by members of Roma groups is a hot issue on the European agenda. Despite numerous attempts at finding a suitable solution, and despite the great improvements in the fight against discrimination, when it comes to the Roma little has been achieved yet, partially because a definition of minority (that might also include the Roma) is missing, and mostly because the importance of collective rights as a wat to protect the cultural identity of minorities has often been underestimated. This paper will describe and assess the attempted definitions of minority and their applicability to the Roma. It will also argue for the necessity of and advantage in giving full recognition to their collective right to cultural identity and for the importance of inserting the human rights of minorities in the collective rights discourse as a way to ensure participation in the political, social and economic life of countries. It is indeed the author's view that only through the use of a collective right to cultural identity protection and participation of groups such as the Roma can be ensured. The paper will conclude by briefly considering how litigation at the European Court of Human Rights, in the course of time, has allowed to better protect the cultural identity of the Roma and by showing changes in the trends of its jurisprudence.

Side seminar: "Stereotype, cliché and prejudice: origins of Antiziganism in European societies" Chairs: Matthew Kott, with Timofey Agarin

Time	Paper title	Author	Presenter	Discussant
24/10 1100	"Blaming the victim", moral exclusion, and antiziganism: challenging the deserved/undeserved divide	Popescu	Tosi	Minken
1300	The root cause of Romani exclusion and the EU Framework and National Roma Integration Strategies	Agarin	Vrabescu	Popescu
1400	Romaphobia in the construction of Roma collective identity: affects and ideology	Vrabescu	Beluschi-Fabeni	Kapralski
1500	Romani Minorities on the Margins of Citizenship: Antiziganism and the Politics of Citizenship in the Post-Yugoslav Region	Sardelic	Rovid	Agarin
1600	False identities – ethnic and socio-economic elements in antitziganism	Minken	Popescu	Tavani
25/10 0900	Words which exclude: Political intentions, stereotypes and institutionalised antiziganism in European policies towards Roma	Tosi and Beluschi-Fabeni	Kapralski	Sardelic
1000	The evolution of antigypsyism in Poland: from ritual scapegoat to surrogate victims to racial hatred?	Kapralski	Tavani	Vrabescu

Description: What is prejudice, how it emerges and takes root in society is a highly contested area of research. Organisers of this panel invite papers discussion prejudice and stereotypical

representation of Roma, covert anti-Roma sentiments and related policies as a foundation of widespread Antiziganism in European societies.

Prejudice toward Romanis is a widespread phenomenon in all European societies, poor and rich, 'postcommunist' and 'traditional' Europe, North and South, with lean and thick welfare systems. While more often than not Romanis are among the poorest, the most destitute and the most excluded communities in Europe, widespread prejudice and stereotypical representation of Romani individuals challenge opportunities for their participation in democratic decision making process, access to services and an ability to counteract majority stereotypes systematically. As such, stereotypical representations of Roma as "scroungers", "work shy" and "deviant" not only constraint options for Roma to engage with the non-Roma. They also undermine Romanis' own perception of in- and out-group equality, creating a double lock where European citizens disengage from discussing issues affecting both Roma and non-Roma alike. Foregoing political participation, social interaction and communication is often made on presumption of irreconcilable difference between the two groups. With the non-Roma at the forefront, onus is placed upon individual participation in social, economic and political process irrespective of implied differences in group resources, goals and needs. Lacking many prerequisites for effective participation, Romani individuals and communities alike retract from engagement with the majority public and thus enhance public perceptions of Romanis' self-exclusion, entrenching prejudice further. Yet, Romanis are not participating precisely because their interests and concerns are not and are difficult to translate into the existing policies, institutional structures and are presumed to be at odds with policy objectives.

Format: The researchers will engage in an in-depth discussion eight papers. All selected papers will need to be submitted to the organisers by September 15 2013; we will then circulate the paper to all participants of this workshop for peer consumption, review and criticism. All paper-givers will have their papers presented at the event by another participant; a further participant will be providing comments and questions on the paper circulated. Discussion follows with all. *Timing: Presentation 15 mins, Discussant talks 10mins, reply from the author 5mins, up to 30mins discussion with the seminar participants. 15/10/5/30 – no exceptions.*
This format will provide every participant with stakes in thinking theoretically about the impact of prejudice on Romani exclusion, allowing deeper understanding of other colleagues' work, their objectives and potential difficulties in disentangling Romani exclusion from other tangent social phenomena.

Paper abstracts in the sequence of appearance:

The root cause of Romani exclusion and the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies
Timofey Agarin
Queen's University Belfast

European integration lead many observers suggested the final triumph of and establishment of comprehensive antidiscrimination legislation and widespread acknowledgement of respect for

fundamental human rights across the continent. The package ensuring equal treatment of individuals and benchmarking on illicit practices on discrimination is particularly important for individuals of Romani origin subject to political marginalisation across the continent. Comparative analyses of public attitudes towards Romanis by eg FRA suggest that, today more than ever, the greatest portion of European publics are sceptical of this group's members' ability to participate and contribute to social, economic and political processes where they live. This puts particular stress on importance of recognising issues central to Romani interests and ideals regarding their identities, be they cultural, linguistic or ethnic, defining their relationships with states and societies in contemporary Europe. The paper deals, first, with the structural challenges experienced by members of Romani communities when seeking recognition of their claims vis-à-vis governance structures, and secondly, in exchanges with individuals of Romani origin. The two steps allow me to argue that because political participation of European citizens is envisaged alongside particularistic identities which are defined at exclusion of those that Romanis' use to define their individual and collective identities, most policies aiming at averting Romani exclusion across Europe, they entrench rather than avert practices of political and social exclusion, embedding cultural identities in experiences of economic exclusion and as such sponsor adherence to social categories such as race and ethnicity that have long been criticised to prevent Romani inclusion. The paper concludes that engaging Romanis in national and European governance mechanisms is failing because it is built on the foundations repeatedly identified in much of policy, sociological and ethnographic studies of Romani exclusion as being the root cause of this very exclusion.

"Blaming the victim", moral exclusion, and antiziganism: challenging the deserved/undeserved divide

Diana Popescu
LSE

A widespread prejudice about the Roma minority is that the Roma are to blame for the disadvantages they face, as these outcomes are the product of actions and decisions made by Romanis themselves. This prejudice lies at the basis of considering the multiple socio-economic disadvantages suffered by the Roma as being acceptable, and conjures up the image of Roma as "undeserving poor", whose discrimination and marginalisation appear justifiable. In my paper I look at this prejudice in relation to the phenomenon of antiziganism, by drawing attention to a phenomenon enabled by and related to antiziganism, namely moral exclusion. The notion of moral exclusion, first developed as an attempt to understand how the genocide of the Jewish population during Nazi Germany was possible (Staub 1989), depicts the phenomenon whereby one privileged or more powerful group regards members of another, less powerful, group as falling "outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply" (Opotow 1990 p. 1; see also Gudykunst 2005 p. 366) . This view of the targeted group is premised on a cultivated perception that members of this group are "nonentities, expandable, or undeserving" because they possess certain inferior characteristics, a phenomenon associated with racism or, in the Roma case, antiziganism (ibidem). Based on this perception, otherwise unjust treatments appear justified: being outside the scope of justice, the morally excluded are "eligible for deprivation, exploitation, and other harms that might be ignored or condoned as

normal, inevitable, and deserved" (Opotow 2005). One of the several manifestations associated with moral exclusion is the phenomenon of blaming the victim, a phenomenon that becomes perpetuated by the victims (i.e. Roma) themselves.

My paper will explore the phenomenon of moral exclusion in relation to the Roma minority in Europe through three different lenses. Firstly, I will focus on moral exclusion as an aspect of a power relation between groups, re-conceptualising it as a process whereby one (dominant) group imposes its view that a second, less powerful group, is inferior, dependable, etc. on that second group itself. Secondly, I focus on moral exclusion as an inequality in moral status, or as a deprivation in terms of grounds for full moral status (Jaworska and Tannenbaum 2013). Thirdly, I focus on victim-blaming as a concerted outcome of these two, i.e. as a process meant to justify the inferior moral status attributed to members of a certain group through appeals to a perception of that group as dependable, etc. I conclude that as a result of adopting this conceptual framework one has to drop categories of deserved and undeserved disadvantages in relation to the Roma, and re-conceptualise the existence of the category itself as a product of a power relation between Roma and non-Roma.

Romaphobia in the construction of Roma collective identity: affects and ideology
Ioana Vrabiescu
National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest

My focus is on the shift from the Anti-Gypsyism mainly defined as historical homogenization and essentialization of a certain group of people under the stigma of 'Gypsy' to the recent Romaphobia that embodies a particular form of racism developed in the last 20 years. The twisted discourse of minority rights and human rights was used by Roma activists and international organizations particularly after the fall of the Iron Curtain and within the context of European enlargement towards the Eastern Europe. I will argue that this approach on one hand enforces the nation-state authority risking the dissolution of the universalism of human rights discourse within the methodological nationalism, and on the other hand develops for Roma communities a racial consciousness that is addressed politically.

While non-homogenous Roma identity is pushed through organizational and representational institutions to shape the political interests of different Roma communities, a nationalist construction of political identity can be used to empower social movements and to respond the racism. But the anti-racist discourse of Roma ethnic-entrepreneurs within the framework of human rights and the nation-states European construct demands certain questions to be answered: where can we spot the difference between Anti-Gypsyism and Romaphobia? how did Romaphobia emerged under the human rights policies? what are the consequences for Roma nationalist discourse? Using the decolonial critique of knowledge production system and structural racism within the European institutions; I will shape a definition for Romaphobia as it is constructed throughout EU Framework and NRIS.

Romani Minorities on the Margins of Citizenship: Antiziganism and the Politics of Citizenship in the Post-Yugoslav Region
Julija Sardelic

School of Law, University of Edinburgh

In this paper, I research the correlation between the discursive practices of latent cultural racism manifested as antiziganism and the transforming citizenship in the post-Yugoslav context. As many different studies namely showed individuals belonging to Romani minorities are overrepresented within the group of semi-citizens, using Cohen's concept (2009), and also have difficulties in acquiring citizenship at their place of residence in all the states of former Yugoslavia. I argue in the paper that many individuals identified as belonging to Romani minorities were re-positioned in the plethora of post-Yugoslav non-citizenship statuses (IDPs, refugees, legally invisible persons, etc.) not merely due to physical violence in the region, but mainly due to epistemic violence (Spivak 1988) present in re-drafting of citizenship policies and re-definitions of citizenry after the disintegration(s) of Yugoslavia. Although Romani minorities were usually not the main target of these processes, they found themselves positioned *in-between* (paraphrasing Bhabha's notion) the majority population and the dominant minority (e.g. Albanian and Serbian in Kosovo, etc.) and became collateral damage of these processes. Although direct discrimination towards Romani minorities usually cannot be proven, I claim that antiziganism is deeply rooted within the systems of post-Yugoslav societies and as such constantly (re-)creates the conditions for Romani minorities to be positioned on the margins of citizenship.

The evolution of antigypsyism in Poland: from ritual scapegoat to surrogate victims to racial hatred?

Slawomir Kapralski
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology Polish Academy of Sciences

Building my argument on the analysis of two cases of anti-Roma violence and their aftermath (Oswiecim 1981 and Mlawa 1991), I would like to search for a pattern of evolution of antigypsyism in Poland. In the 1980s, the ambiguous stereotype of Roma that dominated in the post-war period, has been giving way to the picture of Roma as a convenient scapegoat to be blamed for the insecurity and economic hardships. This shift in the stereotypical image of Roma, together with the specific 'management of discontent' performed by the Communist authorities, prompted pogrom-like outbreaks of anti-Roma violence, like those in the towns of Konin and Oswiecim. Similar attacks on Roma have taken place again in the beginning of the next decade, already in post-communist Poland. The mob aggression against Roma in the town of Mlawa in 1991, although retained many features of the earlier pogrom-like acts of violence, has already represented a new pattern in which Roma personified the fears associated with the transformation toward neoliberal capitalist economy. In consequence, the wealthier Roma start to represent the 'injustice' of transformation, while the poorer ones performed the role of 'surrogate victims' of the neoliberal modernization process and have been stigmatized as a burden to the hard-working society. This new pattern of perception has provided fertile ground for the racialization of the antigypsy discourse which I intend to trace down in the most contemporary instances of hate speech against Roma.

False identities – ethnic and socio-economic elements in antitziganism

Anne Minken
University of Oslo

False identities – ethnic and socio-economic elements in antitziganism. My main interest is in the oldest forms of antigypsyism in Western Europe, among which Markus End has identified three important tropes. I would like to supplement his analysis and especially the trope he has named "Non-identity". I think that a trope named "false" or "fake identity" will be more to the point. The paper looks back at a shift in the interpretations of gypsy image, taking place gradually from the early 16th century. Quite a lot of authors writing about gypsies from then on declare that the gypsies should not be understood as a separate and foreign people. They are not exotic foreigners, but just ordinary tramps from nearby areas. It is also postulated that the dark skin of the gypsies is fake, made by putting on a special type of ointment, that their language is just "made up" etc. These accusations of a false identity are repeated on and again through the centuries. The assertions that the gypsies put up false appearances and are no more than ordinary tramps, often have been combined with a more outright condemnation and harsher treatment than the ethnic descriptions would suggest. A more modern variant is that the identity of the gypsies, and especially the Nordic Tater, are just constructions made by the majority population and that the terms "gypsies" and "tater" label notorious criminals. In these interpretations it is postulated that the groups' own feelings of identity are taken over from the majority view in a process of internalization (see for instance the theories of Leo Lucassen and for the Nordic taters Adam Heymowski 1969). Across Scandinavia it is still common to understand Taters as a socio-economic group originating from utterly poor outcasts of sedentary society and/or from communities working in despised occupations. It has then been postulated that the Taters have copied a gypsy-identity for instrumental reasons i.e using fake exotic traits to promote their economic interests.

This type of analysis compares Nordic Taters to groups of Roma who came to Scandinavia from Eastern Europe from the middle of the 19th century, These groups were then understood as "the real Gypsies" and romanticized in contrast to the Taters who some eg in Sweden went on to stigmatise vis-à-vis "the real Gypsies". Taters were characterize as "native trash" in opposition to the East European Roma who were described as "noble savages". With this history in mind, my analysis of antigypsyism will consider both the elements of ethnicity as well as the elements of socio-economic position, ie class. Though my study is focused on historical representations, it is also relevant for contemporary Scandinavia: Today it is common to assert that the Bulgarian and Romanian Roma are not really poor or that they are just exploited by well-to-do leaders. Some Norwegian Roma presenting these migrant communities as criminals and undermining their identity as a "real Roma" using the rhetoric common for targeting local Roma communities in the past.

Words which exclude: Political intentions, stereotypes and institutionalised antiziganism in European policies towards Roma
Sabrina Tosi Cambini (University of Verona and Giovanni Michelucci Foundation)
Giuseppe Beluschi Fabeni (Taller Antropología y Ciencias Sociales Aplicadas)

Marc Ballester Torrents (Taller Antropología y Ciencias Sociales Aplicadas).

The paper will introduce the results of the research included in the European project "WE: WE: Wor(l)ds which exclude", that is now taking place. The project WE stems from the empirical experience and studies of the seven partners involved as well as from the comparison of the results of research at the European level on the issue of the housing conditions of Roma, and of the housing and settling policies related to them. Some important studies about the housing situation and housing policies have been conducted in recent years. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has produced an European comparative report on housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in EU and has commissioned national reports to Member States as background material for that (FRA, *Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union*, 2009.). This study "confirms that racism is a serious obstacle to the enjoyment of adequate housing by Roma and Travellers" and in this discriminatory practices also Public Institutions have an important role. On the basis of the common features arising from the European context we have asked ourselves about the existence of a possible stereotyped social description of the Roma, which has historically become a common element in the public and political discourse in Europe.

This cognitive "core" would then take on local forms linked to the specific context and to the relationship created between certain Roma groups and a given territory. The deep-rooted stereotypes in the culture of the majority society and existing in the mind of policy-makers become the foundations on which projects and policies are created. The focus of the research is therefore on the Institutions and wishes to analyse the documents produced by national and local Public Institutions (laws, regulations, plans, acts, resolutions, etc..) concerning Roma people, both as regards the language used and the measures proposed, Housing Policies in particular .

On the issue of housing, in fact, (all) the policies of social inclusion play a certain role, and "Romaphobia" is essentially or *in primis* the fear of having the Roma close by. This analysis could also clearly show what the stereotypes in action are and how they produce effects on reality and on the everyday life of Roma people.