CRS Critical Romani Studies

Roma Holocaust, Memory, and Representation

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Critical Romani Studies

Aims and Scope

Critical Romani Studies is an international, interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal providing a forum for activist-scholars to critically examine racial oppressions, different forms of exclusion, inequalities, and human rights abuses of Roma. Without compromising academic standards of evidence collection and analysis, the Journal seeks to create a platform to critically engage with academic knowledge production, and generate critical academic and policy knowledge targeting – amongst others – scholars, activists, and policymakers.

Scholarly expertise is a tool, rather than the end, for critical analysis of social phenomena affecting Roma, contributing to the fight for social justice. The Journal especially welcomes the cross-fertilization of Romani studies with the fields of critical race studies, gender and sexuality studies, critical policy studies, diaspora studies, colonial studies, postcolonial studies, and studies of decolonization.

The Journal actively solicits papers from critically-minded young Romani scholars who have historically experienced significant barriers in engaging with academic knowledge production. The Journal considers only previously unpublished manuscripts which present original, high-quality research. The Journal is committed to the principle of open access, so articles are available free of charge. All published articles undergo rigorous peer review, based on initial editorial screening and refereeing by at least two anonymous scholars. The Journal provides a modest but fair remuneration for authors, editors, and reviewers.

The Journal has grown out of the informal Roma Research and Empowerment Network, and it is founded by the Romani Studies Program of Central European University and the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture. The Romani Studies Program at CEU organizes conferences annually where draft papers are presented and discussed before selecting them for peer review.

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Cover: Nostalgia is the luxury for other (2021). Image courtesy of Krzysztof Gil

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Foreword

Roma Holocaust, Memory, and Representation

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The 2010s were a turning point in the historiography of the Roma and Sinti genocide: archives were discovered, new topics were addressed, and testimonies of survivors have begun to be taken into account in historical research. However, this shift is not only the work of historians: it owes much to grassroots and activists' initiatives. Two of them in particular have contributed to train a new generation and to change the way we approach Romani history during the Second World War: *Dikh i na bister*, which brings together Romani youth each year to commemorate 2 August 1944, and *Romani Resistance Day* (16 May), which celebrates the incredible strength displayed by Roma in the face of persecution. Both of these initiatives have had a greater impact on scientific research than one might imagine, and their output is still to come. It is no longer possible to ignore the fact that the memory of the Roma Holocaust is alive and well, and that its transmission has never stopped. The struggle thus has reached historical research. In the political context of confrontations with the extreme right, which attempts to influence and even prevent historical research, a number of our colleagues are accused of 'ideology' and 'activism' when they tackle themes such as resistance, and when they suggest that there might be bias in past historiography. In this context of renewal and historiographical debate, members of the editorial board of *Critical Romani Studies* thought it was the time to devote an entire issue to the Roma Holocaust. How have certain grassroots initiatives impacted scientific research? How have historians taken up critical theory? And more generally, what is the state of War and Holocaust Studies about Roma and Sinti?

The Roma and Sinti Holocaust has been questioned, overlooked, and marginalized for several decades. The postwar period was not only the time when the perpetrators were held accountable, but also a period in which the Holocaust memory discourse was built. Nevertheless, Roma and Sinti witnesses did not testify during the Nuremberg trials, and those who perpetrated genocide against them were not brought to justice for those crimes. It resulted in both the exclusion of Roma and Sinti from the Holocaust discourse and the failure to include their war history in educational programs. As postcolonial scholars have already stressed, the lack of political representation and of a dominant position in majority societies is another reason for this silence. However, thanks to the commitment of the communities themselves, remembrance of the fate of Roma during the Second World War is gradually coming to the minds of Europeans. But the way is lengthy, as the memory of the concentration camp for Roma of Lety, on the territory of the Czech Republic, testifies. In the 1970s, the communist authorities established a pig farm there, which was not closed after the fall of the regime. The farm was privatized and after decades of fighting to remove it, in 2018, an agreement was reached, which in turn would result in the relocation of the farm. Finally, it has been decided to have a memorial site built in its place. This iconic example testifies of a general tendency towards Roma and Sinti communities and remind us of the words of the postcolonial critic Homi K. Bhabha: "Remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present."[1]

The first two articles in this issue offer a renewed interpretation of the treatment of Roma and Sinti in Romania and France during the Second World War and recall that antigypsyism ideology was present in those countries before the rise to power of Ion Antonescu and Philippe Pétain. Both articles argue

1 Homi K. Bhabha. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 63.

that the persecution of Roma and Sinti during the war is part of a longer historical sequence. In "Roma and the Question of Ethnic Origin in Romania during the Holocaust", **Marius Turda and Adrian-Nicolae Furtună** highlight the existence of a Romanian eugenics discourse in which Romania could only recover its health and greatness if deprived of some of its members. Based on newly found archival material, the authors show that there was an attempt from the early 1940s to transform Romania into an ethnically homogeneous state. In the article entitled "Do French 'Nomads' Have a War History? A Review of Seventy-Five Years of Historiography", **Lise Foisneau** offers a critical analysis of the methodological and thematic biases present in some historical research on the so-called "Nomads" in France during the Second World War. By focusing on how the history of French Roma and Travellers during the war was written, the author shows how the French postwar governments have relied on historical studies to deny the racial character of the persecution of the "Nomads". The article by Marius Turda and Adrian-Nicolae Furtună, together with the article by Lise Foisneau, prove how the interpretation of history had long-lasting practical implications on Romani lives, for historiography matters – and also is the basis on which historiography has been conceived. **Slawomir Kapralski** reflects on the far-reaching consequences of colonial violence on violence against Roma in the late twentieth century. While exploring the roots of the Roma Holocaust, the author confronts Romani studies with the fields of colonial studies from the perspective of genocide studies. He questions the relationships among Nazi persecution of Roma, modernization, and colonization. He argues that the idea of government through extreme violence, typical of last century Europe, was experimented in the colonial situation, which was in itself a preparation to genocidal violence. In this context, Roma were seen as the "savages within" and suffered a form of domestic colonialism that was pre-genocidal.

In an issue devoted to the Roma Holocaust such as this, we thought it would be appropriate to include authors who have worked on the museographic representation of it. **Eve Rosenhaft and Kyu Dong Lee** have accepted to reflect on the experience of exhibiting the same photographic archive (Hanns Weltzel photographs) in two different exhibitions, one which took place in Britain, the other in South Korea. In the article entitled "Representing/Roma/Holocaust: Exhibition Experiences in Europe and East Asia", the authors observed how European and Korean visitors responded to the exhibition. They offer a reflection on Roma as subaltern and racialized subjects and on the danger of aestheticization. Interested in the question of representation and misrepresentation, this issue publishes the results of a research project on the presence of Roma Holocaust in European textbooks. **Marko Pecak, Riem Spielhaus, and Simona Szakács-Behling** apply critical discourse analysis to a dataset of 472 passages and images referring to the Roma Holocaust from 869 textbooks. In their article, "Between Antigypsyism and Human Rights Education: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representations of the Roma Holocaust in European Textbooks", one learns that when discussing the Roma Holocaust textbooks focus on numbers and murder techniques whereas Roma-specific details, survivor stories, and individual voices are rare. This systematic study provides a comprehensive picture of how the Roma Holocaust is taught via European textbooks.

The present *Critical Romani Studies* issue also hosts two articles that reflect on contemporary forms of racialization and segregation. **Simina Dragos'** paper directly responds to the observations and questions made by Marko Pecak, Riem Spielhaus, and Simona Szakács-Behling in their study on the representation of the Roma Holocaust in textbooks: she explores the responses of Romani students in a segregated

school in Romania to the majoritarian deficit narratives constructed about them. In "Romani Students' Responses to Antigypsyist Schooling in a Segregated School in Romania: A Critical Race Theory perspective", Simina Dragos inquires on the specific strategies of resistance implemented by Romani students to cope with the majority narrative. Also focusing on the constitution of a minority group within a nation**, Zoë James** analyses the way in which Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are constituted into a community of difference. In a thought-provoking paper – "Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as a Community of Difference: Challenging Inclusivity as an Anti-racist Approach" – the author expresses her concern that policy developments in the United Kingdom have racialized communities and then measures its consequences for Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers.

This special issue on the Roma Holocaust is highlighting the work of the Romani-Polish artist **Krzysztof Gil**. He kindly agreed that his 2021 piece of work called *Nostalgia is the luxury for other* would be featured on the front cover, and we are grateful to him for it. At this point it is worth adding that Gil uses such techniques as drawing, painting, installation, and graphic arts to draw attention to how the tragic past shapes and influences the Romani minority in the present-day. In his paintings he strategically tells the stories of decolonization and new beginnings. Gil is the author of the installation *Tajsa yesterday and tomorrow*, one of the most moving works of art in recent years, in which he conceptually revises and deconstructs classical paintings in order to make space for absent stories. In an article entitled "Futures Past Means *Tajsa*", **Monika Weychert** discusses some of Gil's installations, and looks at the presence of genocide in his work. She points out how the mechanisms of rendering long-standing violence is captured by Gil's art and how his work allows us to understand that genocide is one moment in a longer sequence of persecutions.

In the book review section, **Anna Daróczi** reviews the anthology edited by Eliyana Adler and Katerina Čapková, *Jewish and Romani Families in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (2020), and **Dalen C.B. Wakeley-Smith** writes on how the methods outlined in *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice*, edited by Natalia Molina, Ramon Gutiérrez, and Daniel HoSang, can be of use regarding the situation of many Romani communities across Europe.

Roma and the Question of Ethnic Origin in Romania during the Holocaust

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Abstract

This article suggests that the arguments used to justify the deportation of Roma to Transnistria in 1942 were racial and eugenic. As a self-styled scientific theory of human betterment, eugenics aimed to sanitize Romania's population, proposing a new vision of the national community, one biologically purged of those individuals believed to be "defective", "unfit", and "unworthy" of reproduction. Based on new archival material we suggest that the racial definition of Romanianness that prevailed at the time aimed to remove not just Jews but also Roma from the dominant ethnic nation ("*neamul românesc*"). To define Romanianness according to blood, ethnic origin, and cultural affiliation had been an essential component of Romania's biopolitical programme since the 1920s. During the early 1940s, it served as the political foundation upon which the transformation of Romania into an ethnically homogeneous state was carried out. At the time, the "Roma problem", similar to the "Jewish Question", was undeniably premised on eugenics and racism.

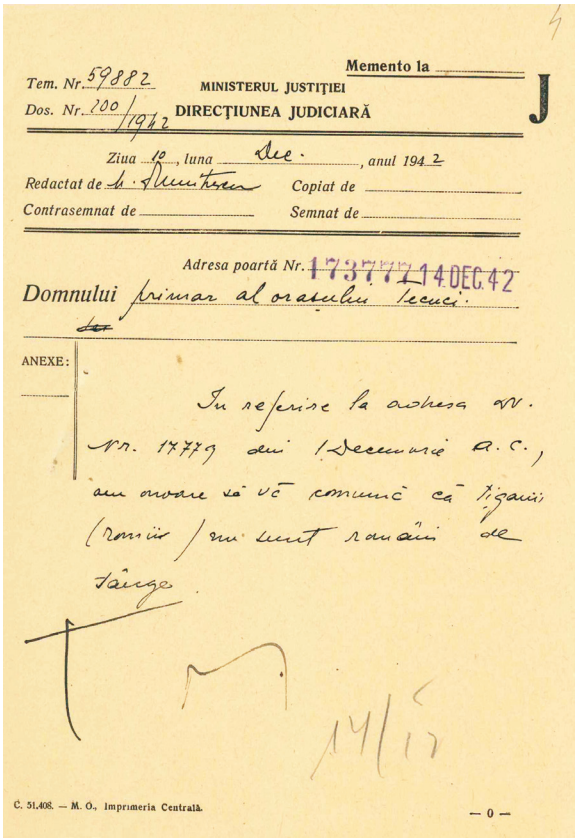
Keywords

- Biopolitics
- Eugenics
- Holocaust
- Nationalism
- Roma

"Let's separate the wheat from the chaff."
– Holocaust survivor Lucreția Cârjobanu, Pietriș village, Iași county, interviewed in 2012

Introduction

Barely a month had passed since Mihai Antonescu announced in the Council of Ministers the end of deportations to Transnistria, when an official request was sent from Tecuci, a small town in eastern Romania, to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dimitrie I. Popescu, asking him to clarify whether the Roma could be issued "Romanian ethnic certificates" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naţionalităţii Române, 1 Nov. 1942). Nine days later, on 10 November 1942, hoping to disentangle the confusion about this issue, the Ministry of Internal Affairs re-transmitted the request to the Ministry of Justice. Several days later, the Ministry of Justice provided an answer, explaining to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that "Gypsies are not of Romanian ethnic origin. They can, however, possess Romanian citizenship." An equally simple and straightforward answer was given to the Mayor of Tecuci on 10 December: "Gypsies (Roma) are not Romanians by blood" – the original Romanian reads: "*ţiganii (romii) nu sunt români de sânge*").



Memento la

Tem. Nr. 59882 MINISTERUL JUSTIŢIEI

Dos. Nr. 200/1942 DIRECŢIUNEA JUDICIARĂ

Ziua 12, luna Dec., anul 1942

Redactat de [illegible] Copiat de

Contrasemnat de Semnat de

Adresa poartă Nr. 173777 14 DEC. 42

Domnului primar al orașului Tecuci.

ANEXE:

În referire la adresa dv. nr. 17779 din 1 Decembrie a.c., am onoare să vă comunic că ţiganii (romii) nu sunt români de sânge.

C. 51.408. — M. O., Imprimeria Centrală. — 0 —

Figure 1. Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, file 4, dos. 34, 1942, Fond 2383, Ministerul Justiției, Arhivele Naționale ale României.

What is the meaning of this statement? Why were the Roma not considered fully "Romanian"? And what can this example tell us about the broader perception of the Roma in Romania in a period during which many of them were deported to Transnistria and left to die there in inhumane conditions? These are the questions we aim to answer in this article. As the letter from Tecuci demonstrates, official language and the presumption of who was considered ethnically Romanian was predicated on race rather than citizenship. As elsewhere at the time, in Romania, too, blood – understood as the biological, inheritable connection between current generations and preceding generations of Romanians – was appropriated to perform a political function: that of ethnic cleansing, and its corollary, the transformation of Romania into a racial state. Simply put, to be considered "Romanian by blood" in 1942 meant that you belonged to the dominant ethnic nation.

1. Law and Race

This racial sophistry was initially directed at the Romanian Jews who, since 1938, had been subjected to a string of anti-Semitic legislation aimed at their dispossession and the deprivation of their rights (Ioanid 2000; Benjamin, 2004, 237–251). On 8 August 1940 two new legislative measures were signed into law by King Carol II, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ion Gigurtu, and the Minister of Justice, Ion V. Gruia. The first outlined the legal and religious criteria according to which one was "defined" as Jewish; the second prohibited the marriage of Jews with "Romanians by blood" (Noua legislaţiune cu privire la evrei, vol. 1, 1940, 3–9 and 21–22).

In a report prepared for the Council of Ministers a day earlier, Gruia explained the racial and nationalist underpinnings of these laws. According to Gruia, with these laws a "biological conception of the Nation" was introduced in Romania, separating those citizens who had "Romanian blood" and were Christians from those who had not and were not, such as Jews. They were described as a "foreign race" whose further assimilation in the Romanian nation had to be stopped immediately. Romania, Gruia also argued, was a country of ethnic Romanians, and did not belong to those who only held Romanian citizenship. To be considered ethnically Romanian, an individual had to be "true-blooded Romanian" for at least three generations. Only these Romanians were allowed to hold high office in the state and only these Romanians formed the nation. As Gruia noted: "We considered Romanian blood as constituting a key component of the Nation." In this way, Gruia, using race as a criterion of national belonging, announced the onset of Romania's long anticipated ethnic regeneration, similar to what Nazi Germany and fascist Italy had experienced throughout the 1930s. This new legal framework, Gruia concluded in his report, aimed to "promote the organic and creative elements of the Nation" while, at the same time, to "purify it of its miscegenate and parasitic elements" (Gruia 1940, 22–26).

These laws were both racial and eugenic. Their purpose was not only to limit the complete access to economic resources and public functions to ethnic Romanians but equally to ensure the eugenic protection of their racial qualities. As pointed out by Mihai Manoilescu on 30 July 1940, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, the time had come to create a "Romania for the Romanians and only for them" (Benjamin 1996, 51–53). On another level, the issue of blood and Romanian identity was much more complex, as explained by Eugen Petit, a legal expert and advisor to the High Court of Cassation and Justice. On 28 July 1940 Petit published a short article in the legal publication *Dreptul* (The law) in which he attempted to unpack the problems of "ethnic origin" and miscegenation. Petit was not interested in the obvious cases of individuals with unquestionable racial identity, whose "blood was Romanian". But what happened, he asked, if the father and the mother belonged to different ethnic groups? Which ethnic origin would be attributed to the offspring, that of the father or of the mother? Could, for instance, a child born of a Romanian mother and a Jewish father be considered Romanian? And how about a child whose mother was Roma?

According to Petit, "ethnic origin" was inherited from the mother and could not be acquired through legislation, education, or acculturation. Therefore, one could not become Romanian by acquiring Romanian citizenship. "Ethnic origin," he pointed out, was the matrix in which the individual was stamped

and within which the individual operated (Petit 1940a, 117–119). It was thus essential to consider the eugenic connections between female bodies, reproduction, and race when describing the member of a political community. What Petit wanted to do, in fact, was return the idea of Romanian ethnic origins to where, he believed, it belonged, namely in the realm of nature and biology. He did not introduce a legal distinction between nation and race; the two terms overlapped to a significant degree. Jews and Roma were racially different from Romanians, and their place in the Romanian national community was questioned as a result.

Petit elaborated further on this point in the second part of the article dealing with the "ethnic origin" of the Romanians, published in September 1940 (Petit 1940b, 133–135). In a totalitarian state – as Romania aspired to be – the aims were to "keep the race pure" and to prevent miscegenation; otherwise, its prospects were bleak. In support of his argument Petit quoted Adolf Hitler who, in *Mein Kampf*, described the non-Aryans as "enemies of the human species" and "bacteria" (*Ibid.*, 134) Another reference for Petit was Romania's foremost anti-Semite, A. C. Cuza, who notoriously described the Jews as "a 'bastardised and degenerate" race (Turda 2003, 336–348; Turda 2008, 437–453). Both authors asserted that the "vigorous Romanian race" needed to be liberated from its "Jewish influences" so that it could reclaim its Aryanism. The Aryan race, according to Petit, grouped together Celts, Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and Germans. As Latins, ethnic Romanians were, therefore, Aryans, and as such, they too needed to be kept separate from non-Aryan races such as Jews and Roma. And how about the identity of mixed-race children? Petit's answer was categorical. If an Aryan woman had a child with a non-Aryan man then that child had "mixed blood" and was thus racially "suspicious". A "drop of non-Aryan blood," he pointed out was "enough to contaminate the blood of the offspring" (Petit 1940b, 135). What, then, could be done? Petit's recommendations were education and legislation. All Romanians should be taught to love their nation ("*neam*") and country and be encouraged to marry within their ethnic group. At the same time, Petit suggested that those who had sexual relations with non-Aryans should be punished harshly. The eugenic control of reproduction was meant to enhance the regenerative capabilities of the Romanian race.

Petit's message was clearly pessimistic but perhaps with good reason. For decades, Romanian eugenicists and demographers had painted the practice of mixed marriages, particularly in Transylvania and the Banat, in dark terms. For instance, in a report prepared for the Council of the Orthodox Diocese of Cluj published in May 1925 it was noted that out of 2784 religious marriages recorded in the diocese in 1924, 450 were between Romanians and non-Romanians (Renașterea 1925, 4). Keeping the "race pure" also meant not just banning interethnic marriages but also the introduction of demographic and eugenic incentives for Romanians to marry other Romanians.

Although not involved with the formulation of the anti-Semitic laws introduced in 1940, in a short note accompanying the article, Petit mentioned both approvingly. In a book published a year later, also entitled *Originea etnică* (Ethnic origin) he discussed Gruia's report from 8 August 1940 in detail, adding new reflections on the relevance of blood and race for the definition of the Romanian nation. This time he finally explained which racial components constituted so-called "Romanian blood", attributing significance to the three main groups which had contributed to the Romanian ethnogenesis: Dacians, Romans, and Slavs. "Dacian-Roman blood" was, for him, the fundamental racial factor, uniting Romanians with Italians, French, and Spanish in the large family of the "Aryan Latin race."

Petit's perspective echoed recurrent themes in Romanian nationalism, connecting a dominant ethnic culture with an autochthonous population. Race was, in this context, about biology, lineage, and family but also about historical continuity and authenticity. Only "true" Romanians were considered to be the "creators of the national culture". As a legal expert, however, Petit recast these cultural and historical themes in ways that were consistent with the eugenic programme of ethnic purification promoted at the time in and outside Romania. In so doing, he mirrored, at the level of the legal system, the same shift observed at the level of culture, science, and politics. The laws of the country, Petit concluded, needed to reflect these new racial realities.

These were not just theoretical reflections on the importance of race for the definition of the nation but actual racial guidelines. In a country like Romania, and in a period in which race, family, motherhood, and nation were interlinked, the question of the "ethnic origin" was of paramount importance. After decades of debates about how to define the Romanian nation, race had finally gained prominence in the political performance of the state. The eugenic and racist fixation with the "blood" of the Romanian nation, thus came to share the performative function of ethnic identification with language and religion.

Eugenics and the Biological Protection of the Nation

How did educated Romanians define eugenics and race at the time? "Eugenics," according to one of them, was "the science which studied the hereditary and environmental factors able to improve the biological characteristics of future generations." Further, "eugenics constituted the basis and the starting point for all measures that aimed to increase the biological quality of our people" (Banu 1941, 342–343). "Race" was understood as "a biological and hereditary notion" (Râmneanțu 1939a, 164). In Romanian eugenic and nationalist literature, race was often used as a synonym for people, nation, and ethnicity ("*etnicul românesc*"). As pointed out by another eugenicist, "the term race can easily be replaced with ethnic body, the body of the nation or, simply, the nation" (Făcăoaru 1935a, 3). The discussion about the "Romanian race" and its "blood" was therefore always in flux, rarely working with stable meanings. Certainly, race and nation often overlapped during the interwar period, and the two terms were used interchangeably in public and political debates on ethnic specificity; yet it is also clear that by the early 1940s attempts were made to align categories of national affiliation such as language and religion with racial attributes, along with such corollary binaries as autochthonous versus foreign, rural versus urban, civilised versus primitive, and European versus non-European. These stereotypes abound in representations of Romani people, from anthropological diagnoses of their "intellectual inferiority" to medicalised interpretations of their hygienic "backwardness" and predisposition to disease and infection. Throughout the interwar period, their characterisation as racially inferior and culturally backward shifted consistently towards a eugenic concern with the health of the Romanian nation. As aptly put by Shannon Woodcock: "It is important to note, however, that the *Țigan* identity to which Roma remained tethered in discourse was also increasingly located in biology with the popularization of eugenic discourse. The strengthened perception of ethnic characteristics as biologically inalienable played an important role when Romanians decided who to persecute in the Holocaust – as even those Roma who did not display the symptoms of stereotypical *Țigan* identity could be deported as biologically *Țigan*" (Woodcock 2010, 36).

Eugenics grew in popularity in Romania after 1920, but it was in 1940 that the interlocking network of nationalism, eugenics, racism, and anti-Semitism infused the biopolitical project of building a modern Romanian nation with its damaging predisposition towards ethnic purification. Far from constituting a theory about human breeding shared by specialised biologists and physicians only, eugenics revealed, expressed, and conditioned narratives of national belonging articulated by individuals holding leading positions in the state administration and government. As Iosif Stoichiță, Secretary General in the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance, announced in his radio broadcast on 30 May 1941, "the biological recovery of our nation […] requires the adoption of a broad biopolitical programme". The aim was to preserve the racial quality of the Romanian family and safeguard its future (Stoichiță 1941, 413). It is important to understand that this is exactly what Romania's highest state officials had set out to accomplish.

On 6 September 1940, General (later Marshall) Ion Antonescu became Romania's head of state. The racial and eugenic programme of ethnic purification received a new impetus. New antisemitic legislation was introduced, covering all aspects of cultural, economic, and social Jewish life. The centrality of race in the crafting of these laws is undeniable. As Mihai A. Antonescu, who succeeded Gruia as Minister of Justice, underlined in a letter to Ion Antonescu dated 27 March 1941: "The Romanian nation must be protected and rebuilt. The structure of Romanian society," he continued, "must be cleansed" (Antonescu 1941a, 20). To this effect, on 3 May 1941 the National Centre for Romanianization (*Centrul Național de Românizare*) was established with the purpose of eliminating Jewish and "foreign" economic influences from Romania. Then in a cabinet meeting on 17 June, the same Antonescu, now Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced the beginning of the "the purification of the population; […] not only in respect of the Jews, but of all nationalities; we will implement a policy of total and violent expulsion of foreign elements" (Ciucă, Ignat, and Teodorescu 1999, 570). And on 6 October, Ion Antonescu himself made it clear that his aim, as the country's head of state, was "to purify the Romanian race", and that no obstacle will deter him from "achieving this historical objective of our people". Regaining the "lost territories" of Transylvania and Bessarabia, which were lost in the summer of 1940, would mean nothing, he added, without "the purification of the Romanian people; after all, what made a people strong was not borders but the purity and the homogeneity of its race" (Benjamin 1996, 326–327). Antonescu may not have used the word eugenics, but his reference to race was clear enough to anyone willing to listen and act accordingly.

What this meant in practice was the transformation of Romania into a "functional biological state" (Antonescu 1941b, 85–86). The embrace of biopolitics, a much-cherished eugenic goal, finally occurred. The state became guardian of the biological qualities of the nation, which was to be fortified not merely under the banner of a new cultural and political ideology, but through a synthesis of racist and eugenic morality. As the journalist and literary historian Dan Smântănescu underlined in an article on the "question of race" published in 1941: "A new destiny awaits mankind. Each race will be returned to its blood rights!" According to Smântănescu, to "strengthen the quality of blood within its ethnic framework" it was required that in Romania "reproduction was only allowed for the members of the race" (Smântănescu 1941, 307–308). This intense biologisation of the national belonging constituted a "defensive response to forms of collective and cultural fragmentation" (Turda 2007, 437) brought about by the generalised perception of a national tragedy unfolding in the context of the world war.

The deportation of the Roma to Transnistria should rightly be seen as integral to the process of ethnic purification attempted by Ion Antonescu and his regime after 6 September 1940. It is discussed together with the state-coordinated elimination of Romania's Jews in the Holocaust. Scholars have made exertions to document the profusion of antisemitism in Romania, before and after 1918, and drawn out its enabling role in the orchestration of pogroms, deportations, killings, and ultimately the Holocaust. Yet a different interpretation of the reasons behind Ion Antonescu's decision to deport the Roma currently predominates in Romanian historiography. The official narrative is that there was "no Gypsy problem" in Romania prior to 1942, when the deportations of Roma to Transnistria began. One prominent historian perpetuating this argument even goes as far as to suggest that "Racism […] didn't count for much in Romanian political thinking in the interwar years or even during the Second World War. Its importance was marginal even among supporters of eugenics" (Achim 2007, 167). This argument about the lack of official anti-Romani eugenics and racism was also adopted by the International Commission for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania under Elie Wiesel's chairmanship and was included in its "Final Report" published in 2004. Antonescu, the argument goes, was a Romanian nationalist and antisemite. He was also obsessive about order. As a military man, he loathed disruption and insubordination. Antonescu ordered the deportation of Roma because he perceived them to be disruptors of the social order.

This historiographic tradition accepts that Romanians were antisemites during the early 1940s but considers that their anti-Roma attitudes were not motivated by racism and eugenics (Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu, 2004, 223–241). This reticence to discuss anti-Romani racism reflects another illusion purported by historians of science and medicine in Romania, which sought to negate, or at least soften, the impact of eugenics. Celebrated medical historian Gheorghe Brătescu, for instance, described the Romanian eugenic movement as "frail" without having any broad cultural and political significance (Brătescu 1999, 406–411). The general historical knowledge about Romania's eugenic past remains sketchy at best, with many significant gaps.

These arguments are inherently flawed, revealing no attempt to understand the broader Romanian racist and eugenic movement during the 1930s and 1940s. As Lya Benjamin, Jean Ancel, Radu Ioanid, Maria Bucur, Vladimir Solonari, Michelle Kelso, Benjamin Thorne, Roland Clark, Chris Davis, and Ștefan C. Ionescu have demonstrated abundantly, after 1920 Romanian culture and politics were both imbricated with and undercut by repeated racist theorisations and exemplifications of what it meant to be Romanian. Prominent Romanian eugenicists, including Iuliu Moldovan, Aurel Voina, Grigore I. Odobescu, Gheorghe Marinescu, Gheorghe Banu, and Sabin Manuilă, asserted the individuality of the nation ("neam") and devised strategies to protect its biological qualities. In their writings they placed the Romanian peasant family at the centre of the eugenic and biopolitical transformation of the country. Crucially, this eugenic exultation of the family did not include Roma. As the ideology of ethnic nationalism was popularised and disseminated through official publications, literary and scientific journals, books, public lectures, and the entire school system, the Romanian peasant family became synonymous with the Romanian nation ("*neamul românesc*") (Turda 2016, 29–58).

In his oft-quoted *Igiena națiunii: eugenia* (The hygiene of the nation: Eugenics), published in 1925, Iuliu Moldovan, a professor at the University of Cluj and director of its Institute of Hygiene and Social Hygiene, made it clear that what defined the Romanians was not "language, religion and common interests" but a

"biological relation of blood" ("*legatura biologică de sânge*") connecting each one of them across time and space (Moldovan 1925). Romanian "blood" was thus transformed into a symbol of ethnic hegemony and national normativity, biologizing individual and collective identity.

Moldovan and his students repeatedly insisted that the Romanian nation was not an abstract category, "imagined" and inclusive, but a "real" entity, based on "blood", racial affiliation, and tradition. Above all, they valued the Romanian peasant family seen as the embodiment of the nation's racial strength (Marinescu 1935, 7–8). The nomadic Roma was contrasted racially and eugenically with the Romanian peasant. Celebrated historian Nicolae Iorga, for instance, spoke of the "Gypsy, [being] in all its expressions, a human monkey" in contrast to the "dignified figure of our peasant" (Iorga 1929, 4). The de-humanization of the Roma dovetailed with the eugenic and racist rationalization of so-called Romani "backwardness" and of their irremediable delinquency, indolence, and cultural inferiority. In this way, unworthiness and a deceptive social performativity characterized the representation of the Roma Romanians as national subjects.

Roma Enslavement and Romanian Racism

Slaves for almost five centuries, the racialisation of Roma loomed large in the Romanian debate about the nation during the early 1940s. The following view put forward by prominent social hygienist and eugenicist and former Minister of Health, Gheorghe Banu, in one of his articles published in the late 1941 was widely shared by other physicians, anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnographers. According to Banu, "Due to their hereditary and constitutional inheritance, to which the degenerative action of the environment and conditions of labour had also contributed, the Gypsies are an inferior group, physically and psychologically, in comparison to the autochthonous population. Irrespective whether they were state-, church-, or private-owned slaves, these elements had always been dysgenic" (Banu 1941, 366). Slavery was thus used to explain why the Romani population had developed racial traits unwanted in modern society. Their perceived inferiority was validated by such interpretations that proclaimed a connection between race and deviance and justified the eugenic intervention of the modern state.

Sabin Manuilă, Romania's foremost demographer, equally believed that it was Roma, not Jews, who had caused the greatest racial and eugenic damage in Romania. In an article published in 1940 he described the "Gypsies" thus:

> The Gypsies constitute a rather numerous ethnic group in Romania. Their exact number is not known, because of the assimilation of a great number of sedentary Gypsies. They have no social value. On the contrary, based on what we know from expert studies we can assert that the Gypsy ethnic group is the most inferior, socially, and especially, morally. The cause of this should not be looked for in their anatomical structure but in their intellectual one, which is below mediocre, and particularly in their unstable character. […] Gypsies are emotional, temperamental, irrational, and thus incapable of sustained effort.

Given these views, it is not surprising that Manuilă believed "the Gypsies" to be Romania's most important, sensitive and serious racial problem." The situation was both tragic and "catastrophic", requiring immediate state intervention. Otherwise, Manuilă warned, the racial miscegenation caused by the assimilation of the Roma into Romanian society and the "new hybrid type, the Gypsy-Romanian" which had emerged as a result would lead to a further weakening of the racial texture of the nation. "There is no field of activity [in Romania]," he suggested, "left untouched by the Gypsy racial element" ("*elementul rassial ţigănesc*"). Similar to Iorga, Manuilă opposed the "Gypsy anthropological type" to "our Dacian-Romanian type, which [was] sombre, rationalist, scrupulous and resolute". The contrast between these racial types was meant to reveal specific Roma "hereditary characteristics" and their racial difference.

Manuilă hoped that the new political leadership would take his warning seriously and adopt practical measures to defend the Romanian nation against Roma. As one might expect in the highly charged atmosphere of the summer of 1940, when Romania lost major territories – Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union, northern Transylvania to Hungary, southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria – the "Gypsy problem" may have seemed of secondary importance. Manuilă nevertheless remained undeterred, concluding:

> These facts oblige us to consider the Gypsy problem as Romania's most important racial problem. [. . .] It is true that there are other ethnic problems [in Romania], some of high priority due to international politics. But these problems should not obfuscate our major problem with the continuous and unwanted mixing between Gypsies and Romanians, a mixture which degrades the Romanian race. The mixing of Gypsy and Romanian blood is the most dysgenic factor affecting our race (Manuilă 1940, 5).

The "Roma problem" was thus racialised and involved eradicating their presence in Romania. The Orthodox theologian, Liviu Stan, echoed these views when he declared in 1941 that:

> Gypsy blood had penetrated Romanian blood and it […] changed our spirit and damaged our moral values. […] From a biological point of view, Gypsies have damaged our ethnic essence more than Jews. When we think that the purity of the blood conditions the purity of the spirit, then here too the Gypsies have surpassed the Jews, causing greater moral and spiritual damage than these (Stan 1941, 1–2).

To protect the Romanian race from further biological weakening, Stan advocated eugenic "prophylactic measures", including their "segregation" and the "prohibition of marriage between Gypsies and Romanians" (*Ibid.*). Stan saw Roma essentially as "dysgenic monsters" populating Romania and did not hesitate to describe them publicly as such in a book published a year later, aptly called *Race and Religion* (Rasă şi religiune) (Stan 1942, 144). Given the advancement of the assimilation of Roma into Romanian society, the eugenic diagnosis was bleak. What, then, could be done to prevent further degeneration of the race? Sociologist Traian Herseni readily offered his advice: "Dysgenic individuals must not be allowed to reproduce; inferior races should be completely isolated from the [Romanian] ethnic group. The sterilization of certain categories of individuals must not be conceived stupidly as a violation of human dignity but as a tribute to beauty, morality, and perfection" (Herseni 1941, 7).

Here, then, was one of the major sources of concern for proponents of eugenics in Romania: nomadic Roma were quickly distinguishable from other ethnic groups, but the sedentary, assimilated Roma required additional strategies of racial identification (Manuilă 1941, 2). According to these authors, for almost a century, Roma had mixed with the Romanians in urban slums, creating a new racial type. Yet to identify this type in the population was exceedingly difficult, Manuilă pointed out. According to the national census carried out by the National Institute of Statistics in 1930 under Manuilă's supervision, ethnic Romanians constituted 71.9 per cent of the population; a significant 28.1 per cent were minorities, some numerous, such as Hungarians (7.9 per cent), others, such as Turks, a mere 0.9 per cent. But numbers only did not make an internal enemy. After all, Jews amounted to 4 per cent of the total population and Roma to just slightly over 1.0 per cent. Only 262,501 individuals identified themselves as ethnically Roma, but this number was considered questionable. As Manuilă and his collaborator Dumitru C. Georgescu explained, because the word "Gypsy" was considered insulting, "a significant number of Gypsies and those with Gypsy origin – in particular those who had assimilated into other ethnic groups – did not declare themselves Gypsy but identified themselves with the ethnic group into which they had assimilated" (Manuilă and Georgescu 1938, 59).

The difficulties encountered in trying to provide accurate and reliable information about the numbers of Roma living in Romania were again highlighted in a report Manuilă and Georgescu prepared for and submitted to Ion Antonescu on 7 September 1942. Relying on the data collected in 1930 by the Central Institute of Statistics, the two statisticians pointed out that the demographic trends they had identified among Roma at the time, particularly their "tendency to spread out and blend with the majority of the population," had only gotten worse (Achim 2004, 163). In the so-called Old Kingdom, the territories constituting Romania before 1918, the situation was particularly worrying. In these regions, Roma had been slaves for centuries and after their emancipation they had extensively mixed with Romanians. In this part of Romania, it was noted, the term "Gypsy" was a derogatory term applied hesitatingly rather than "a real bio-ethnic description, applied to the actual Gypsy". As a result, existing statistics were not sufficiently accurate. "Not all Gypsies were counted," Manuilă and Georgescu admitted, and certainly they did not count those of "Romanian-Gypsy heritage". To "determine precisely which were the contaminated regions, the exact number [of Roma], as well as the degree of mixing with Gypsy blood," required "substantial and sustained study of historical sources, statistical data, as well as detailed anthropological and serological research" (*Ibid*., 165).

Manuilă was familiar with anthropological and serological research on Roma. He was impressed by the serological study carried out by the Polish immunologist Ludwig Hirszfeld (Hirschfeld) and his wife Hanka in Salonika in 1918 and the subsequent publication of their paper in *The Lancet* (Hirschfeld and Hirschfeld 1919, 675–679). What the Hirszfelds had discovered was that a correlation existed between the frequency of human blood groups (A, B, AB, and O) and the geographical distribution of races. For instance, blood group A predominated among European peoples, while blood group B was most common among those people originating from Asia and India. The relationship between blood groups was mathematically expressed in a "biochemical race index" and calculated for each of the individuals studied. As blood groups were inherited in Mendelian fashion, the predominance of one over the others could reveal the bio-geographical origin of an individual. A year later, two Hungarian physicians, Oszkár Weszeczky and Frigyes Verzár applied a similar methodology to three ethnic groups from and around

the Debrecen area: Hungarians, Germans, and nomadic Roma, confirming Hirszfeld's results. The high percentages of blood groups B (38.9 per cent) and O (34.2 per cent), found in Roma subjects – while their "biochemical race index" was 0.6, very close to that of the Indians, whose index was established by Hirszfeld at 0.5 – testified to their non-European origin (Verzár and Weszeczky 1921, 33–39).

This Hungarian study immediately attracted the attention of Manuilă and another Romanian physician, Gheorghe Popovici. In 1922, together and individually, they undertook the first Romanian serological examinations of the "races" living in Transylvania, the Banat, and Maramureș (Manuilă 1924, 1071–1073; Manuilă and Popoviciu 1924, 542–543). Serology, Manuilă believed, allowed for a clearer understanding of Romania's ethnic life, and it permitted the researcher to measure the degree of racial mixing within the Romanian population. Although he spent most of the 1930s working in biostatistics and demography, Manuilă remained a committed sero-anthropologist. It was to this branch of race science that he returned whenever he discussed the issue of race in Romania, as for instance, in 1935, when he participated in a symposium organised by the Society of Urbanism devoted to "the history of races and civilisations in the Bucharest region" (Manuilă 1935, 3–14). Once the country's capital was thoroughly investigated anthropologically, it could provide a template for a broader national project: mapping the ethnic structure of the Romanian nation.

It was believed that no other anthropological method was as "accurate" and "scientific" as blood group analysis in determining the ethnic origins of the individual (Dumitrescu 1927; Kernbach 1927, 102–106;). Serology, therefore, continued to be used in eugenic and anthropological research in Romania during the 1930s and early 1940s (Dumitrescu 1934, 141–142, 144; Rainer 1937, 696–701; Manuilă and Veștemeanu 1943, 121–125). Ethnic minorities, such as Hungarians and Szeklers in Transylvania and Csángós in Moldova were often investigated (Birău 1936). Petru Râmneanţu was one physician and anthropologist who devoted much of his time and effort to create a "serological map" of these ethnic groups (Râmneanțu 1937, 143–145; Râmneanțu 1941, 137–159; Râmneanțu and Luștrea 1942, 503–511; Râmneanțu 1943, 51–65). "Blood," he argued in a study published in 1935, was "the real, perhaps the unique, [biological] element which remains unchanged by the passing of time" (Râmneanțu and David 1935, 40). All the other physical characteristics of a race, such as skin colour or the shape of the head, were inadequate and often misleading. But the investigations of blood groups in a population allowed the scientist to determine the boundaries of each ethnic group; equally important, according to Râmneanţu, was that the "distribution of blood groups" provided a better indication of the nation's territorial dispersion "than language, culture, and customs" (Râmneanțu 1939b, 325–332). The serological geometry of each individual examined reflected their ethnic affiliation, regardless of geographical vicinity and historical proximity of other individuals from similar or different racial backgrounds.

Roma, too, were included in these serological examinations. With respect to Roma communities living in the south east of Transylvania, for instance, Râmneanţu established that "their blood composition resembled that of peoples from the Far East" and that "their Indian race had mixed with European blood" (Râmneanțu and David 1935, 66). The same argument that Roma in Romania had lost some of their racial specificity due to their interaction with other ethnic groups resurfaced in other studies as well (P. Ionescu and E. Ionescu 1930, 91–98). Of more importance to the argument being pursued here was the expansion of serology outside the medical and scientific community and into the texture of Romanian society and politics.

A good example of the versatility of serology and of its impact on the lives of common Romanians is the anthropological examination of military conscripts (Turda 2013, 1–21). Here is an example from the city of Craiova where in the spring of 1942 the local Laboratory of Hygiene was asked by the First Territorial Army Corps to carry out the serological examination of all conscripts from the Craiova and Oltenia regions about to be sent to the Eastern front. The blood of 8,060 individuals was sampled and then examined using Hirszfeld's methodology. According to the physician supervising this survey, blood group O represented 34.13 per cent, blood group A 43.22 per cent, blood group B 17.27 per cent and, finally, blood group AB was 3.37 per cent. Based on the dominance of blood group A (the "European"), the physician thus established that – apart from a few German minority individuals – the conscripts were "ethnically Romanian". To confirm the ethnicity of the conscripts was vital not only for the national cohesion of the army, its allegiance to the country and its patriotism but, as the physician pointed out, the data he collected "could provide researchers interested in the ethno-anthropological and racial issues with precious information". Blood was an essential element of "the hereditary endowment" of both individual and race (Șchiopu 1943, 563–656). Blood, therefore, was not just a metaphor for identity but also an observable and demonstrable reality. Serology, in turn, provided the much-coveted evidence that a particular individual was "certifiably Romanian".

Throughout the interwar period, Romanian anthropologists, ethnologists, demographers, and physicians observed and studied a wide range of individuals from various regions of Romania. Their research reinforced cultural stereotypes about Romania's ethnic diversity while, at the same time, providing the scientific foundation for the political goal of gradually purifying the country of its unwanted racial and eugenic elements. One prominent eugenicist, Iordache Făcăoaru pointed directly at Roma as one of the main causes of racial degeneration. He described them as "non-European," and "of inferior origin," constituting "a foreign body, parasitic and harmful" to the Romanian nation (Făcăoaru 1935b, 169–183). Judged by Făcăoaru's eugenic and anthropological arguments, Roma were "unwanted minorities of the most inferior quality" (Făcăoaru 1938, 276–287).

The sterilisation of the Roma was also encouraged. For instance, Gheorghe Făcăoaru, Iordache's brother, suggested in 1941 that:

> Nomadic and semi-nomadic Gypsies [will] be interned in camps. There their clothes will be changed; they will be shaved, receive a haircut and sterilised. To cover the costs of their maintenance, they should do forced labour. We will be rid of them from the first generation. Their place will be taken by national elements, capable of disciplined and creative work. Sedentary Gypsies will be sterilised at home, so that within a generation the place will be cleansed of them (Făcăoaru 1941, 17).

Arguments favouring the sterilisation of "undesired" individuals, asocials, and "degenerates" were not new (Sterian 1910, 113–114). Debates in other countries on the benefits of eugenic sterilisation really captured the attention of Romanian physicians after the First World War (Turda 2009, 77–104). In 1921, the deputy director of the Social Insurance Central Bank in Bucharest and a future founding member of the Romanian Society of Eugenics and the Study of Heredity, physician Ioan Manliu, published *Crâmpeie de eugenie și igienă socială* (Fragments of eugenics and social hygiene). Manliu was an enthusiastic

supporter of sterilisation. "It is in this direction," he argued, "that we must orient our efforts to protect superior elements and prohibit without mercy inferior elements from producing children and incurring family responsibilities." The only way to control the eugenic health of the nation, he concluded, was the "mass sterilisation of degenerates" (Manliu 1921, 21).

During the 1920s and 1930s, many medical and legal experts considered the matter. The eugenic gaze moved across Romanian society, aiming to see beyond it. A wide range of individuals were thus stigmatised and proposed for sterilisation, including psychopaths, epileptics, criminals, and alcoholics as well as the so called asocials, and those contributing to the "the degeneration and Asiatization of our race" (Manliu 1931, 382–383). The conviction that sterilisation could prevent the future degeneration of the race while serving as deterrent to anti-social behaviour also appeared in the articles published by Ion Vasilescu-Bucium, president of the Court of Cassation in Craiova, in which he argued for the adaptation of the Romanian Penal Code to reflect modern advances in the study of eugenics and heredity (Vasilescu-Bucium 1935, 41–42, 363-365).

Manliu's view that Romania was a country crippled by social and biological degeneration was perhaps extreme, but there was consensus among the eugenicists that Roma represented a dysgenic threat to Romanian national community. Some complained that the state did not do enough to promote quantitative population policies and was stuck in its glorification of natalism (Trifu 1940, 9–12). The example provided by states which legalised compulsory sterilization, such as Nazi Germany, was used in this context to gain political support for the adoption of negative eugenic policies in Romania. The neuropathologist I. V. Bistriceanu, for instance, argued that the legalisation of "sterilisation and castration would herald a new era for Romanian racism" (Bistriceanu 1941, 429).

Others, such as hygienist Gheorghe Banu, while opposing compulsory sterilisation, nevertheless advocated for the introduction of marriage certificates and the strict supervision of asocial individuals. His approach to eugenics was broad, however, as it included social hygiene – between 1931 and 1944 Banu edited Romania's leading journal of social hygiene, *Revista de Igienă Socială* – and social medicine. He explained it in detail on 19 November 1942 in his inaugural lecture as the first chair in social medicine at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. For Banu, social medicine was an all-encompassing discipline, which required different methodologies, including demography, statistics, public health, anthropology, and eugenics. He brought them together under one scientific arrangement, at the centre of which he placed the "ethnic development of the nation" (Banu 1942, 686–694).

Banu's approach expanded on the eugenic description of Romani anti-social behaviour, reflecting the gradual intensification of racism in Romanian public life. The following example helps illustrate how official rhetoric intersected with wider public interest in this issue. Writing in the official publication of the Romanian gendarmerie, Captain Ştefan Popescu explained why it was important for the police to monitor and control the activities of nomadic Roma (Popescu 1942, 21–28). Interestingly, this article was published in May 1942, coinciding with a request from Ion Antonescu and the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the gendarmerie identify and register nomadic Roma as well as those sedentary Roma who "were convicted of crime or were habitual criminals, and those who had no means of subsistence or a proper job, allowing them to make a decent living. They were thus a burden and constituted a danger

for public order." All these individuals were listed together with their families, children, and possessions (Achim 2004, 5–8) A month later, the Romanian authorities began deporting them. Evidently, the eugenic arguments about the need to protect the Romanian nation from the racial and social threat represented by Roma had worked.

The Roma's assumed unhygienic and promiscuous living was noted repeatedly, and measures such as their "evacuation" from the cities continued to be proposed by sanitary and hygienic authorities even after the deportation to Transnistria was officially ended. For instance, on 12 August 1942 the mayor of Odobești, a town in Putna County, was advised by the county's Council of Hygiene to ask local notables (chief of police, head physician, and so on) to end the "Gypsy-like" ("*țigănie*") situation in town. The "Gypsy-like" living conditions in Bucharest were also noted by the city's Council of Hygiene, which proposed the eviction of Roma from the "affected" neighbourhoods (*Evenimentul Zilei* 12 October 1943, 3). With strong intent, the eugenic contempt of the Romanian authorities was written into every encounter with the Romani population.

The salient theme emerging from these eugenic discussions remains miscegenation. Banu quoted approvingly the Nazi anthropologist Adolf Würth's view that the "Gypsy problem was first and foremost a problem of racial mixing" (Banu 1944, 294). Banu accepted that within the confines of their family and community life, some Romani people had tried to remain "pure" but many of them settled into permanent marriages and built families with Romanians. As suggested by the ethnologist Ion Chelcea who researched the "origin" of the Boyash (Rudari) Roma, these were former mining slaves who later became woodcutters and woodcarvers. They not only abandoned mining for gold in the rivers of Central Europe and the Balkans, but they had also lost their "Gypsy language". Following the Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard (1921), Chelcea postulated that the Romanianised Roma, compared to those in Bosnia or Turkey, were mostly brachycephalic (anatomically, a broad, short skull). This, Chelcea explained, was because many of them were descendants from unions between slaves and their Romanian masters who, he claimed "were brachycephalic". During their slavery the Rudari had mixed with the Romanians; yet, they had retained some of their original racial features, including "their platyrrhine nose, the sign of their racial primitivity" (Chelcea 1931, 312).

Other instances of ethnic mixing between Roma and Romanians were less noticeable if no less damaging. While during period of enslavement there were special laws that prevented the mixing of "Gypsies" with the Romanians (Petcuț 2015), no such prevention was taken after their emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, Chelcea remarked, the process of ethnic mixing continued uninterrupted. Could it be ended, however? Possibly! Chelcea suggested that "the Romanians had always despised the Roma, for whom they only had biting, sarcastic remarks", including the description of "the Gypsy outside the category of man," as was the case with several Romanian proverbs. Most Romanians, Chelcea believed, were in favour of establishing clearer boundaries between themselves and Roma. And he called on the state to intervene to prevent further ethnic mixing. "It has been a while," Chelcea remarked, "since the last piece of legislation regarding the Gypsies had been introduced by the Romanian state" (Chelcea 1944, 20–21). If such legislation was introduced, however, it would have to consider the difference between nomadic and sedentary Roma. The assimilation of the former, according to Chelcea, "would produce a severe damage to the structure of the Romanian blood." What he recommended instead was their

"complete isolation" from the Romanians. Some of them should be kept in "a park in nature," so that "this rare human species" did not disappear entirely but could be studied and exhibited as part of the country's flora and fauna. The *unfortunate* ones not to be selected for this *human zoo* were, according to Chelcea, to be "completely eliminated from the life of our people". They could, for instance, be "moved somewhere in Transnistria or beyond the Bug [river]". And a similar fate was predicted for most of the sedentary Roma. Chelcea *spared* the talented musicians and a few specialised craftsmen among them, but otherwise he recommended deportation and in some cases sterilisation so that "their race will die out" (Ibid., 100–101). Such suggestions reflect not only Chelcea's mindset – influenced by an enduring ethnographic tradition which created a binary of developed, rational, European people and hence superior versus the underdeveloped, primitive, non-European people – but also his endorsement of Romania's programme of ethnic purification.

The Dysgenic Roma

The "contamination" of Romanian "blood" by Roma was highlighted not only by anthropologists and eugenicists but also by state officials. One example is provided in the words of Major Ioan Peşchir, commander of the Timiş-Torontal Gendarmerie, in western Romania, on 21 April 1942. In an official report entitled the "Gypsy Problem" he described the anxieties derived from the presence of Romani families. According to Peşchir, 2,057 Roma lived in the county. They provided "a bad example of morality, laziness, filth and drunkenness". Romani families had large numbers of children compared to Romanian families, the report continued, underlining the negative demographic consequences of high Romani fertility. This was a particularly sensitive issue in the Banat due to the stagnation and even decline of the Romanian birth-rate in many villages and towns (Pocrean 1943, 137–142). Another problem was that some Romanian men married Romani women, revealing not only their "lack of racial dignity" but also the further "contamination of their morality". From this racial danger nothing short of a eugenic programme was proposed, including the adoption of "legislation to regulate the relations between Romanians and Gypsies; their isolation; the prohibition against Gypsies buying Romanian land" and, finally, the application of "measures to prevent their reproduction" (Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Timiş-Torontal, 21 April 1942).

This report was sent only a month before Ion Antonescu instructed the Minister of Internal Affairs to carry out a census of all nomadic Roma, of those sedentary Roma who were "convicted or had [a] criminal record", and of those considered useless elements, "without a job and constituted a burden [on society] and a threat for public order" (Achim 2004, 5–6). Following this census, the deportation of nomadic Roma began on 1 June 1942 and continued throughout the summer. In a document dated 9 October 1942, the general inspectorate of the gendarmerie informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the deportation to Transnistria of "all nomadic Roma" living in Romania, some 11,441 individuals (2,352 men; 2,375 women; and 6,714 children), had been completed by 15 August. Sedentary Roma, who were a "threat to public order," in particular "criminals and lawbreakers, thieves and robbers" were targeted next. In September 1942, 13,176 such individuals (3,187 men; 3,780 women; and 6,209 children) were deported to Transnistria. By the time the mayor of Tecuci sent his letter in November 1942, over 24,000 Roma had already been "evacuated" from Romania (Şandru 1997, 23–30).

Such drastic measures, while aiming to solve the "Gypsy problem" in Romania, constituted only one aspect of the broader programme of ethnic purification announced in 1940. Sporadic deportations of Roma to Transnistria continued in 1943, but the problem of "ethnic origin" persisted, as conveyed by Colonel Dumitru Craiu, prefect of Brașov County, in a letter he sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in April 1943. Did the Romanian law, the prefect asked, recognise a category such as "Gypsy ethnic origin" and, if it did, which residents should be considered "Gypsy"? The mayors' offices in several villages in the county, he continued, were experiencing difficulties in issuing "certificates of [Romanian] ethnic origin" to some of their residents who were presumed "Gypsy", although "they spoke Romanian and were Orthodox". Judging from their physical appearance, it was difficult to differentiate them from the rest of the villagers, it was also noted. Besides, "some were agricultural workers and merchants, [others] very hard working and even wealthy." Without a law to spell out the ethnic origin of the Roma, it was difficult to decide whether some of those requesting certificates were "Romanians by blood" or not (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 11). Craiu had placed the problem of identifying Roma by race front and centre.

Turning Roma into Romanians

As it did with the letter from the mayor of Tecuci a year earlier, the Ministry of Internal Affairs forwarded the letter to the Ministry of Justice, which received it on 1 May 1943. It became clear that proper laws were needed to clarify the ethnic differences between the Romanians and Roma, similar to those introduced for Jews in 1940–1941. The Legislative Council, and its legal experts, took it upon itself to draft such laws. On 12 March 1943, one of them, Mihail Măgureanu, president of Section I of the Council, informed the Minister of Justice, Ion C. Marinescu, that he and two of his colleagues had prepared drafts for a law which should clarify what was meant by "Romanian ethnic origin" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 21). One of them, submitted on 24 July 1943, survived, and gives us a glimpse into what kind of life was envisioned for Roma and Jews who were spared deportation.

According to its first article, citizens of Romanian ethnic origin were those born in Romania or in the "the old Romanian territories" (Bessarabia, Bukovina, Dobrudja, Macedonia, Moldova, Muntenia, Oltenia, the Timoc Valley, and Transylvania), whose parents and grandparents were Romanian; who had Romanian names and spoke Romanian, and who belonged to a Christian religion, ether Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic.

The second article outlined who could not be of "Romanian ethnic origin," namely: Jews, those who were citizens of other countries, Muslims and, finally, Roma. The third article clarified that those whose father and grandfather were ethnically Romanian were considered Romanian, even if their mother or grandmother were Romanian born, but were Christian and "related by blood" to Romanians. And who were those "related by blood" to the Romanians? The fourth article further explained that those were the "European people belonging to the Latin, German, Slavic and Greek races". This article, with its emphasis on the bond existing between Romanians and other European races echoed directly the argument put forward by Petit in his 1941 book on ethnic origin.

The draft of the law also specified which Romanian citizens were accepted as "assimilated" – for example, some Jews were included here if they were the descendants of soldiers fallen in one of Romania's previous wars – and as "minorities". The latter category referred to "Romanian citizens of different ethnic origin who preserved their race, language and religion" as well as those who were not ethnically Romanian, as defined by this law. The draft concluded with banning marriages between ethnic Romanians and foreigners and minorities (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, files 12–15).

But the draft was not turned into a law and the requests continued to be sent to the ministries of internal affairs and of justice. In February 1944, the new prefect of Brașov County, Manole Enescu, also raised his concerns about Roma who requested to be issued certificates of Romanian ethnic origin. The existing law only clarified that Jews could not be "Romanians by blood", Enescu complained. Many Roma requests for ethnic certificates used the fact that they were baptised Orthodox but, Enescu pointed out, "religion could not be the only criteria for determining ethnic origin!" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 19).

Indeed, it was not! According to one Roma survivor, Lucreția Cârjobanu, from Pietriș village, Iași County, when the gendarmes came to her village in 1942, they asked the Orthodox priest to "certify" the Romanians and identify the "Gypsies". Lucreția was only six years old at that time, but she remembers the name of the priest, Busuioc. When asked by the gendarmes: "What do you say if we take away the Gypsies; we separate the wheat from the chaff?" Busuioc replied: "Yes, separate all the chaff, take it away from Petriș" (Furtună 2018, 278). This example captures how anti-Romani racism worked in practice by effectively removing the residual "Gypsy chaff" from the Romanian majority. The state, through its police forces, acted as a gardener ridding Romanian society of its "human weeds." As the physician Demetru E. Paulian remarked in this sympathetic book on the history of Roma in Europe published in 1944: "when our government decided to send to Transnistria the wandering, nomadic [Roma], the order was misinterpreted and all of them were sent [there], those who were good with those who were bad" (Paulian 1944, 30–31).

Following Enescu's letter another report was prepared by the Legislative Council in February 1944. The significance of this document cannot be underestimated. It focused specifically on Roma. "The ethnic origin of an individual" was defined at the outset as "his hereditary ethnicity, namely what he acquired naturally from his parents who in turn acquired it from their parents. In this way, going back from generation to generation, we arrive at the foundation of a big family, the ethnic community." Establishing a much-needed legal framework for the question of ethnic origin was a matter of national importance. But this was easier said than done. One of the major problems was "the investigation of the blood relation across generations in order to identify the ethnic origin of all ancestors". This was deemed impossible.

Another problem was that the "constituting elements of the ethnic community such as common soul, a common worldview and life, common ideals, were all subjective elements" which could not be assessed objectively and through scientific methods. Finally, the Romanian people occupied a territory which was situated for centuries at the confluence of three empires, Austrian, Ottoman, and Russian. Intense racial mixing had occurred as result. Romanians, in other words, were not a "pure" race.

The German racial laws, the report continued, used a very broad definition of the nation, allowing all those with "German blood and with related German blood" to become members of the national community. The only ones excluded, due to their non-European blood, were "the Jews and the Gypsies". In Romania, it was noted, "such broad definition could not be adopted because the political, social, and historical realities were different" and because "religion [was] a determining factor". Race, as a result, could not be easily applied to restrict admission into "the Romanian ethnic community," although attempts were made to legislate the categories of "Romanian ethnic origin" and "Romanian by blood". These categories were introduced in 1940 and 1941 and were still in use, but there has been much confusion over these terms. A lack of legal clarity made it very difficult to apply these principles to Roma. As a result, "to determine the ethnic origin of the Gypsies in Romania, in particular, could not be done until there was a law clarifying Romanian ethnic origin in general" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 22).

A letter sent by Sabin Manuilă to the Minister of Justice, I. Marinescu, on 6 March 1944 did not clarify much either. Manuilă reiterated the frustration felt by legal experts regarding the difficulty to clarify "ethnic origin, in anthropological and racial sense," adding that "science has not offered yet a satisfactory method of ethnic identification." Manuilă suggested "the establishment of a committee of experts, including judges, historians, anthropologists, ethnologists, demographers, politicians, sociologists, linguists who could examine the entire documentary material in existence and then formulate an acceptable definition of ethnic origin." It was very helpful, he added that this committee would be able to refer to signposts such as "existing racial research, the indirect legislation applied to various ethnic problems and, overall, the racial policy of our time". Yet with respect to Roma, specifically, Manuilă was not able to provide a method "to establish their ethnic origin" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 29).

Such a method and an accompanying law were needed, they all agreed, but until the former was developed, and the latter was adopted in Romania, a compromise was suggested. Writing in May 1944, Judge Mănciulescu from the Ministry of Justice proposed the following: "Considering that the elements constituting the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of the Romanian state are not fixed, and therefore are unknown, we propose that Gypsies who request certificates of nationality to be issued certificates with the following inscription about their [ethnic] origin: Gypsy-Romanian ('țigan-român')" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 27).

A new ethno-national matrix was thus proposed, within which Roma and Romanian could coexist. After four years of relentless political work to "purify the race", it became obvious that drawing the boundaries of the Romanian ethnic community according to strict eugenic and racist guidelines was more difficult than anticipated. Was the realisation of a shared life a practical possibility? After the demise of Ion Antonescu on 23 August 1944, and with the institution of a new political regime, it appeared so. But the reality soon turned out to be more complicated than expected. The assimilation of Roma into Romanian society may have already created its own social, cultural, and urban hybridity in the south of Romania, particularly in Bucharest, but their acceptance, both as Romanians and as equal citizens, remained difficult for decades to come (Marica 1945, 217–269).

Conclusion

Ion Antonescu is directly responsible for the Holocaust, but the racial dream of a homogenous Romania had started long before Antonescu became the country's dictator. Antonescu was not the only Romanian official of his time with thoughts of protecting the Romanian nation from internal and external enemies. The entire Romanian culture was by then dominated by the refinement of ethnic nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Roma racism, and eugenics. Emboldened by the spectacular expansion of Nazi Germany in Europe and by decades of debates about Romania's ethnic character, Ion Antonescu and Mihai A. Antonescu – alongside the country's foremost intellectuals and scientists – believed that the time finally had come to purify Romania of all its undesired ethnic minorities. None of the major books currently defining the historiographic debate on Romanian history explore the influence of eugenic theories of racialized difference between Romanians and others during the interwar period and beyond.

Racism biologised Romanian identity while also aiming to prevent ethnic minorities such as Roma from causing more eugenic damage to the nation. We argued in this article that Roma were not seen as "fully" Romanian, and that their deportation to Transnistria in the early 1940s was as much a preventive, eugenic measure, aimed at ensuring the protection of Romanian majority, as a political one, designed to bring about social order. The Romanian government's description of Roma was infused with negativity, and deep-seated beliefs in their "inferiority" and backwardness.

The criteria used to justify their deportation to Transnistria, often interpreted as social in nature, have their real origins in the eugenic, biopolitical, and nationalist thinking and ideology developed in Romania during the 1930s and early 1940s. Nomadic Roma were considered outside the Romanian national body, while in the case of sedentary Roma the measures against them were selective. They were singled out as a threat to the social order, their body was racialised as inferior, and their behaviour characterised as dysgenic.

Regrettably, such racist tropes have since become ingrained in the overall perception of Roma in Romania, tangled up in the ways this ethnic group continues to be described to this day. The idea that the Roma overall do not belong to the Romanian nation is woven into the fabric of everyday racism, as can be seen in the current treatment of Roma during the Covid-19 pandemic. Once again, the Roma have been ascribed a specific ethnic pathology derived from their assumed racial specificity, which reinforces their stigmatization as vectors of disease and contamination. Reinvented as much as nostalgically remembered, the period of the Antonescu regime when the Roma were dealt with "properly" is now reinvested with a new power whose purpose is, once again, to protect the Romanian nation from its internal "dysgenic" and "asocial" elements.

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Do French 'Nomads' Have a War History? A Review of Seventy-five Years of Historiography

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Abstract

Through a study of the historiography of the persecution of "Nomads" in France from 1939 to 1946, this article offers a critical analysis of methodological and thematic biases present in much historical research on the topic. Historical studies on "Nomads" have significant practical implications today: this article examines how the history of French Roma and Travellers during the Second World War was written. It shows how French institutions have relied on historical work to deny the racial character of the persecution of the so-called "Nomads". The paper emphasizes that internment and enforced residence were not so much an absolute break but rather part of a particularly virulent moment in the long history of persecution of "Nomads" in the twentieth century in France.

Keywords

- France
- Genocide
- Historiography
- Internment
- Nomad
- Resistance
- Roma

Introduction: Why Historiography Matters

Via a telegram in July 1946 ending the enforced residence and internment of "Nomads" on French territory, the Ministry of the Interior urged the prefects to "benefit from certain positive results"[1] of the policy targeting "Nomads" during the war. Why is such a document, indicating an objective continuity between the policies pursued after the war and during the Occupation, not at the centre of the historiography of "Nomads" in France? In fact, this historiography shows euphemisms and ellipses that can easily be identified through reading published works, especially over the Second World War period. My exhaustive reading of the studies carried out on that historical period did not allow me to sufficiently document the internment and enforced residence of "Nomads" between 1939 and 1946 and understand the consequences thereof. Many publications exist, often written by professional, outstanding amateur historians and students, sometimes by survivors, but the overwhelming impression is that the disaster that this period represented for "Nomads" has been missed.

Some will consider the term disaster is excessive, in comparison with the massacres in the territories of Eastern Europe (Snyder 2012). Internment in camps such as Montreuil-Bellay, Saliers or Arc-et-Senans, assigned residency in Maurs in the Cantal or in Saint-Astier in the Dordogne, is presented as a lesser harm. Although deaths occurred, the majority of internees and assignees survived. Such a notion is one of the main biases that has influenced the writing of the history of these so-called "Nomads", *i.e.* Roma, Sinti, Manush, Catalan Gypsies, Yenish and *Voyageurs* [Travellers] up until now. The term "Nomad" already carries a constitutive ambiguity, since it does not refer to a well-identified ethnic or national group, but to the political project of controlling and surveilling a category of French citizens whose way of life of which the political majority disapproved. Yet this discriminatory treatment preceded the French military defeat of June 1940, as it was implemented under the Third Republic: As these populations could not be officially targeted by a republican regime according to racial criteria (Delclitte 1995), their supposed mobility was used as a basis for discrimination. The law on 16 July 1912 attributes a strong administrative meaning to the term "Nomad": classified in this category effectively deprived you of your rights as a French citizen. Although they were not explicitly mentioned in the phrasing of the law, the implantation decree of 3 October 1913 removed the ambiguity around the categories of populations targeted: "Nomads are generally *roulottiers* [...] with the particular ethnic character of Romanichels, Bohemians, Gypsies and Gitanos."[2] The exceptional measures adopted during the Second World War would have had less effect if they were not a continuation of this long-standing discriminatory policy. This anteriority also partly explains why control of "Nomads" continued in France after the war. The period under review (1939–1946) is therefore embedded in a much longer history that goes on to this day.[3]A methodical periodic review of the bibliography allows us to describe the thematic and methodological biases that have accumulated as the bibliography increased. These biases are not only related to the small number

1 Telegraph note from the Ministry of the Interior to the prefects. July 1946. Divisional Archives Côte d'Or, 3 Z 7 M14A.

2 Definition of "Nomads". Decree of 3 October 1913 on the law of 16 July 1912 on itinerant professions and the movement of Nomads.

3 The administrative category "Nomad" was replaced in 1969 by one of "gens du voyage" [Travellers].

of professional historians working on this topic; they also depend on the theoretical perspective strongly influenced by a national framework that rejects the idea of ethnicity which dominates the study of public policies relating to "Nomads" in France. Articulating those approaches, identifying their implications, and measuring their impact to date, allows for a more rigorous examination of this history. In the first part we offer an analysis of the literature via methodical periodization; and, in the second cogent arguments that form a useful contribution to a critical historiographical study.

1. A Review of the Literature on 'Nomads' in France between 1939 and 1946

1.1 The First Testimonies of Persecution Suffered by 'Nomads' in France (1946–1948)

In 1946, although the Provisional Government of the French Republic (June 1944 – October 1946) had not stopped measures depriving the liberty of "Nomads", the first two articles on the fate of the French "Nomads" during the Second World War were published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The first article, a testimony, dealing only with parts of France, appeared in French. It was written by Frédéric Max entitled "The Fate of Gypsies in Prisons and Concentration Camps in Hitler's Germany" (Max 1946). After returning from Buchenwald, the author recounted his encounters with "Gypsies" whilst imprisoned in Bordeaux to the time of his deportation to the camp. The first meeting was in July 1943 in the Bordeaux military prison with a Manush named Paulo Weiss, known as "Balo", then 19 years old, who had been arrested by the Gestapo for refusing the Todt organization's enforced recruitment. He said that since the beginning of the war "Nomads" had been subject to assigned residency throughout French territory. When Frédéric Max was transferred from the Compiègne camp to Buchenwald, he met three distant cousins of Paulo Weiss; then, in German camps, as well as several people who told him of the abuse inflicted by the Germans on the Romani and Sinti people. This precious testimony is both a testimony of persecution and a source of ethnographic and linguistic information: Paulo Weiss is described as "an interesting type of primitive mentality", one of the prisoners in Buchenwald is described as a "pure-blooded Gypsy", and the "Gypsies of Eastern France" are described as "the least savage" (Max 1946, 26). The paper ends with the transcription of Romani songs collected in May 1944 in Buchenwald. Frédéric Max was not the only one who had a strong interest in the Romani language during his imprisonment in the Nazi camps; Germaine Tillon also composed a Romani vocabulary in Ravensbrück.[4]The second article published in 1946 in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* was written by Matéo Maximoff (1917–1999) who later became a famous writer. Translated into English, this article is entitled "Germany and the

4 "The unfortunate Gypsies inspired deep pity in me. I often went to their Block and even started a small comparative vocabulary of the various [G]ypsy dialects in order to start a conversation without arousing curiosity with my questions. In this way I discovered two families of Belgian Gypsies and an old French Gypsy woman, women bewildered by their incomprehensible misfortune, but with a primary education and material life habits that made it unbearable for them to live together with the German Gypsies. The rest (with the exception of a few Czech Gypsies) were surprisingly wild, less so than some Ukrainian women but significantly more so than the women of African tribes where my profession as an ethnologist had led me" (Tillon 1973, 63).

Gypsies: From the Gypsy's Point of View". (Maximoff 1946) While one might expect Maximoff to recount his internment in France during the war at Lannemezan camp, he is silent about his personal experience and acts as a spokesman for Roma and Sinti, recalling that "we have fought side by side with you in the fierce struggle, and that hundreds of Gypsies joined the Maquis in France and in Belgium and gave their lives for the Allied cause: for freedom!" (Maximoff 1946a, 7). In the same issue, this four-page article is followed by a second paper by the same author on "some peculiarities in the speech of the Kalderash" (Maximoff 1946b), It is striking that the first two papers published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* on the persecution of "Nomads" are also presented as linguistic studies.

It was not until 1948 that the first testimony dealing exclusively with French internment camps was published. The article written by Germaine L'Huillier was entitled "Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers (1941–1943)" that appeared in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (L'Huillier 1948). In 1941, after having seen families of "Nomads" passing by her window, she asked to visit the Poitiers internment camp and managed to work there as a schoolteacher. She found herself in the privileged position of observing on an everyday basis the ordeal of "Nomads" in the Poitiers camp, the deportation of men, and the subsequent despair of women and children. But here again, this testimony must be read knowing what Joseph Weill wrote about voluntary helpers in the camps: "Working for the improvement of the camps, even if one is exclusively concerned with the interests of the internees, has gradually, insensitively, led to the toleration and then acceptance of the camps as living conditions for certain categories of men."[5] The 1946 article and 1948 paper constitute the totality of so-called scientific publications published in the immediate post-war period about the persecutions of "Nomads" in France.[6] This silence went on until the late 1960s.

To understand this historiographical void, one should look back at certain post-war events that have not been the subject of any study so far.[7] While Paris was liberated on 25 August 1944 and Germany capitulated on 8 May 1945, "Nomads" remained interned and under assigned residency in France until July 1946. Deprived of their liberties at the beginning of the war by the decree of 6 April 1940, they only regained their freedom when this decree was withdrawn in July 1946 by the Minister of the Interior who sent a memo to all the prefects. This telegraphic memo highlights the ambiguities of the sanctions lifting: "Decree 6 April 1940, recently annulled by decree cessation of hostilities, had assigned nomads to residence – STOP – to take advantage of some positive results of this text, please […]".[8] The recommendations made to the prefects are like-minded: To preserve the effects of enforced sedentarization, apply the law of 16 July 1912 rigorously,[9] and reinforce the power of mayors to prohibit the stopping of caravans on public highways.

5 Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l'histoire des camps d'internement dans l'Anti-France*. Paris, Édition du centre, 1946, p. 177–179, quoted in Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte. Les internés juifs des camps français 1939–1944*, Paris, La Découverte, 1999, p. 344.

6 It should be noted that the existence of camps reserved to "Nomads" is also mentioned in Joseph Weil's book on French internment camps (Weill 1946).

7 An article linked the postwar period to the policy of sedentarization (Reyniers and Williams 2000).

8 Telegraph note from the Ministry of the Interior to the prefects. July 1946. Divisional Archives Côte d'Or, 3 Z 7 M14A.

9 On the law of 16 July 1912 on the exercise of itinerant professions and the movement of nomads, see Declitte (1995).

A series of censuses specific to "populations of nomadic origin" were organized (1946, 1947, and 1951) and an executive order of 1 March 1949 established an Inter-ministerial Commission for the study of issues relating to populations of nomadic origin whose mission was "the voluntary sedentarization of most of the people concerned".[10] In April 1949, this commission suggested the creation of a scientific and social association to study these populations (Weinhard 2017, 29); the same year, the association *Études tsiganes* [Gypsy studies] and its newsletter were founded; they were the origins of one of the main French associations for "travellers" (today known as FNASAT) and the main journal on Romani studies in France, *Études tsiganes*, an active and respected journal. Until its dissolution in 1969, the Inter-ministerial Commission neither recommended any study on the period of persecution of "Nomads" in France nor requested any measure to compensate for the harms they had suffered. On the other hand, it supported the creation of "parking spaces", the beginnings of the current dedicated caravan sites – locations now mandatory for all "Travellers" who do not own land.

The immediate postwar period did not recognise the persecution "Nomads" suffered during the war; instead a regain of control began, disguised as seeming freedom. It is only via historical studies on the genocide of the German Roma and Sinti that the issue was first raised.[11]

1.2. Forgetting the Persecution of French 'Nomads' from a European Perspective (1967–1979)

Between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, at a time when European and national Romani political movements emerged, new research on the genocide of the Roma and Sinti was published in France.[12] During this period, focus on the study of Nazi atrocities meant that France's role in persecution was obscured.

The historiographical event of the early 1970s was the publication of the first book on genocide, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon (English edition in 1972). The authors devoted about ten pages to France: for the first time, the 6 April 1940 decree was briefly analysed and the existence of Nomad camps under French administration was established. Kenrick and Puxon explained the difficulty of writing on the subject: "The fact that twenty large camps and many smaller ones were under direct French administration has been concealed as much as possible, and often denied" (Kenrick and Puxon 1974, 131). On the basis of first-hand testimonies, they also described a phenomenon that was neglected for a very long time: the role of the Roma and Sinti in the French Resistance. It should also be mentioned that three years earlier, in 1967, Miriam Novitch's research on "The Genocide of the Gypsies under the Nazi regime" (Novitch 1968) was partially translate into French by Maurice Colinon (Colinon 1967)

10 Circular from the Ministry of the Interior to the prefects of 16 March 1964.

11 On the use of the term genocide to characterize the extermination of German Roma and Sinti, see Fings (2013).

12 The 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of a Romani movement with the Congress of the International Romani Union in 1971, but also of several national movements such as the French National Travellers' Agreement Committee (1973) and the Gypsy World Community (1959).

The researches of Miriam Novitch and Kenrick and Puxon encouraged French scientific journals to dedicate issues to genocide: In 1975, *Monde Gitan* devoted an issue to the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the (German) camps; in 1978, the journal *Études tsiganes* published the transcription of an "international round table on Gypsies" – Miriam Novitch presented her research there (Novitch 1978). This symposium is interesting for three reasons: (1.) it is the first time that analyses of the genocide of the Roma and Sinti can be read in French; (2.) the French historian Henriette Asséo proposed "a review of historical studies concerning Gypsies", concluding that a reliable assessment of the number of Roma and Sinti victims of the Second World War was important (Asséo 1978, 4); (3.) the conference ended with an unexpected discussion about "Nomads" in France during the Second World War. After Miriam Novitch's speech, Henriette Asséo invited the representatives of each country to conduct "genuine investigations" and "not to limit oneself to the fact that this legislation was ordered and orchestrated by the Nazis" (Asséo 1978), implying that it was time to study France's role in the deportation and internment of "Nomads". Jean Fleury, a priest, then recounted that he had the register for the Poitiers camp, making it possible to count and name the so-called "Nomads" who were interned there, some of whom had been deported. Matéo Maximoff finally said that Miriam Novitch's work had particularly moved him since he himself had been "for 31 and a half months in a concentration camp" in France. The acts of this symposium testified that, at the end of the 1970s, French historians realized the need to undertake in-depth research on the fate of "Nomads" in France during the war.

However, when the second historiographical event of the decade took place, with the publication in 1979 of a book by journalist Christian Bernadac, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Massacre of the Gypsies*, it was negatively reviewed by critics (Bernadac 1979). In the review by the journal *Monde gitan*, the commentator said he was "very disappointed", considering the book "hastily written". The review published in *Études tsiganes* underlined that Bernadac exaggerated the persecution suffered by "Nomads" in France and insisted that "there is no comparison between the situation of the French and German camps" (Vaux de Foletier 1980, 31). The specificity of Bernadac's book is that an entire 90-page chapter was devoted to what he calls "the French antechambers of Auschwitz", that is, French internment camps (Bernadac 1979, 43). The publication of many documents discovered in French divisional archives shows that France did not wait for the Germans to intern so-called "Nomads".

The truth is this last "discovery" – no "discovery" for any researcher – is embarrassing. In 1971, Pierre Join-Lambert, President of the Inter-ministerial Commission for the study of issues relating to populations of nomadic origin (1949), spoke at a symposium organized by the International Institute for Human Rights on the theme of "racial discrimination and Gypsies" (Join-Lambert 1971). Only one paragraph of his 22-page speech of a historical nature is devoted to the Second World War: this article suggested that persecution "should be replaced by a more comprehensive policy aimed both at allowing the normal human development of Gypsies and at eliminating, for the populations in whose environment they live, the disadvantages inherent to their presence" (Join-Lambert 1971). This last sentence reflected the position of the Ministry of the Interior of July 1946: it is necessary to put an end to the measures most directly contrary to human rights, but without ceasing to pursue the objective of controlling populations deemed dangerous for sedentary populations.

Two papers published in 1972 and 1978 are of a different order: an article by a priest Joseph Valet on "anti-Gypsy racism" reports for the first time of the summary executions of "Nomads" that occurred in France

during the summer of the Liberation by self-declared Resistance fighters (Valet 1972) and a one-of-a-kind testimony by Louis Reinard, in the Manush language, on his deportation from France (Calvet 1978). The 1970s were marked by an eloquent contrast between, on the one hand, Romani associations that were organized internationally and mobilized to claim compensation for war victims and, on the other hand, silence on the role played by French institutions in anti-nomad persecution from 1939 to 1946. It was not until the following decade that the first French studies on the internment of "Nomads" appeared.

1.3. A History of the Internment of 'Nomads' in France (1): A Modest Beginning (1983–1999)

The 1980s began with the publication of a pioneering study on the internment of "Nomads" in France by Jacques Sigot: *Barbwire Discovered by History. A Camp for the Gypsies ... and Others* (1983). The author wrote the history of the Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire) internment camp, also called "concentration camp", where more than 2,000 people considered as "Nomads" were held successively between 1941 and 1945. This book, not a result of a state commission or university research, is a solitary study carried out by an outstanding schoolteacher concerned about the history of the ruins of the camp which he frequently passed. Jacques Sigot is undoubtedly the person thanks to whom the internment of "Nomads" in France became a real historical concern. His book appeared in several versions and has been added to over the years with new archival discoveries and testimonies.[13] Not only did Jacques Sigot examine documents from four divisional archives, the National Archives and municipal archives, but he also met former internees of the Montreuil-Bellay camp. The presence of these testimonies makes his book unique even today, as later academic research relies little on personal accounts. After 1983, Jacques Sigot, Jean-Louis Bauer, a former internee, and association members, such as Pierre Young, joined forces in a long struggle for the recognition of the responsibility of French governments in the internment of "Nomads".[14] This official recognition came late, in October 2016, when the President of the French Republic, François Hollande, gave a speech on the site of the Montreuil-Bellay camp.

Shortly after the release of Sigot's book, three university theses (MAs) focused on internment camps for "Nomads": in 1984, Francis Bertrand and Jacques Grandjonc published a chapter in a book on camps in Provence entitled "A Camp for Bohemians. Saliers", a concentration camp for "Nomads" near Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) in the free zone (Bertrand and Grandjonc 1984); in 1986, Arlette Dolo wrote a history thesis on the "Nomads cCmp in Rennes" (Dolo 1986); and in 1988, Pascal Vion's history thesis focused on the Jargeau camp in the Loiret department (Vion 1988). Journals also began to publish articles on this subject: in 1987, *Études tsiganes* devoted an issue to internment, in which articles by Jacques Sigot appeared; in 1988, *Monde Gitan* published "Forgiving without Forgetting" by Matéo Maximoff in which he recalled the existence of numerous French camps exclusively for "Nomads" (Maximoff 1988); and all the 1990 issues of the journal *Monde Gitan* contained at least one article on this subject.

13 In 2011, the fourth edition with more than 340 pages is published.

14 Pierre Young is the head of the Research Committee for the Memory of the Genocide of French Gypsies.

In December 1992, probably inspired by these ground-breaking studies, the Secretary of State for Veterans and Victims of War, the General Secretariat of Integration and the Foundation for the Memory of Deportation asked the Institute for the History of the Present Time (IHTP) to conduct research entitled: "The Gypsies of France 1939–1946. Control and Exclusion".[15] The historian Denis Peschanski was appointed scientific head of this research; he was associated with Marie-Christine Hubert and Emmanuel Philippon, with the scientific committee being composed of Henriette Asséo, Jean-Marc Berlière, and Jacques Sigot. Two years later, a 120-page investigation report was published (Peschanski 1994). This study did not focus on the different types of persecution suffered by "Gypsies" during the war, as its title suggested – *Gypsies in France (1939–1946)* – but only on internment. The suggested figures were not the result of a rigorous count: The author referred to 3,000 internees, ignoring completely the fate of the people who were placed under assigned residency, some of them for more than six and a half years. The figure of 3,000 internees also largely underestimated the number of people who were interned as "Nomads" in France. Even if an accurate count is still missing, the mere addition of the lists of internees of the main internment camps (Montreuil-Bellay, Mulsanne, Arc-et-Senans, Rivesaltes, and Saliers) already exceeds 6,000 people. An aspect of this academic research is still surprising: while a preliminary study directed by Peschanski had been assigned to the IHTP, well known for its work in oral history, the resulting research omitted testimonies by "Nomads".[16] A few years later, in 1997, Marie-Christine Hubert defended a pioneer doctoral thesis on the internment of "Nomads" in France (Hubert 1997). In the years that followed, she published many articles and a monograph with Emmanuel Filhol entitled *Gypsies in France, A Unique Fate: 1939–1946* (Filhol and Hubert 2009).

The 1990s saw the recognition by academic historians of the internment of "Nomads". In 1995, for the first time, a non-specialized journal, *Hommes & Migration*, devoted an issue to "Gypsies", in which the Second World War was discussed. Meanwhile the journal *Études tsiganes* printed two issues on the question of internment alone: in 1995, it published 150 pages by Jacques Sigot; in 1999, it released the events of a symposium that took place at the Royal Salines of Arc-et-Senans in March of the same year on the site of a former "nomad internment camp". But this historiographical overview is incomplete if two books are not also mentioned: a major testimony by Matéo Maximoff on his experience of the war (Maximoff 1993) and the story, translated into French, by Jan Yoors on the role he played with his Romani friends in the French Resistance (Yoors 1992). Matéo Maximoff's book, *Roads without Caravans*, was self-published in 1993. It is a fascinating account of the writer's first 27 years; he details with extreme care the years of the war. Jan Yoors' book takes the form of a narrative, which tells how the author and his adopted Romani family joined the French Resistance. This book has not been taken seriously; it is nevertheless an extraordinary testimony, even if it does not give the names of people or places. Professional historians have found it too romantic. Neglect of this testimony also explains why the role of Roma and Travellers in the French Resistance has not been studied until recently.[17] The last

15 1992. "Gypsies in France 1939–1945. Control and exclusion". *Bulletin of the Institute of Present History* 50.

16 The few testimonies quoted by Denis Peschanski are those that Jacques Sigot had conducted as part of his research on the Montreuil-Bellay camp.

17 On the issue of resistance, see Raymond Gurême's testimony, published in 2011, which is the second written testimony of such length to tell the life of a "Nomad" during the Second World War (Gurême and Ligner 2011).

period of our historiographical review is characterized by an increase in the number of studies and a popularization of scientific research.

1.4. A History of the Internment of 'Nomads' in France (2): Multiplication of Studies and Popular History (2000–2019)

From the 2000s a growing number of history theses and occasional articles on the theme of the internment of "Nomads" were written. With no pretence of exhaustivity, we can list major publications: the work of Mary Debelle on Languedoc-Roussillon (Debelle 2004), that of Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet on the Lannemezan camp (Hautes-Pyrénées) (Guinle-Lorinet 2005), Emilie Jouand's thesis on the internment in the Loire-Inférieure (Jouand 2006), or Théophile Leroy's thesis on the Linas-Monthléry camp (Leroy 2016), including numerous innovative articles by Emmanuel Filhol (Filhol 2000, 2004, and 2007). It is interesting to note that since the 1980s, most of the literature on internment camps has been written by students who only researched for a few months in order to obtain a degree. Due to time constraints, these studies, however meticulous they may be, sometimes leave out large parts of unexplored archives and testimonies that have never been collected. For example, the 15-page article on the Lannemezan camp does not use the camp's archives, which are reputed to have disappeared, even though they had simply not been properly classified by archivists. The fragmented nature of this research is not merely the responsibility of researchers in training but also of archivists. Having visited more than 60 French divisional archives, I can attest that the guides to the sources of the Second World War but also the general indexation of the inventories often prevents one from finding collections concerning "Nomads" during the war. For example, in the divisional archives of the North (AD Nord), the few boxes identified by archivists on "Nomads" and the Second World War are indexed under the racial term "Gypsy", although the French administration did not use this term. One of the few exceptions is the divisional archive of the Mayenne (AD Mayenne), which published a very interesting guide on the question of persecution in which "Nomads" occupy a prominent place.[18] Despite the 2015 national derogation concerning access to Second World War archives, it is sometimes difficult to access the documents necessary for an exhaustive study.[19]

But the 2000s were also marked by an effort to popularize literature on internment: Photographs, books, films, documentaries, and comic strips complete the thin existing scientific bibliography. The most influential of these works was that of photographer Mathieu Pernot, probably because of its originality (Pernot 2001). His book, *A Camp for Gypsies. Memoirs of the Internment Camp for Nomads in Saliers*, reproduced archival photographs of anthropometric booklets on former internees and portraits of the same people from the end of the 1990s. Mathieu Pernot's initiative was based on a new approach:

18 Julien Lepage, *Persécutions en Mayenne, 1939–1945. Juifs, francs-maçons, nomades. Répertoire détaillé des sources conservées aux Archives départementales de la Mayenne*, Laval, Archives départementales de la Mayenne, 2012.

19 On 24 December 2015, a ministerial order was signed to open archives relating to the Second World War, including the archives of the courts and the judicial police.

meeting former internees.[20] While previous written works on camps relied on archives, Mathieu Pernot highlighted the memory of witnesses. Documentary directors have also met witnesses: Jean-Luc Poueyto and Philippe Skaljac directed *Trapas men lé*, a documentary about two young Manush, Doulcia Doerr and Eric Schumacher (2004),[21] and Raphaël Pillosio filmed about ten witnesses in his film *Des français sans histoire*. (Pillosio 2009). Inspired by this impulse and specifically by the release *Liberté* by director Tony Gatlif on internment, a collective of scientists and association members was formed at the initiative of Evelyne Pommerat, documentalist at the Médiathèque Matéo Maximoff (Paris 17e), *A French Memory: Gypsies during WWII*. Under this generic title, the year r2010 was dedicated to the memory of the internment in France.[22] The purpose of this project was to make this forgotten history known to the public and to encourage local initiatives through the use of an exhibition and documentation. Such an initiative involving scientists and association members is sufficiently rare that it is worth mentioning. It is within this context that Raymond Gurême's testimony was published in 2011 (Gurême and Ligner 2011).

Nevertheless, this successful presentation of a segment of "Nomad" history in France has a downside: as a result of focusing on internment, the fact that the majority of them were not interned but were placed under assigned residency has been forgotten. Internment concerned only about a quarter of so-called "Nomads". A few studies have attempted to explore other forms of persecution: Monique Heddebaut's work on the deportation of "Nomads" in the north of France (Heddebaut 2008), the research on assigned residency conducted by Christophe Moreigne for the Creuse department (Moreigne 2013), and that of Shannon Fogg (which mentions assigned residency without focusing exclusively on it) (Fogg 2009). In the 2010s, even if humanities researchers did try to popularise the persecution suffered by "Nomads" during the Second World Warr, the history of this period in France was still far from being written. In their introduction to a volume containing several symposia's acts, Catherine Coquio and Jean-Luc Poueyto speak of a "historiographical breakthrough" concerning "the extermination of Gypsies" (Coquio and Poueyto 2014, 18) and dedicate the first part of the book to what Michael Stewart rightly calls an "invisible disaster" (Stewart 2010). In this large volume, two articles deal with France: one focusing on persecution in France and Belgium during the Second World War by Alain Reyniers (2014) and an article by Emmanuel Filhol on a topic that had never been addressed before: the years 1944 to 1946 (2014).

The end of 2010s has seen an interest in the French situation by foreign agencies allowing new perspectives to emerge.[23] In 2016, an essential instrument of research on the genocide of the Roma and Sinti was published: A bibliography entitled *The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti. Bibliography and Historical Review* by Anna Abakunova, at the time a doctoral student at the University of Sheffield (UK), and Ilsen About, a researcher at the CNRS (Abakunova and About 2016). In 2017, the Hungarian Tom

20 Jacques Sigot had also met with witnesses, particularly more intensively after the publication of the first edition of his book on Montreuil-Bellay.

21 *Trapas men lé (« Ils nous ont attrapés »), Mémoires de l'internement de Tsiganes d'Aquitaine, 1940–1946*, 26, Instep Aquitaine, 2004.

22 "A French memory. Gypsies during WWII, 1939–1946" (2010). Available online: http://www.memoires-tsiganes1939-1946.fr/accueil.html

23 Without forgetting to mention the many travelling exhibitions on the issue and the Paris Shoah Memorial exhibition held between 14 November 2018 and 17 March 2019.

Lantos Institute launched a call for projects on the theme of Roma and Sinti's resistance during the Second World War – one of the contributions of this project is a 50-page study on the different types of resistance of "Nomads" in France during the Second World War, including findings on summary executions and ill-treatment of "Nomads" by people claiming to be Resistance during the Liberation in 1944 (Foisneau and Merlin 2018).[24] European funding for this research was made possible by the Romani European movement of grassroots associations, which chose to focus on Romani resistance to commemorate the genocide. This movement has highlighted the need to collect testimonies even as the last survivors are disappearing.

2. Historiographical Perspectives and Critical Approaches

2.1. Major Historiographical Biases: Actors, Themes, and Political Assumptions

After this historiographical review, some observations can be made on how historians have addressed the question of the persecution of "Nomads" in France during the Second World War.

While French Roma and Traveller associations made the Second World War a theme of social struggles as early as the 1960s, professional historians only began to work on "Nomads" during the Second World War from the 1990s onwards. Indeed, when the first articles on "Nomads" and the war appeared in the late 1970s, they were classified as "activist history" (Asseo 1978). Whereas the word "genocide" was used to qualify the fate of Roma and Sinti in Germany, the persecution of "Nomads" on French territory was not designated by any specific expression or word. The history of "Nomads" in France during the Second World War was initiated by often excellent historians outside of academia or students who devoted a thesis to it. In 75 years, only one PhD thesis has been defended in France with the exclusive theme of "Nomads" during the war. This inventory speaks for itself: contemporary academic history has not devoted much attention to "Nomads".

The first consequence of this lack of interest in this subject by French universities is that research has focused exclusively on the phenomenon of internment. In some respects, this is a perfectly justified choice, since the long-term imprisonment (sometimes up to six years) of children, women, and men is unprecedented in French history. However, the study of internment alone sometimes conceals a pernicious methodological presupposition and suspect political justification: the Occupation of France by Germans is said to be solely responsible for the deprivation of liberty of "Nomads" and, when the Vichy government's responsibility was involved, internment in France would have allowed "Nomads" to be protected from Nazi camps. These assertions undoubtedly echo – but are not always aware of – the official discourse of the 1949–1969 Inter-ministerial Commission which explained that the wartime travel

24 This project was the original idea of the French association *La Voix des Rroms*.

prohibition was a "hard and inevitable necessity".[25] In other words, internment of "Nomads" would have protected them from the fate of German Roma and Sinti. To refute these arguments, it is sufficient to recall that "Nomads" were placed under enforced residence and interned by the decree of 6 April 1940, signed by Albert Lebrun, President of the French Republic, and that this decree remained active until July 1946, two years after the country's liberation. It should also be added that internment and enforced residence did not only concern the occupied zone but also the free zone. Moreover, if internment and enforced residence were applied, it was because the law of 16 July 1912 had already registered those designated as "Nomads", *i.e.* more than 40,000 people (Filhol and Hubert 2009, 61).[26] The fact that the postwar government was pleased – " positive results "[27] – with the consequences of enforced residence and internment is another refutation that everything was the responsibility of the German occupiers: these two coercive measures were considered successful outcomes of enforced sedentarization of populations who lived, before the war, in caravans or tents. It can be considered that the objectives of the French administration were followed uncritically by some historical studies on the internment of "Nomads".

The historiographical focus on internment has had two main consequences, which are also two types of concealment of the historical reality experienced by "Nomads" between 1939 and 1946. The first was to reduce the gravity and consequences of enforced residence, the second was a biased interpretation of the deportation of "Nomads". Among the new perspectives that should be considered is, first and foremost, a rereading of the enforced residence of "Nomads" as a global phenomenon – that is not reduced simply to preparing for future internment. In fact, interpreting enforced residence as the antechamber to internment concealed the fact that a majority of assignees remained so until 1946. One task still to be accomplished is to understand the reasons for this concealment: one hypothesis is that the fate reserved for assignees appeared to historians as less terrible than that of internees; was it not also a softer way of achieving the French administration's objective to sedentarize "Nomads"? It will therefore be necessary to launch a new investigation comprising at least two aspects: tthe first is to examine the conditions under which this measure is used in the broad sense and the choice to use it in the case of "Nomads"; the second is to study the reality of the restrictions imposed and their concrete consequences for assignees. One local study shows the dramatic effects of a measure that may seem relatively harmless to misinformed people: deprivation of resources related to itinerant businesses, relative isolation of family groups, increased stigmatization among local populations, and an increase in the number of prison sentences for violations of the decree of 6 April 1940 (Moreigne 2013; Foisneau and Merlin 2018).

As for deportation, it is necessary to analyse the biases that led to a reduction in its importance, qualifying it as "random". The main bias is that the reason for the deportation was rarely the status "Nomads" but rather "convoy Z" (Heddebaut 2018), and two convoys from Poitiers are so described. Nevertheless, many

25 Pierre Join-Lambert, "Appel aux Lecteurs pour une histoire des Tsiganes pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale", *Études tsiganes* 2/3, 1959, p. 17.

26 It is important to clarify that not all "Nomads" were Roma or Travellers and not all Roma and Travellers were "Nomads". However, from 1940 onwards, a reclassification took place, whereby people who had been considered as "Gypsies [*romanichels*]" even if they had not travelled were included in the category "Nomad".

27 Telegraph note from the Ministry of the Interior to the prefects. July 1946. Divisional Archives Côte d'Or, 3 Z 7 M14A.

"Nomads" were deported for various reasons that effectively concealed a racial motive. For example, among the "Nomad" deportees from the Fort-Barraux camp were commoner's rights prisoners. Yet the reason for their internment and future deportation was nothing other than a repeated violation of the enforced residence measures that they were subjected to because of their status as "Nomads". This example is no exception. It would therefore be appropriate to review the lists of convoys leaving France from this perspective.

One of the reasons for such blind spots in historiography points directly to the way in which the French Republic invented the administrative category of "Nomad" to target, without declaring it, a certain sector of the population considered from a "racial" point of view. We know that the mobility criterion was used to exclude from full French citizenship both very poor isolated people and those who were called "*romanichels*". This ambiguity was used to full effect during the Second World War: By translating the administrative category of "Nomad" into the racial category of "Zigeuner", the German administration of occupied France helped remove the ambiguity persisting in measures taken by the French administration. Vagrants, as well as Roma, Manush, Yenish, Sinti, Catalan Gypsies, and Travellers, all were imprisoned. This relative mix of populations was an argument to deny the racial character of the persecution since it remains in the in-between defined by the Republican legislator in 1912. As researchers have not always argued the racial nature of these persecutions, the ministerial department responsible for advising the legislature on Travellers still rejects this characterisation today. This lack of proper designation leads to approximations, such as considering that persecution targeted "family groups" and not individuals. Behind the notion of "family group" is the notion of "tribe" whose connotation is very clearly racist. We still must consider the methodological premises of these biases.

2.2. Methodological Weaknesses: Lack of Precise Figures, Not Enough Testimonies

Research on persecution of "Nomads" lacks a precise mapping of the places of persecution (internment and enforced residence) and correlatively an accurate record of the number of victims. The figures we have are, at best, local (lists of internees in some camps are available), and at worst, speculative, some estimates are too weak to justify. Seventy-five years after the events, the number of persons affected by the decree of 6 April 1940 prohibiting the circulation of "Nomads", the number of internees, the number of persons under enforced residence and the number of deportees are still unknown. As for sites of internment camps, the list is not complete either: Recent research has shown that the first internment of "Nomads" took place in December 1939 at the Croisic (Foisneau and Merlin 2018). Regarding enforced residence areas, much work remains to be done. A recommendation to establish a memorial for "Nomad" victims of these various policies should be made. The naming of each of the victims, writing their names in a book or on a stele, would allow descendants to mourn the most tragic period in their history. On the Montreuil-Bellay camp memorial, Travellers spontaneously decided to engrave the names of their ancestors who were interned there, and thus carried them from the anonymity of the past to the present.

Another major methodological problem already mentioned above concerns the instruments used to write this story. While French twentieth-century historians have insisted on the importance of oral testimonies – an

almost exclusive source of the history of the Resistance – the historians of "Nomads" have had an almost exclusively administrative approach, as if "Nomads" were incapable of testifying and transmitting. This approach forces us to question the meaning and function of the historical work produced on this issue: we are far from a history made by the actors, as some representatives of Romani studies would like to see; it would be about ensuring that this history can answer the questions of the descendants of the survivors. It is a historiographical priority to collect the testimonies of the last survivors. A scientific project of this kind is currently being carried out, but the resources at its disposal do not allow a large-scale collection.[28] Attempts have been considered in the past, but they were interrupted due to lack of resources.[29] The absence of these testimonies has had consequences in terms of sources, since some events are unexplained and we do not have direct access to the daily lives of internees and assignees either. It also has had legal consequences because, without these testimonies, it is impossible to envisage a policy of reparation. Forced sedentarization in camps or places of detention has led to the loss of the belongings of the internees. These people had to give up their professional equipment (circus, cinema, metalworking or tin smithing tools, among others), their habitat (trailer, tent, and so forth), their animals and many personal effects. In 1946, all the internees found themselves impoverished, unable to travel again and pursue their former careers.

2.3. Historiographical Perspectives: Resistance, Uncontrolled Purges, Memory

The encounter with witnesses reveals themes that historiography has taken very little into account: among them, the resistance of "Nomads", the tragic events of the summer of 1944 that remain unresolved, and the transmission of memory.

Witnesses do not only present themselves as victims but also as actors engaged in various ways to oppose the persecution policies they have suffered. A recurring problem is the way actions aimed at counteracting persecution policies are judged. Recently, historians have seen them as "solidarity" and "survival strategies". These are partly correct: one does not oppose such policies alone, and it is clear that one must also demonstrate a real ability to evade death. However, these two qualifications are not specific: they overlook the particularity of the conditions imposed on "Nomads", for which they had to work out new ways of resisting. For other categories of the French population, there were well-defined terms: young people who voluntarily dodged forced labour were called "refractories", people who helped Jews risking their own lives were called "Righteous among the Nations", those who, from the beginning of the war, considered concerted action against the German Occupier were called "resistance fighters". But no suitable term exists for "Nomads". The main reason for this, both during and after the war, is that persecution did not begin in June 1940 with France's military defeat. While new forms of persecution emerged, including the racial categorization

28 "Testimonies of the persecution of the Nomads. Collection of oral archives and writings of persons interned as nomads in France (1940–1946)", directed by Ilsen About, with the help of Laurence Brandi, Lise Foisneau Théophile Leroy, and Valentin Merlin, CNRS/EHESS, 2019–2021.

29 Among the collection attempts, we can mention the one of the Mémorial des nomades de France (Available online: http://memorialdesnomadesdefrance.fr) and the project "Une mémoire française. Gypsies during the Second World War, 1939–1946" (2010).

of the Nuremberg laws and the intensification of internment practices, the general spirit of persecution of "Nomads" as defined in the 1912 Republican Act has not fundamentally changed. This relative continuation of a persecution policy makes it hard to study the specific forms it took between June 1940 and the summer of 1944. For the French Resistance, the periodization is clear: the first intentions to resist appear as early as June 1940, and the Resistance itself ends with the liberation of national territory. There is nothing like this for "Nomads": the decree allowing for the forced sedentarization of "Nomads" was implemented before France's military defeat and the summer of 1944 was not their liberation, which occurred for some only in July 1946. Historians have never used the term resistance to describe actions that certainly fall into this category. A striking example is the high rate of opposition to the April 1940 decree on enforced sedentarization: many people were imprisoned for escaping from internment camps or for not complying with the perimeters of enforced residence. These were clear acts of resistance to abusive measures. The same determination to break the law was at the very heart of the French Resistance: Resistance fighters, whose actions were recognized, were all outlaws. The difference between these two cases of resistance is that one opposed anti-nomad legislation and the other did not. On the one hand, French Resistance rebels were rewarded, on the other, "Nomads", and their actions were considered crimes and appear as such in their criminal records even after the war. We must therefore highlight the ambiguous status given by researchers to anti-nomad legislation during the war period. By extending, in a sense, an old republican policy, it was probably more difficult to ascribe these repressive measures exclusively to the circumstances of the Occupation in the northern zone and the Vichy government in the southern one. We would like to suggest another perspective on these acts of insubordination: Just as the forced labour dodgers, many "Nomads" were refractory to the policy of enforced sedentarization implemented by the Third Republic, and considerably reinforced after June 1940.

The events of the summer of 1944 should be investigated by historians. An article published in 2018 analyses a series of arrests and summary executions of "Nomads" that took place in the summer of 1944 (Foisneau and Merlin 2018). In several cities, during uncontrolled purges, when some women were shaved,[30] families of "Nomads" were targeted by local residents and their liberators. As this is the first study on this subject many questions remain. Was it to indicate to "Nomads" that the end of the war was not the end of their persecution? As with shaved women, was it to remind the sedentary population that their lifestyle was the only acceptable one? Far from recovering their freedom, those under enforced residence had to endure a new period of uncertainty concerning the fate they would face from the liberators. From an internment policy point of view, the same ambiguities can be observed: instead of being released at the same time as the town of Angoulême, internees at the Alliers camp only saw a change in the guards, as their custody was entrusted to the FFI (Free French Forces).

In France, historiographical gaps concerning the period of the war and the lack of reference to survivors' testimonies have resulted in historians not studying the memory of the persecution of "Nomads". The only studies concern the site of this history in the national memory (Asséo 2005). Up until now, researchers who met witnesses, particularly anthropologists, slanted their questionnaires in other directions: kinship, economics, the relationship to *gadje*, and so forth. In the field of French Romani studies, no methodological

30 In France, an estimated 20,000 women were sheared for alleged collaboration with the German occupier. Fabrice Virgili, *La France « virile ». Des femmes tondues à la Libération,* Paris, Payot, 2000, p. 392.

work similar to the one carried out by Alban Bensa has been done yet. He has shown in fact that certain symbolic constructions of the Kanaks, long considered as referring to an ancient past, were representations linked to the enforced conscription of 1917 (Bensa 2015). While the Romani and French Travellers' collectives have been the focus of numerous ethnographic studies, none of these works has considered the effects of persecution suffered during the war. For the ethnography of the Romani and Travellers' collectives, anthropology has not yet become historical, as if they were ahistorical collectives. Therefore, readers of Patrick Williams's major book on the relationship of Manush to death (1993) have retained the idea that Manush refused to talk about the dead, but neither were the reasons for this silence questioned nor was it put into any historical perspective. Yet some ethnologists who nowadays frequent Romani, Manush, Catalan Gypsy, and Traveller populations are investigating the transmission of the memory of war, as Jean-Luc Poueyto did with the Manush of Pau (Poueyto 2004). It is therefore necessary to shed light on contemporary ethnographic observations via knowledge of the past in order to understand the forms memory of war, persecution and deprivation of liberty, genocide, and resistance take.

Conclusion: A History in the Making

The historical sequence of our historiographical and critical review – between 1939 and 1946 – is a crucial period for at least two reasons: first, it throws a crude light on the underlying racial content of some of French Republican politics. The war opened a new way to marginalize a community whose major crime was to circulate freely on French territory. The racial prejudice publicly appeared when a Republican policy was enhanced by the Vichy regime and the German occupiers. If the latter did not object to what the Third Republic had done, was it not because the same racial criteria were operating on both sides, as far as Roma and Sinti were concerned?

But there is still another reason that makes those years 1939–1946 so crucial: they are a key to understanding the ambiguities of postwar policies applied in France to those who are now called "Travellers" [*gens du voyage*]. This wartime break between two republican sequences is likely, if properly studied, to better assess the policies applied by successive governments of the French Republic in peacetime to a group whose real heterogeneity has been purposely subsumed under a single category ("Nomads", then "Travellers"). The administrative history of "Nomads" is now written, or partly so, but what is still missing is an understanding of why the discriminatory policies of the prewar period were maintained after the end of the Nazi and Vichy persecution. When the 16 July 1912 law, which created the category of "Nomad" was abrogated in 1969, it was only replaced by another category, that of "Travellers", which allowed policies that continued previously implemented discriminatory policies. A critical inquiry into the long-standing consequences of the war would be equivalent to challenging 75 years of French public policies against Roma and Travellers,[31] and the role of what may be called State racism.

31 For an analysis of the enduring dynamics of strong prejudice against Roma in French society, as well as the renewed interest emerging among the wider population on the Roma holocaust, see Nonna Mayer, Guy Michelat, Vincent Tiberj, and Tommaso Vitale. *Section 6. L'hostilité envers les Roms. La lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie*. Année 2018, La Documentation française, pp. 142–159, 2019.

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Fatal Coincidence: On the Root Causes of the Roma Holocaust

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Abstract

This article puts forward a broad interpretive scheme to understand the deep causes of the Nazi persecution of Roma. It is argued that a reference to the interplay of modernity and colonialism is required to understand how Roma were constructed as different, how this difference became racialized, and how projects to eliminate this difference were drawn up. The author presents Roma as the main actors in the two most important European historical processes: modernization and colonization. Various modern strategies targeting Roma are described, together with the impact of the colonial experience that allowed Roma to be seen as the "savage within", threatening the identity of German society. Finally, the similarities between colonial violence and persecution of Roma are brought into focus.

Keywords

- Antigypsyism
- Colonialism
- Holocaust
- Modernity
- Racism
- Roma

The Holocaust: Between Modernity and Colonialism

The arrival of the first Romani[1] groups in Western Europe coincided with the beginning of the modernization process and European colonial expansion. This coincidence had fatal consequences for Roma because, as newcomers, they were the main target of modern policies of control and submission, while a colonial mentality contributed to their racialization as essentially different and inferior. The intention of this article is to suggest a general interpretive scheme, in which the persecution of Roma can be understood through the interplay of two factors crucial for the history of Europe: the modernization process and colonialism. Neither of these two factors can separately provide a sufficient heuristic device but, taken together, they may contribute to an interpretation of the fate of the Roma that avoids monogenetic reasoning simplifications. This view was inspired by the "biopolitical approach" in the theory of the Holocaust, taken by Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, or Zygmunt Bauman, according to which the Holocaust is the consequence of the logic of European modernity and its rational-bureaucratic attempt to control and homogenize populations. At the same time, the framing of the Holocaust in transnational history and in comparative genocide studies brought into focus possible links between the history of the Holocaust and the history of European colonialism (Stone 2006, 217). As a result, as Dan Stone (2010, 465–466) observes, "many historians have found the vocabulary of colonialism and imperialism fruitful for thinking about Nazi rule in Europe".

The link between colonial domination and the atrocities of the Holocaust was emphasized by anticolonial writers such as Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire, and inspired Raphael Lemkin's concept of genocide coined in 1944, but the work in which it was elaborated most comprehensively was Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* published in 1951 (Hawkes 2011). It was Arendt's concept of the "boomerang effect", describing the application of European colonial policies and practices to European societies, which made her the "'godmother' of the colonial paradigm in Holocaust and genocide studies" (Kühne 2013, 341).

Both approaches, taken separately, have garnered meaningful criticism. The "modernity thesis" can explain the general background and course of the Holocaust, but not all its episodes, or the excess of murderous madness involved in it (Stone 2003, 252–257). The "boomerang effect" is useful in highlighting certain similarities regarding the Nazi idea of racial superiority and eastward expansion in Europe, but nevertheless remains an underdeveloped hypothesis (Gordon 2015, 274; Stone 2010, 466). However, if we take the "modernity thesis" and "boomerang effect" together, then we may see that each covers the shortcomings of the other.

1 Following the recommendation of the Council of Europe (2012), I use the term "Roma" as an umbrella term that refers to groups which call themselves "Roma" and to groups which may prefer to use different self-appellations but have similar origins and/or socio-ethnic identity. I also use this term for the ancestors of today's Roma, regardless of what they called themselves and were called by majority. Sometimes, however, when reconstructing the approach of the majority, I may use the term "Gypsies" (in quotes) as part of the majority's discourse on Roma.

The modernity thesis helps us understand that the boomerang did not fly very far and that colonialism is actually an integral element of European modernity, so that the colonial impact is not an otherworldly visitor but the flip side of modernity. The boomerang effect helps us understand that the Holocaust was not only a matter of technology and rational bureaucracy without ethics, but also had roots in the darkest corners of human nature, ancient hatreds, and fantasies (Stone 2003, 253; Stone 2006, 224–230). Colonial domination opened the doors to the secret, and normally repressed, pleasure of inflicting violence – without being punished. The abrupt termination of the German colonial adventure after the First World War meant an undelivered promise to be a master,[2] a "stolen pleasure", and doubts whether the Germans are masters, are of the "right blood" (Theweleit 1989, 404). To be of the right blood, in this case, meant the right (and pleasure) to spill the blood of those whose blood was not right. But the Germans returned from the colonies dissatisfied: bloody colonial fantasies were not implemented, neither in the massacre of the Herero nor in the Boxer Rebellion, so the colonial murderous fantasy was again repressed, waiting to be unleashed when the time was right. A sense of stolen pleasure was felt in Germany, resulting in profiling "thieves of enjoyment" (Glynos and Stavrakakis 2008): Jews, communists, and "Gypsies", who dared to exist and benefit despite, allegedly, not observing the rules of modernity.

This psychological mechanism had a sociological counterpart: racialization of social cleavages, according to which the concept of race society, as elaborated in the colonies, could serve as a solution to the domestic class conflict (Kühne 2013, 341). In this way colonialism can be understood as an overseas expansion of modern European biopower which, in the colonies, took on a clearly racist form and, as such, shaped thinking about European social conflicts, with the addition of usually repressed feelings of hatred and murderous zeal. This double conditioning characterized, as Dirk Moses (2002, 33–34) observes, the period of the "racial century" (roughly 1850–1950) in which colonial genocide was linked with population politics within European states. However, this linkage was created much earlier with Roma among its first victims.

1. Fatal Coincidence: Roma and Modernity

The first groups of Roma arrived in Western Europe precisely when the processes of socio-political modernization and colonial expansion were about to commence. This coincidence had fatal consequences for Roma. On the one hand, they became targeted by the disciplinary practices of the modern state and, on the other, were perceived as "internal savages", treated like people subjected to colonial domination. Therefore, Roma became victims of the new philosophy of the state, which focused on the control and unification of populations, employing racism more and more intensively to construct external boundaries and internal bonds.

Modern technology differentiated among subjects, imposed by the requirements of the modern division of labour and means of production. These requirements drove individuals to internalize new norms of

2 This is the reason colonial experience did not lead to internal atrocities in other colonial countries which lost their colonial empires gradually, without a simultaneous wartime defeat.

behaviour, rationality, responsibility, punctuality, and so on (Boyne 1991, 57). This process was successful thanks, to a great extent, to education, disciplinary practices, and self-discipline, in which the key role was played by knowledge, and legitimized as scientific. Modern power is, according to Michel Foucault (1995), power-knowledge, rational power which eliminates the spectacular excesses of traditional power and therefore acts more efficiently, subjecting populations to permanent surveillance, regulation, normalization, and documentation.

Modern forms of subjugation require localization of the subjects: making them situated in space in such a way that allows them to be controlled. Therefore, modern power consistently and decisively tried to reduce uncontrolled mobility, defining that as nomadism and vagrancy, which, allegedly, indicated an inability to adjust to the rules of modern society. As Michel Foucault (1995, 218) observed, "one of the primary objects of discipline is to fix; it is an anti-nomadic technique". The emergence of modern nation-states strengthened this process through a stricter control of state borders, a monopoly on defining citizenship, and the granting of residence rights.

A necessary component of the modernization process was a distinction between what is "normal" (i.e. not punishable) and punishable "deviation" (Mark Philp 1991, 67). As a result, modern people strove to be good citizens by looking after their health, including mental health, and conforming to social rules. They rejected illness, weakness, and transgression, seeing them as alien to them and projected them onto those whom they perceived to be alien. This double alienation, in which we assign evil features to others, as we are afraid to observe them in ourselves, and so construct the others as strangers and – particularly importantly – medicalise their constructed otherness, is the basis for scapegoating. According to René Girard (1989), this attempts to solve the problem of social cohesion in a time of crisis. Social cohesion, threatened in a period of social modernization, can be reintroduced by projecting the internal conflicts within a group onto one between that group and "strangers", who are perceived as guilty, and responsible for the situation. "Strangers" can also be held responsible for the anxieties and fears we experience given the requirements of modern social existence. Because of their alleged threat to the modernization process, the very existence of "strangers" legitimizes coercive measures employed by modern authorities.

Those cast as the scapegoat are usually seen as not fully belonging to the community. They cannot, however, be entirely different, because then they could not act as the frame of reference for the majority: the group to which members of the majority compare themselves. Therefore, they form a liminal, ambivalent category of people who partly belong to the community yet are partly excluded. Such categories often emerge, or become particularly visible, in periods of social transformation, described by Girard as the "crisis of degree", the collapse of the existing order of social differences, which typically enables people to have stable relations with each other and thus strengthens their identities (Ben Amara 2004, 7). In a Europe undergoing the process of modernization, Roma constituted precisely such a category, or rather they were constructed as such in the process of alienation, as a reaction to the existential anxieties triggered by modernity.

This tendency was of course exploited by modern institutions of power, which channeled social discontent by focusing hatred and aggression onto concrete social categories, including Roma (McGarry 2017). This mechanism was used particularly in periods of social crisis and radical change. It was the basis of the anti-

Romani policies in Nazi Germany and now, at a time of crisis for neoliberal capitalism, Roma are cast as scapegoats to conceal structural inequalities and social injustice (Themelis 2016).

The main target of this scapegoating strategy was, however, not Roma but the majority population. This can be clearly seen during the modernization of the Austro-Hungarian empire in the eighteenth century, when members of the non-Romani majority started to identify Roma with all that they feared: exclusion, poverty, homelessness, hunger, and lack of existential security (Héra 2017). The policy of the forcible assimilation of Roma, initiated by Maria Theresa, was in fact part of the new philosophy of the state striving for total political regulation of social affairs, a side effect of which was to intimidate the majority.

But was it merely a side effect? Herbert Heuss has suggested that the anti-Romani policy of modern political institutions was not an end in itself but a pretext to educate all of society about post-Enlightenment values, such as productivity or respect for social order. "This law-and-order policy", writes Heuss (2000, 58), "which regularly sought to subdue and secure the 'Gypsies', was not directed primarily at the Roma, but at the members of the majority, for whom the 'Gypsies' were a demonstration of what they could expect if they refused to submit to the constraints of modern society." Roma were thus, for Heuss, "surrogate victims" of the modernization process.

Surrogate victimization is particularly visible when political authorities carry out a big project aimed at creating a perfect society. According to Arjun Appadurai (2006), attempts to implement a utopian project assume that the smallest deviation from the proposed ideal is, in fact, a failure. Therefore, the existence of even a numerically insignificant minority, which resists ideological regulations, challenges the system of power, and reveals the inefficiency of the project.

The phenomenon of surrogate victims is grounded in the ambivalent perception of Roma, who, on the one hand, are seen as largely similar to the majority (otherwise their fate would not serve as a warning) and, on the other hand, as radically different, part of a defensive mechanism which fortifies the existential security of the majority. In the process of surrogate victimization, the starting point – the similarity of Roma and non-Roma – must therefore be refuted by a statement to the effect that although Roma are similar to us, they cannot, by their very nature, become us. Such negation, just like the logic of modern antisemitism, was largely possible due to the racist discourse of nineteenth-century social sciences. As a consequence, the growing importance of the racist discourse corresponded with the abandonment of assimilation projects. According to the logic of racist discourse, if the culture and social life of Roma are determined by their biological constitution, if they are radically and essentially different, then they will not be changed by assimilation or acculturation. Roma people will continue to be Roma, regardless of the social conditions and cultural environment of their lives. Therefore, according to the racists, protecting societies from Roma necessarily meant their removal: from social isolation to marginalization and expulsion, to the destruction of Romani culture and their eventual physical annihilation.

Therefore, modern strategies of constructing and then processing Roma as other can be interpreted, with the help of terminology used by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1955), as anthropophagic and anthropoemic. The anthropophagic strategy consists of enforced inclusion ("devouring") and dissolution of difference through procedures of forced assimilation, like those Roma subject to the policies of the Habsburg

monarchy in the eighteenth century. The anthropoemic strategy consists of removing ("vomiting") the difference and their carriers from society, which might mean marginalization or social exclusion, but also isolation and incarceration. It could be argued that the modern sequence of strategies targeting Roma proceeded from anthropophagic attempts to devour and digest them, thus making "them" – "us", to anthropoemic expulsion to beyond the borders of society, and then to a specific synthesis of both, into physical annihilation through sterilization and mass murder during the Nazi period.

A very early specific anthropoemic expulsion of Roma was in colonized areas used by colonizing states as a dumping ground for unwanted groups. Portugal pioneered this process in the first half of the sixteenth century by sending its Roma to African colonies. This deportation did, in a way, confirm the liminal, ambiguous status Roma had in premodern society: Africa was the destination for Roma born in Portugal, who therefore could not be legally removed from the country. This also means that not only did Roma have liminal status but also that the colonies formed such a liminal zone to which problematic categories of people belonged. In the seventeenth century Portuguese African colonies became a destination for Romani women, while men were, as a rule, forced to serve on the galleys. This gender segregation can be viewed as an early biopolitical strategy, in which colonialism played a role. The first deportations to Brazil took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, and a century later a relatively large population of Roma existed there. Yet, in 1754 the Governor of Angola, Álvares da Cunha, asked in a letter "to be sent many gypsies with their women, because they stand the climate better and they don't misbehave" (Bastos 2020, 11).

France deported its Roma, albeit not on a mass scale, to Martinique and Louisiana until the latter was sold in 1803. After the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), there was a wave of migration from German lands and the Netherlands to Pennsylvania that included Roma (Hancock 1987, 86–87). In England Roma were being deported to Northern America as early as the sixteenth century. Interestingly, there were two legal frameworks which served to persecute Roma. "Gypsies were … subjects", David Cressy (2016, 50) observes, "to two sets of laws, one that treated them as vagrants to be punished, the other as aliens to be removed. The state conceived of Gypsies as 'outlandish' immigrants with no business being in the King's dominions." In this specific legal situation, we may discern the liminal character of Roma in the fact that they could not be unambiguously defined but also in the synthesis of anthropophagic and anthropoemic strategies of modernity.

As we can see, deportation to the colonies was common practice for colonial powers, with the exception of Spain, where destinations were limited to northern Africa, as the American colonies were seen as insufficiently secure to admit people perceived as insecure and unreliable (Fraser 1992, Chapter 6). The situation in the colonies also had an indirect impact on countries which were not colonial powers: "By the 17th century", Sam Beck (1989, 57) observes, "African slavery in the Americas had already been and could have served as further ideological support for maintaining slavery in Romania."

The mechanisms of scapegoating (the social engine of the anthropoemic strategy) and surrogate victimization (which sets in motion anti-Romani anthropophagy) are closely related. The creation of scapegoats is basically a bottom-up process, although it can easily be manipulated or even initiated by the authorities. The mechanism of surrogate victimization, in turn, is usually instigated by the institutions of

power, but the social majority participates eagerly in this top-down process. Both assumed the ambivalence of Roma, subsequently resolved by assigning to them irremovable features: a fixed cultural essence or implicit biological nature. In the remaining part of this article, it will be argued that this characteristically modern negative attitude to ambivalence (Bauman 1991) evolved, in the case of Roma, into genocide because of genocidal racism first developed in the colonies and then transplanted to Europe and applied to the excluded categories, now seen as the "internal savages" of European society.

The concept of race does not necessarily have to be connected to alleged biological features of large social categories, which inevitably and invariably determine the behaviour of their members. In contemporary parlance, the term "race" evolved from its biological meaning to a "social-political construct" and eventually to "cultural difference" underlying "racism without race" (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). The perception of culturally different groups as races is possible thanks to the essentialization of cultural difference: treating it as an objectively given and unchangeable essence, which necessarily and totally determines the actions of members of a cultural group and is manifested in them.

According to Ivan Hannaford (1996, 17), race as a concept, which describes particular cultural features, is not new and has always been a part of racism, understood as a conviction that "there were immutable major divisions of humankind, each with biologically transmitted characteristics." The perception of reality in racial categories was, according to Hannaford, in opposition to the Greek political idea of seeing people "not in terms of where they came from and what they looked like but in terms of membership of a public arena" (*Ibid.* 12). Politics was therefore the opposition of nature and meant the liberation of human beings from the determinism of *physis*, subjecting them to *nomos*: the law that people make and can change (*Ibid.* 21).

Politics, understood as the acceptance of collective conventions as binding in a given time, also meant an entrance to history. Race, in turn, is forever, does not change, and is therefore an ahistorical category. If the concept of race is used to denote a category of people, then that means that its members are not perceived as people of history. Race is eternal and immutable, something that does not unfold over time. The concept of race, as applied to groups such as Roma, implied their exclusion from history and inscription in the order of nature, and therefore they are perceived as unable to change, evolve, and progress.

2. From Colonialism to Racism at Home: Redemptive Antigypsyism?

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries the increasing importance of understanding the world through racial categories was conditioned not only by the medicalization of politics, the development of scientific racism, and practical exercises in eugenics, but also, perhaps predominantly, by colonial experience. This process can be seen, in terms of Hannah Arendt's concept, as a movement from race-thinking to racism. Race-thinking is a very general tendency to perceive the world in terms of the fixed essences of a predominantly biological nature, which determine the lives of whole categories of people. Supported by the success of the theory of evolution and translated into

the cultural configuration known as "Darwinism", it offered a language used in various class conflicts and nation-building processes; it contributed to thinking in tribal terms but did not necessarily mean segregation or exclusion.

Racism does draw on race-thinking, but there is no hard and fast logic leading from one to the other. According to Arendt, it is imperialism and colonial domination that produce racism, while using race-thinking as a resource. "It is highly probable", writes Arendt (1973, 183–184), "that the thinking in terms of race would have disappeared in due time together with other irresponsible opinions of the nineteenth century, if the 'scramble for Africa' and the new era of imperialism had not exposed Western humanity to new and shocking experiences. Imperialism would have necessitated the invention of racism as the only possible 'explanation' and excuse for its deeds, even if no race-thinking had ever existed in the civilized world. Since, however, race-thinking did exist, it proved to be a powerful help to racism."

More recently this argument has been advanced, for example, by Isabel V. Hull and Brian Vick who follow Arendt and claim that it was colonialism that developed racist discourse in terms of which European states started to see first the colonized peoples, and then the problems of their excluded minorities at home. The marginalization of these minorities was thus legitimized in the colonial categories of the "white man's civilizing mission". Colonies became a resource of images and practices of a racist character which, subsequently, were employed at home towards the societies of the colonizing states. The first part of this statement is evidenced by Brian Vick (2011), that even in the 1870s German travellers, describing the social organization of African peoples, were using the same concepts used in Europe: "states", "kingdoms", "nations". This linguistic convention changes at the end of the nineteenth century when the dominant description category becomes "tribe". This change occurred largely in the colonies: Analysis of memoirs of soldiers in the German colonial army reveals that their language only acquired an openly racist character during their service in the colonies (Hull 2005).

The influence of colonialism on the perception of Roma is clearly visible. In 1861, Emil Reinbeck was comparing Roma "with Indians and other 'peoples' who attempted to 'fight against civilization' but were 'sooner or later to lose this fight'. They belonged to 'uncivilized, savage races', being a 'passage or an intermediate stadium between animals and human beings'" (Wippermann 1997, 113). Half a century later, in 1911, Hermann Aichele, a high-ranking official in the German police, in a book entitled *Die Zigeunerfrage mit besonderer Berücksichtung Württembergs* [The Gypsy question with particular reference to Württemberg], presented the thesis that "the Gypsies have no history". This "automatically placed them on the same cultural level as the other 'non-historical' *Naturmenschen* of the extra-European colonial world" (Fitzpatrick 2015, 179).

Even one of Europe's greatest minds, Edmund Husserl – who was himself targeted by the Nazis because of his philosophy – asked the following question in a lecture given in 1935 in Vienna:

> We may ask, 'How is the spiritual image of Europe to be characterized?' This does not mean Europe geographically, as it appears on maps … In the spiritual sense, it is clear that, to Europe belong the English dominions, the United States, etc., but not, however, the Eskimos or Indians of the country fairs, or the Gypsies, who are constantly wandering about Europe.

> Clearly the title Europe designates the unity of a spiritual life and a creative activity – with all its aims, interests, cares, and troubles, with its plans, its establishments, its institutions (Husserl 1965, 155).

In this way Roma were symbolically expelled, by the philosopher, to beyond the borders of Europe, being not quite up to Europe's "spiritual life and [a] creative activity". Traces of colonial mentality are visible here, in identifying European spirituality with the area under control of the Europeans, while Roma were included in the ranks of non-European "natives" relegated to country fairs or nomadic itineraries.

Alfred Dillmann, a leading German "expert" and the police officer in charge of the "Gypsy question", was the author of the infamous *Zigeunerbuch* (Gypsy book), published in 1905. This served as a manual for the persecution of Roma; he also believed that "Gypsies" in the course of their history lost any specific features which distinguished them from other groups (Fitzpatrick 2015, 178). This perception, which did not stop Dillmann from designing persecutory schemes specifically targeting Roma, soon started to change in Germany, partly because of a transfer of the "civilizational mission" practiced in the colonies on certain groups in the home countries of the colonizers. In Germany these were the unemployed and various groups described as vagabonds or work-shy. They started to be described in language that differed little from the rhetoric of the overseas "civilizational mission" – as strangers and savages (Conrad 2012, 150).

Terms such as vagabonds or work-shy were commonly applied to Roma by the German authorities; they were perceived as strangers, not part of the Aryan/Nordic race and national community. This found practical expression in the implementation decrees for the Nuremberg Laws. In this way the features that characterized the social situation of Roma were linked to those defined in racist discourse and viewed as genetically transmitted peculiarities of a "Gypsy nature". Any attempts to subvert these perceptions, resist persecution, or protect one's agency were treated as an indication of innate barbarity and a threat to the politically instituted homogenization of German society (Feierstein 2012).

The processes that occurred in Germany, leading to the genocide of Roma, expanded later, radicalizing the hidden philosophy of the modern state with an idea of standardization, homogenization, and exclusion, of those who refused to be subject to the "civilizational mission" aimed at the modernization of European societies. This mission was subsequently developed in the colonies where it had been supported by racist discourse. Radicalized in connection with colonial experience, it was again applied in Europe, to deal with marginalized groups who were treated as "internal savages" or "savages within".

The concept of the "savage within" is used in European social anthropological historical analyses and – more generally – the European approach to "otherness" (Kuklick 1991). It also forms part of Klaus Theweleit's analysis of the psychological structures of Nazi men. It is the weak, "chaotic interior", the "primitive man" inside the healthy mind that results from "racial miscegenation", with inferior primordial psychological layers corresponding to the "primitive mentality" of contemporary "savages" and causes psychical disintegration that weakens a man and deprives him of his "body armor" (Theweleit 1989, 75–76). This psychological metaphor can be translated into sociological language and applied to a German society influenced by a colonial mentality. In this language, Roma (among other marginalized

groups) were cast in the role of the "savage within", an inferior group of strangers that nevertheless exists within our society and therefore problematizes the status of the majority. Such groups must be colonized, otherwise the majority's role as "colonizer", that is, as a racially and culturally superior group, will be undermined. The persecution of minorities can therefore be understood, from the perspective of the majority, as an act of self-defense and protection of the racially perfect state. That is why violence against subversive minorities is, from the point of view of the majority, redemptive: a defense of racial perfection.

This psycho-social fear of "miscegenation" evolved in Germany in close connection with colonial experience. In 1913, Eugen Fischer published a book, *Die Rohoboter Bastards und das Bastardisierunsproblem beim Menschen* [The Rehoboth[3] bastards and the problem of human bastardization], in which the mixing of races was strongly criticized. This book was based on information from South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) and, according to Henry Friedlander (1995, 11–12), it influenced the content of the Nuremberg Laws which, amongst other things, banned marriage between Romani and non-Romani Germans.

The German debate about mixed marriages in the colonies should be placed in a broader context of uncertainty in regard to the line separating Germans from natives, and to fears associated with the emergence of a possibly disloyal "creole" category, disrupting the neat race division. But the problem was associated not only with practical issues in the exercise colonial rule but also an existential issue: fear of German identity dissolved via contamination by alien genetic features. This fear stemmed from the Lamarckian idea "that acquired characteristics could be passed on and become hereditary. According to this theory, 'going native' would, eventually, mean the end of the German people" (Conrad 2012, 119).

These, by and large, biological and psychological fears can be translated into an anthropological conception of the "other" which is more threatening if it has a place within the threatened community and is not radically different from its members. In this way Saul Friedländer (1999, 211–213) explained modern antisemitism, which, in his opinion, focused not on the difference between Jews and non-Jews, but on Jews' adaptability and obliteration of any boundaries. The problem of what is most threatening to the racist majority – a radically different group, or one which is not clearly different and therefore easily integrated – re-emerged in Nazi Germany in connection with Roma. A group of Nazi officials and race scientists believed that "pure blood Gypsies" were more dangerous because they represented, in a concentrated form, inferior racial characteristics, while another group claimed that "mixed blood Gypsies" were more dangerous because they integrated with German society and spread their racial inferiority through mixed marriages (Trumpener 1992).

Legal regulations followed. In 1905, a year after the Herero war, a decree was issued in German South-West Africa "forbidding marriage between German men and African women (the reverse never occurred) and even annulling any such marriages already in existence" (Conrad 2012, 118). To prevent sexual relations

3 Rehoboth, today a city in Namibia, was historically the name given by missionaries to a site inhabited by the Nama people. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, emigrants from the Cape Colony, of mixed Nama and European ancestry, moved there. After 1884, when South-West Africa became a German colony, this group, called *Basters* (bastards in Afrikaans), helped German colonial units quell Nama resistance to colonial rule.

between colonizers and colonized, Germany developed a programme of "women's colonial schools" which prepared German women for life in the colonies, where they were expected "to prevent the male-dominated German colonial society from going native" (*Ibid.* 120).

As one can see, the measures that applied to the colonized people of Africa were similar to those targeting Jews and Roma in Germany and can be understood in a similar way. Saul Friedländer, in his attempt to understand the roots of anti-Jewish hatred, coined the term "redemptive antisemitism"

> which was born from a fear of racial degeneration and a religious belief in redemption. The main cause of degeneration was the penetration of Jews into the German body politic, German society, and the German bloodstream. Germanhood and the Aryan world were on the path to perdition if the struggle against the Jews was not joined; this was to be a struggle to the death. Redemption would come as liberation from the Jews – by their expulsion or possibly their annihilation (Friedländer 1997, 85).

It seems plausible to argue that the sources of hatred directed at Roma were similar and we may speak of redemptive antigypsyism (Szombati 2018). Otherwise, it would be difficult to understand why such a small and harmless group caused such great concern and engaged so many people and institutions working full time to produce a "solution to the Gypsy question". But, if we perceive Roma as the "savage within" whose very presence, even if minimal, constitutes an existential threat to German identity and the "Aryan race", which could be destroyed if contaminated by close encounters with inferior "Gypsies", then we can understand anti-Roma measures as part of a redemptive crusade to protect the existence of Germans even if they were never really threatened by Roma.

3. Internal Colonialism and Genocide

In general, the concept of internal colonialism depicts the synthesis of modern power and colonial domination, which turned out to have fatal consequences for Roma. Internal colonialism can be understood as an element of the political and economic integration of European states that affected the situation of smaller national, ethnic, or territorial groups, which did not develop their own statehood and functioned within the structures of power of stronger political organisms. This process took place simultaneously with the overseas expansion of European states and was a result of the attempt at political and economic control of populations and resources.

Although the concept of internal colonialism has been applied mostly to territorial groups, it could also be used to describe strategies targeting groups with no territory of their own. Territoriality is a tool of political manipulation: it can be politically instigated when a group is, for example, forcibly settled in a given place or, even, when a political decision makes no place accessible to a group. Groups which do not have an opportunity to shape and control space are therefore an easy target for colonizing practices of a discriminatory nature, through which the dominant majority holds them back, legitimized by discourses it controls (Hechter 1999). An excellent illustration of internal colonialism is the politics of modern states towards Roma, often based on regulating Roma access to given spaces and placing them on marginal and

dangerous sites that nobody is interested in. Along with their spatial marginalization, the modern state perpetuates the stereotype of Roma as nomads, in this way justifying their exclusion (McGarry 2017).

Both processes could be observed in the colonies, including in German South-West Africa. Living areas for local populations were limited to reserves, located in sites of no agricultural or industrial value, while the military strategy of German colonial military units, during the Herero-German war of 1904, included pushing the defeated Herero to the Kalahari Desert where climate, hunger, and lack of water concluded the genocide. This process of "territorialization of race" also included increased control over the mobility of colonized peoples, treated "as a danger to the project of civilization" and "linked to amorality" (Hoffmann 2010, 166). After the Herero war the colonial administration introduced identity cards to control the movement of people outside the "tribal areas" designated for them (Conrad 2012, 110). These practices corresponded to the control of Roma mobility in Europe, which included the introduction of identity cards and bracketing of itinerant life with criminality.

These processes also coincided with a shift "to a more biologically determinist view of racial difference as something that could not be changed" (Vick 2011, 16) that took place in Europe around 1850. This view, partly formed in the colonies and later transferred to Europe, helped Germany legitimize not only the treatment of minorities defined as racially inferior but also the expansion to the east to compensate for the loss of colonies. Colonial imagery provided additional support to the already existing mandate to "bring civilization and progress to the Slavic peoples" (*Ibid.*). This imperial mentality was at the core of a vision of history which dominated not just Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a largely colonial vision, in which nations possessing culture and civilization become the actors of history by colonizing others. According to A. Dirk Moses (2008, 36), Hitler was thinking in precisely those categories, and the murderous policy of the Third Reich can be seen as a reaction to Germany's loss of status as a colonial state, which led to internal colonialism and the application of colonial racist divisions in domestic politics.

A colonial history was strongly embedded in German collective consciousness and was disseminated at various sites, such as geographical societies, colonial clubs, universities, and popular culture hubs, familiarizing the average citizen with the racist vocabulary used in the colonies. This commonly known and accepted concept, originating from the colonies, contributed to the development of Nazi language and was facilitated by the lived experience of colonial actors, institutional memory, and collective imagination (Zimmerer 2005, 18; Rothberg 2009, 104).

Apart from family ties (Göring's father was a colonial official), there were also personal connections between colonial administrators and the military, on the one hand, and Nazi officials, on the other. Many officers and soldiers from German colonial units in Africa later joined the *Freikorps* (paramilitary right-wing militia units) where they met people who become future leading figures in the Third Reich (such as Bormann, Frank, Heydrich, Keitel, Strasser, and others) and who, together, fought violently against leftist movements and workers' uprisings following the First World War (Olusoga and Erichsen 2010, 284–287). The link between German military involvement in the colonies and the Nazi movement was symbolized by the infamous brown shirts of the SA, the *Sturmabteilung* or Nazi storm troopers. They were, in fact, uniforms manufactured for a German colonial military unit, the *Schutztruppe* which never got to South-

West Africa because of transport problems during the First World War. The SA acquired them thanks to one of the former officers of colonial military units, and later *Freikorps* commander, who was friends with Ernst Röhm, the leader of the SA (*Ibid.*, 292).

German colonial violence in Africa in many ways is linked to, or resembles, the Holocaust, including the genocide of Roma. First of all, the scale of the genocide: In German campaigns against Herero, approximately 85 per cent of this group was killed or died of hunger, lack of water, and exhaustion. Second, the Germans intended the genocide of the whole group, including women and children, although this developed in the course of military events and interactions between the main actors. As we read in the orders of General Von Trotha, the commander of German colonial military units: "[w]ithin the German boundaries every Herero, whether found armed or unarmed … will be shot. I shall not accept any more women and children. I shall drive them back to their people, otherwise I shall order shots to be fired at them" (Dugard 1973, 26). This order was known as the *Vernichtungsbefehl*, the extermination order. Third, after the extermination order was revoked, the policy of extermination by bullet and famine was replaced by confining Herero, mostly women and children – following British policy in South Africa – in enclosures known as "concentration camps", located in bigger towns and providing forced labour. This was in 1904, and twenty-five years later the first Municipal Gypsy Camps were opened in Germany; in 1933, the first Nazi concentration camp at Dachau started operations.

Concluding Remarks

The roots of Nazi persecution of Roma can be found in the xenophobia Roma have experienced since the beginning of their presence in Europe, but, most importantly, in the radical change in perception of this group, traced back to the beginning of the modernization of European societies which was linked to the emergence of antigypsyism ideology. In accordance, Roma began to be treated as people who, by their very existence, subverted the values of modern culture. Their way of life became, in the dominant culture, synonymous with otherness and backwardness, a "social problem" or "pathology" which needed to be eliminated via forced assimilation. Over time, however, Roma culture and way of life started to be perceived as biologically conditioned, and Roma were seen as a different, inferior race, which could not be changed by assimilation. This was the beginning of the process – intertwined with colonialism and the application of its practices in Europe – which led to the genocide committed against Roma. However, one should avoid thinking in terms of a simplified causal relation (Hawkes 2011). Acts of genocide, including the Holocaust, do not have one single, universal cause and often depend on contingent factors and local constellations of ideas and interests. I would, therefore, say that the interrelation of modernization process mechanisms and colonial expansion significantly increased the probability of the mass extermination of Roma, and I intend to designate this increased probability as a "root cause" of Romani genocide.

The approach proposed here may contribute to the study of the Roma Holocaust and to the comparative analysis of the fate of Jews and Roma. The focus on the root cause of the Roma Holocaust, developed in this paper, that is the specific synthesis of modernization and colonialism, reveals the commonality of the fate of Roma and Jews in a much better way than a study of more direct causes and forms of

persecution. The latter have often been exploited by authors who claimed different treatment of Jews and Roma by the Nazis, with a clear intention to exclude Roma from the ranks of Holocaust victims (Bauer 1978; Lewy 2000). They were mostly produced within an intentionalist paradigm, which assumed that there was a murderous intention behind Nazi crimes, expressed in a decision by the highest authority to kill all members of a target group, subsequently passed down the bureaucratic chain of command and implemented without any hesitation, or change of the original idea. This "intentionalist approach" was followed by the "uniqueness debate" in which authors, such as Bauer and Lewy, assumed that the presence of such an intention uniquely characterized the Nazi genocide of Jews. Their views have been challenged (Hancock 1989; Wipperman 1997), who argued that the Nazi intention included Roma as well as the handicapped and other minority and religious groups.

In the 1980s the intentionalist paradigm of the general historiography of the Holocaust was confronted by a structuralist or functionalist one. Within the new approach, it was argued that there was no evidence of a single decision to explain the murder of the Jews and that the Holocaust "emerged out of the actions of many individuals and state agencies" (Stone 2003, 67), often incoherent and improvised according to the contingent dynamics of the conditions of war and the institutional development of the organizations involved. All these processes occurred, of course, "within the framework of a universally accepted racism and antisemitism driven by the Third Reich's leadership" (Stone 2003, 69), but this general framework was differently concretised at various times and places.

This structuralist or functionalist paradigm which, in its moderate form has dominated the field of Holocaust research, becomes gradually more visible in reflections on the Roma Holocaust. Growing numbers of authors recently admit that "[f]or the reconstruction of persecution it is not the most important thing whether Hitler perceived Sinti and Roma as sufficiently important to be mentioned in his speeches … Particular steps of persecution can be discerned not on the level of declarations and orders but only at the level of praxis" (Fings 2015, 99).

According to Michael Zimmermann (1996) and Michael Stewart (2007), to mention two names only, this praxis was a result of a complicated process, in which old anti-Gypsy measures and policies merged with Nazi regulations based on racist ideology. The process was largely inconsistent and de-centred, although based on a consensus of its perpetrators. The genocide took different forms and intensity in the Third Reich, the occupied territories, and in areas controlled by allies of Nazi Germany. This situation calls for a revision of the intentionalist, top-down approach, to genocide as a consistent implementation of a preconceived plan. The Nazi persecution of Roma cannot be fully understood as either a consistent implementation of a centrally conceived murderous intent or as a contingent side effect of relations between different sectors of the Nazi apparatus of power but rather as a multilayered phenomenon that was not governed by a single mechanism. Instead, we can speak of the specific penetration of racist stigma in situational killing escalation, or of an interplay of the centre (orders from Berlin) and the periphery (initiatives from below).

As a result of Nazi policies, whatever their nature, Roma suffered terrible human losses, many communities were wiped out, and we have good reasons to believe that their final fate would have been annihilation, had the military situation suited Nazi policy in this respect (Rosenhaft 2011). In the final instance,

despite the existing differences of fate, Roma, together with Jews, were killed because they "belonged to a biologically defined group", members of which "could not change their condition to escape death" (Friedlander 1995, XII–XIII).

The interpretive hypothesis presented in this article aims at better understanding the relationship among modernity, colonialism, and the Holocaust, including the genocide of Roma. It argued that the project of modern society developed in Europe was tested in a colonial situation, where it acquired certain irrational elements of primordial hatred, as well as an initiation of genocidal violence, and as such was transferred back to Europe. In this version of the "boomerang effect", modernity and colonialism mutually mediate their impact on the Holocaust, and the colonies served, in a way, as a laboratory for modern societies: relatively empty spaces where Europeans could experiment at will (Conrad 2012, 142–143).

Modern strategies applied to Roma could be either anthropophagic (like assimilation) or anthropoemic (like expulsion). The first of them engendered the mechanism of surrogate victimization, while the second was responsible for the mechanism of scapegoating. Both strategies acquired a clearly racist dimension, partly thanks to the colonial experience which consolidated European racism. This colonial racialization of Roma as the "savage within" had several consequences. First, it caused existential anxiety about the possibility of racial contamination of "German blood" and, therefore, the possible disappearance of German identity. So, colonial regulations prohibiting mixing of races were later employed in Germany and affected the life of many Roma. It is argued that these regulations coincided with the racist approach to Jews in German society, taking the form of "redemptive antisemitism", that is, antisemitism pretending to be German culture and society's self-defense against contamination and disappearance. It is also argued that, similarly, one can speak of "redemptive antigypsyism", to explain the disproportionate interest in Roma in Nazi Germany and the irrational allocation of huge resources to "solve the problem" of a small and harmless minority.

Finally, the article outlines the similarities between German colonial experience and the practice of the Roma Holocaust. As a result, we see the presence of colonial racism applied to Roma at home, in the form of domestic colonialism, personal continuity between colonial officials and perpetrators of the Holocaust, and the similarity between colonial violence and persecution of Roma. This article conclude that to fully understand the Roma Holocaust one must refer to the European, and particularly the German, colonial experience.

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Representing/Roma/Holocaust: Exhibition Experiences in Europe and East Asia

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Eve Rosenhaft has published widely on aspects of German social history from the eighteenth century onwards. She collaborates with museums, filmmakers, and theatre practitioners on projects about Romani and Black victims of Nazism. Recent and forthcoming publications include *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community 1884–1960* (2013); *Mnemonic Solidarity – Global Interventions* (2021); *Legacies of the Romani Genocide since 1945* (2021); *European Roma: Lives beyond Stereotypes* (2022). Together with Jana Müller, she co-curated the exhibitions *"…don't forget the photos, it's very important…"* and *Unwelcome Neighbors,* both of which are the subject of this article.

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Abstract

This article reflects on two exhibitions, in 2018 and 2019, about the Nazi persecution of German Sinti and Roma. One was produced by an Anglo-German curatorial team and toured Britain and Continental Europe. The second was designed by South Korean curators and installed temporarily in a gallery in downtown Seoul. The two exhibitions drew on the same photographic archive, narrated the persecution histories of Romani subjects of the photographs, and used the story of their relationship with the non-Romani photographer to ask questions about responsibility and to prompt visitors to reflect on their own status as "implicated subjects" in contemporary forms of discrimination. Given different expectations of the level of knowledge that visitors bring to the exhibition and different communicative tools familiar to them (the Seoul curators included creative artists), the two curatorial teams took very different approaches to informing and moving their audiences – and to meeting the recognized challenges of representing Romani history and identity – not least in the ways in which the exhibition's message was mediated in face-to-face conversations on site. The aesthetic approach adopted in Seoul did not fully succeed in maintaining the balance between explanation and exoticization. The evaluation relies on visitor surveys (quantitative and qualitative) and interviews with guides.

Keywords

- Exhibition
- Holocaust
- Genocide
- Memory
- Photography

This article reflects on exhibiting material about Roma genocide in Britain, Continental Europe, and South Korea. We look at two exhibitions, one devised for Western audiences and one for an East Asian one. The Seoul exhibition was, in many respects, an adaptation of the European one. Both exhibitions sought to convey new information about the Holocaust and to deliver messages about ethical and civic responsibility. Both drew on a particular body of photographic material illustrating the lives of a group of interrelated Sinti and Roma families from Central Germany.

The design and concept of the European exhibition followed a familiar "script" for narrating the story of Roma genocide, although the nature of the photographic and associated biographical material, and the curators' understanding of their responsibilities towards the victim subjects, called for conscious reflection on their representational practices. Differences in resources, context, and audience led to a radically different approach in South Korea. The dialogue between the British and Korean curators, and the very distinctive ways in which European and Korean visitors responded to the exhibition, focused on some persistent issues around the representation of Romani as subaltern and racialized subjects, as they overlap with and inflect critical debates about the uses of photography and other aspects of Holocaust representation and pedagogy. Key tensions emerged around the use and danger of aestheticization. Negotiating the gap between knowledge that visitors bring to the exhibition and the understanding we want them to take away posed particular challenges – in the case of Romani subjects, the need to explain without objectifying or exoticizing. And we realised the importance of on-site interpreters – guides, docents, curators – in mediating an exhibition's message. These issues were particularly acute in the Seoul exhibition, but a consequence of this was that we were moved to reflect on how far they had been present in the European "original" as well.

1. The Photographs

The photographs at the heart of both exhibitions were taken by the (non-Sinti) photo-journalist Hanns Weltzel (1902–1952) in Dessau-Roßlau (Anhalt, Central Germany) between 1933 and 1939. Representing a range of genres, from studio portraits to ethnographic-style outdoor shots, they portray roughly 100 members of a group of interrelated families, mainly Sinti. About 200 of the photos are from the archives of the Gypsy Lore Society at the University of Liverpool Library. Weltzel sent some to the editor of the Society's *Journal* as illustrations for a series of articles he published in 1938, and a further set of prints, negatives, and glass slides was acquired by the Library, along with some of Weltzel's papers, in 2000 (Weltzel 1938).[1] The photographs themselves are striking in their technical accomplishment and representation of Romani subjects as individuals; they are largely free of the tendency to stereotype that characterizes much of the photographic archive on "Gypsies" (Reuter 2014). They provide visual evidence of the extent to which Weltzel had established friendships and mutual trust with his subjects, whom he got to know during their regular stops in his hometown. The title of the European exhibition, *"…don't*

1 The photographs are held in the University of Liverpool Library, Special Collections and Archives, Gypsy Lore Society Collections SMGC 1/2 PX Weltzel and GLS Add. GA. Further material was acquired from Weltzel's family by the Dessau-Roßlau City Archives in 2019.

forget the photos, it's very important…", is a quote from a letter that one of the survivors wrote to Weltzel after the Second World War.

It is our knowledge of the relationship between photographer and subjects that gives this particular archive a special heuristic power. Correspondence amongst Weltzel's papers attests to his own affection for the Sinti, some of whom he was on intimate terms, while at the same time he adopted the *habitus* of an ethnographer and linguist for his readers. His manuscripts also include a detailed account of the persecution of his friends, a key moment of which was their expulsion from Dessau-Roßlau and internment in the Magdeburg "Gypsy Camp". When he wrote that account in 1948/49, he was aware that most of them had been murdered in Auschwitz (some in other concentration camps) and was full of regret for his own failure to take a stand on their behalf. For their part, surviving Sinti were convinced that Weltzel had collaborated with the "race scientist" Robert Ritter in the genocidal project of his Race Hygiene Research Unit (RHFS). For postwar Gypsiologists, too, Weltzel became a mythical figure onto whom their own survivor guilt and remorse was projected, particularly when he mysteriously disappeared.[2] Read against this background, Weltzel's photos pose critical questions about the ethical responsibility of the human sciences and the dynamic between observing and acting (or the "implicated subject") (Rothberg 2019).

For German audiences, particularly those in the former GDR, there is another dimension that makes these photographs meaningful beyond their visual impact: one young woman, Erna Lauenburger, whom Weltzel frequently photographed, was known to her friends and family as Unku. The communist writer Grete Weiskopf made Unku one of the child protagonists of her novel *Ede und Unku*, published in 1931 under the pseudonym Alex Wedding. The novel's content and Weiskopf's postwar testimony confirm that the author met Unku and her family in Berlin and was on friendly terms with them. Illustrated with photographs of Unku and her family, which the publishers attributed to John Heartfield, the novel tells a tale of solidarity between a Sinti family and a working-class family caught up in the political and labour conflicts of Depression Berlin. *Ede und Unku* was banned in 1933, but Unku's name, and to some extent her image, became part of popular culture in the GDR after 1965, when the novel was included on public schools' reading list; it became compulsory reading in 1972 and inspired a 1981 film (Baetz et al. 2007, 90–97). Unku's story subsequently became foundational, for both the Roma Rights movement and a new wave of research on Roma genocide, through the work of the GDR dissident Reimar Gilsenbach, whose own encounters with survivors from Unku's family spurred him to advocacy and memorialization. His account of Unku's death in Auschwitz made her photographic image an icon for the forgotten Holocaust in Germany before the Weltzel archive came to light (Gilsenbach 1993).

2 Weltzel was the object of some kind of political denunciation after the war, though not apparently for anything related to the fate of the Sinti and Roma; in 1952 he was executed on the orders of a Soviet Military Tribunal for involvement with an underground organization linked to West Germany (Rosenhaft 2014).

2. Exhibition Experiences (1) *"…don't forget the photos, it's very important…"*

These multiple dimensions of the photographic archive underpin the way in which the original exhibition was born. The co-curators, Eve Rosenhaft and Jana Müller, met in 2014 after both researching the subjects of the exhibition independently for several years: Rosenhaft's research began with the discovery of the photographs at Liverpool University, where she teaches German history. Müller, then leader of the Alternatives Jugendzentrum (Alternative Youth Centre) Dessau, had been working with Jewish Holocaust survivors for many years and saw the potential of the archive when conversations with surviving Sinti made her aware of the connection between "Unku" and her hometown. In 2008 she worked with young people from Dessau to produce a short film entitled *Was mit Unku geschah* (Alternatives Jugendzentrum 2008). Rosenhaft and Müller began actively collaborating on the background research and design for an exhibition in 2016.

The travelling exhibition *"…don't forget the photos, it's very important…". The National Socialist Persecution of Central German Sinti and Roma / "…vergiss die photos nicht, das ist sehr wichtig…" Die Verfolgung mitteldeutscher Sinti und Roma im Nationalsozialismus* opened in the Marienkirche in Dessau-Roßlau in January 2018, in time for Holocaust Remembrance Day and in anticipation of the 75th anniversary of the first deportations of German Sinti and Roma to Auschwitz (March 1943) (Exhibition Website n.d.). It had its premiere in the United Kingdom at Liverpool Central Library later in May 2018. This followed the display of a smaller prototype in Prague in the autumn of 2017. By the spring of 2020 thousands of visitors had seen the exhibition, either in its prototype or complete version, in cities in the United Kingdom, Germany, Czech Republic, and Poland (International Youth Meeting Centre in Oświęcim). Hosting organizations and venues have included human rights organizations, churches and synagogues, concentration camp memorials, research organizations focusing on National Socialism and the Second World War, libraries and universities, the offices of local councils, and Romani/Traveller organizations.

2.1 *"…don't forget the photos…"*: Pedagogical Aims, Ethical Challenges, and Representational Methods

From the outset, the curators understood *"…don't forget the photos…"* as having a dual purpose of commemoration and education – both honouring the victims and explaining to a wider public the nature, course, and consequences of the persecution. As in all memory work with Roma genocide as its focus, both are informed by the awareness that this dimension of the Holocaust remains relatively unknown (forgotten or suppressed in public discourse), and that public neglect of that history is closely connected to the continuing exclusion of, and discrimination against, Roma and Travellers. The background research for the exhibition was therefore driven by an absolute commitment to reporting the recoverable facts of its subjects' lives in as much detail as possible. In a sense, this was an instinctive response to the danger of aestheticization inherent in the quality of Weltzel's photos: Visually striking as they are, the images can only be legitimately displayed if they are seen to stand for real people and entire lives. No image remains unexplained.

This very commitment gave the curators a series of ethico-epistemological challenges. First, they found themselves, in effect, reiterating the work of the German police and "race scientists". In the archive, the subjects of Weltzel's photographs are in most cases identified only by their Sinti names. In order to find out what had happened to each individual and their relationships to other victims, it was necessary to establish their identity in terms of their "German", or officially registered names. This was precisely the "problem" that preoccupied (to the point of obsession) German police authorities in their efforts to monitor and control the Romani population from the nineteenth century onwards, while the vision of comprehensive *Erfassung* and racial categorization, on the basis of reliable genealogies, was what drove Ritter and his colleagues during the first stages of the genocide. The curators drew on many of the same resources as Ritter's team and also used some of their genealogical material directly. Of course, they were able to supplement those sources with new ones, such as postwar testimony from the archives of the Red Cross' International Tracing Service, and (ironically) to use police techniques that were unavailable to Ritter, such as facial recognition software.

This turned into a representational challenge, since it made it all the more important *both* that the victims should feature as subjects of their own history within the exhibition space *and* that the exhibition should expose the role of those very systems of scholarship and everyday disciplining in their persecution of which non-Romani curators and visitors may be a part. One issue was how to balance the visually powerful but often silent evidence of Weltzel's photographs with the visual and textual noise generated by the perpetrators. The solution was not to suppress the perpetrator documents – police, Gestapo, RHFS and camp files, and mug shots which, in some cases, remain the only photographic record of family members – but to mark them as such exhibiting them as file folders. At the same time, the curators made a point of seeking and reproducing documents in which victims spoke for themselves. The layout of the exhibition panels, developed by Jana Müller and Jörg Folta, in collaboration with a professional design team, also gives Romani subjects a dominant presence by duplicating their images in life- and larger-than-life size.

The curators were conscious of the moral risks involved in making public the persecution stories of named individuals – a practice on which their whole heuristic approach depended. With so many examples of naïve and tainted scholarship before them, they were mindful of the imperative "nothing about us without us" (Bogdán et al. 2015). Here, they were fortunate in being able to work with members of the survivor community. Members of the Stein, Franz, and Lauenberger families are formally acknowledged in the exhibition credits, and Roma Respekt (a digital platform for networking and education around aspects of Romani life based in the German state of Saxony) is one of the exhibition's German sponsors. This type of engagement was found in the previous work of both curators. As already noted, Jana Müller came to the project through her work with Romani survivors and was able to draw on their advice in composing an account of Romani life and culture that informs the exhibition and interprets images and actions. At the beginning of Eve Rosenhaft's research, she made contact, through Reimar Gilsenbach, with the children of one of Weltzel's surviving subjects and sent them some photographs from the archive. In the course of their joint research new connections and contacts emerged and, as the exhibition travelled through Germany, people came forward who recognized their own relatives in the displays. Their stories have enriched the exhibition's knowledge base and testify to what has been gained in the rediscovery of

their own history. These encounters have not been without challenges: members of the very survivor family to whom Eve Rosenhaft had written 20 years before, asserting Weltzel's guilt, who still remember their grandfather's story of his betrayal, presented Müller with Rosenhaft's letter and pressed her hard to explain why the exhibition presents Weltzel as, at worst, merely passively complicit in the genocide. But they have become partners in the ongoing project of recovery, sharing their stories. Individuals often bring their testimony to events accompanying the exhibition (Küfner 2019).[3] In Britain, members of the immigrant Romani and the English Gypsy and Traveller communities have taken an active part in presenting their histories against the backdrop of the exhibition.

Figure 1. Romani activists who spoke at the exhibition (Liverpool Cathedral, May 2019): Mario Franz (Germany), Alexandra Bahor (Romania/UK), Sybil Lee (UK). Photo: Eve Rosenhaft.

3 The collaboration between journalist Juliane von Wedemeyer-Grimm and Janko Lauenberger was also a response to Jana Müller's publicizing of the Unku story and developed in parallel with the exhibition (Lauenberger and von Wedemeyer 2018). The book follows Lauenberger, the grandson of a surviving cousin of Unku, in pursuit of his family's history. It was launched in Dessau-Roßlau in March 2018 at the same venue as the exhibition.

In the full version of "*...don't forget the photos...*", the commitment to anchoring the images in the details of their subjects' histories generated a very large and wordy display – visually, all the more so, given the exhibition is bilingual, so all explanatory text appears twice. It comprises 24 large pop-up banners, each double-sided – 48 panels in all – organized into six blocks. One of these blocks is introductory; it outlines the background and chronology of the persecution and introduces Hanns Weltzel's career, offering non-Romani visitors an identificatory focus for questions of complicity on which the curators would like them to reflect. The core of the exhibition is structured around families, with five blocks narrating the experiences of one, two, or three families. Four banners focus on the "Unku story".

This approach involves a degree of overlap and repetition; since the families in question were almost all interrelated, the same individuals often appear in more than one block. There is a certain repetitiveness, too, in the persecution narratives, because they seek to highlight the full variety of experiences across families and the particularity of each (respectively sterilization, medical experimentation, slave labour and death in concentration camps, flight and evasion), without suppressing the moments they largely had in common: expulsion from their campsites or neighbourhoods, internment in "Gypsy Camps" and/or immobilization in 1939, forced labour, transport of men to concentration camps following the 1938 "Operation Workshy", deportation to Auschwitz from 1943 onwards, and the postwar struggle for acknowledgement and compensation. The insistence on detail also reflected an anticipation of the knowledge that visitors would bring to the exhibition – following Georges Didi-Hubermann's observation that a Holocaust image "is merely an object … indecipherable and insignificant … so long as I have not established a relation … between what I see here and what I know from elsewhere" (Didi-Hubermann 2012, 112). The curators assumed visitors would have at least a basic knowledge of the Shoah and also some awareness that Roma count among victims (a list that British schoolchildren are expected to learn in the context of the primary school curriculum), but also that visitors would need to be told the specific features of their persecution – which carry distinct lessons for contemporary European societies. A text was needed to set out these dimensions, but it became clear that it was not enough: the fact of genocide was communicated but little nuanced detail was taken in.

Figure 2. Romani volunteer Iordan Abel advising a visitor (Liverpool Cathedral, May 2019). Photo: Eve Rosenhaft.

It is an adage among museum professionals that nobody reads the text, and yet of course exhibitors cannot do without text, and they want it to be accurate. Many visitors to "*…don't forget the photos…*" are happy to be led by the photographs, first identifying individuals who look interesting, before finding out what happened to them. In this sense the aesthetics of the exhibition allows for appreciation at different levels. However, some

visitors commented that they found it difficult to get their bearings in the forest of words and images, or to know what the curators wanted them to take away from the exhibition. A response to this was the English-language leaflet design. It summarises the narrative, has a map of key locations mentioned in the exhibition, provides guidance on how to view the banners, and is also a souvenir and a means to consolidate what visitors have learned.

It is also apparent that face-to-face interpretation on site by curators and volunteers and other active interventions, such as accompanying talks, are particularly important in drawing out the key features of the Holocaust experience of German Sinti and Roma and delivering what the curators take see as its key political messages: first, the genocidal practice of the Nazis emerged out of a longer history of everyday racism, and failure to acknowledge the genocide has allowed popular and institutional racism to persist. Second, related to it, the very "normality" of discrimination, policing, and social control that Romanies have suffered as a racialized minority means that key professional groups were, and are, implicated in their persecution, simply by virtue of doing their jobs. In the context of the exhibition in the UK, seminars and tours were organized for academics, photographers, health service workers, and police officers, and the exhibition provided a platform for training sessions for local council officers in Cheshire, where there is a substantial Traveller community. Both curators have also organized activities for schools and young people, based on the exhibition.

Figure 3. A workshop for schoolchildren (Liverpool Central Library, May 2018). Photo: Eve Rosenhaft.

2.2 Does It Work? Visitor Responses in Britain

The curators have attempted to measure the "success" of the exhibition mainly by using standardized visitor feedback forms. These ask visitors' age and occupation, what brought them to the exhibition, and how much they knew about Romani genocide. Visitors are also invited to say what they have learned

from the exhibition, what actions they might take as a result of seeing it, whether they have any questions or any other comments or feedback. Unsurprisingly, only a relatively small proportion of visitors took time to fill these in, particularly at large venues. As of March 2020, 238 feedback forms were received. Ninety-eight were filled at Dessau-Roßlau in early 2018, most of them by schoolchildren. The remaining 140 come from UK venues between May 2018 and January 2020. Additional feedback was received from host organizations, and, in Germany, extensive media coverage testifies to the reception of the exhibition, if not to the response.

Here, we focus on the response of non-Romani visitors in the UK. This is not only because the range and number of feedback forms available is greater, but also because conditions there for the reception of the exhibition are distinct from those in Germany. In Germany it forms part of a highly developed culture of memorialization and political education about the Holocaust, in which people reflect on the dimensions of historical culpability in which they have a "genealogical" stake. So far, the exhibition has been on display mostly in cities in the region where the events it displays took place, and this, too, conditions visitor response. British viewers are also able and likely to draw on their experiences of institutionalized forms of Holocaust education and commemoration which have developed since the 1990s (Pearce 2014). But while the whole thrust of these initiatives has been to universalize the Holocaust experience – or at least the lessons we take from it – British audiences are positioned differently in relation to the actual events of the genocide. What they do share with the subjects of the exhibition, in a sense that is absolutely "genealogical", is a continuing pan-European history of prejudice, policing, and discrimination that is specific to relations between Roma and non-Roma. For British visitors to the exhibition, then, reflecting on "What we did then?" is less meaningful, while questions such as "What would I have done?" and "What am I doing now?" resonate more directly with the antigypsyism that they observe in their own streets, workplaces, and media – if they choose to look.

The fact that the exhibition introduces a group of victims whose experiences do not duplicate familiar Shoah trajectories is key to many visitor responses. To a degree it is perhaps surprising that visitors confess they knew nothing about Romani genocide or (less surprising) that what they knew was very general but its details were new and shocking to them. It seems that this unfamiliarity-within-the-familiar served to sharpen their attention and also add an edge to their reflective responses. There are certainly generic responses of the "never again" kind (Bachrach 2019). There is more often a self-conscious move from (paraphrasing) "Why haven't we heard this before?" to "I want to find out more" – about the people (Roma) *and* about the persecution, to "I will tell the story myself". One health service professional in Liverpool reported in a follow-up e-mail: "I have been impassioned by the stories and spoken to many colleagues and friends," and another wrote, "I see the world differently." Seeing Roma differently, interrogating one's own prejudices, is another theme: in Liverpool a visitor asked "Am I prone to forgetting the full horror of these events? Do I have any prejudices myself?", while visitors to a London synagogue said they would "look at news articles, comments I hear in a different light" or ask themselves "… how I regard Gypsies in the light of this exhibition".

In spite of the earlier complaints about the exhibition's size and complexity, it is clear that many visitors have taken the time to read the text. Although the photographs are most frequently singled out for praise, there are positive comments about the detail and depth of research, and, even without guidance, some

have spotted evidence of forms of everyday complicity: a 48-year-old director of public administration was struck by "the extent of state (police/church) cooperation with the Nazis in order to register and kill Sinti and Roma". An academic wrote: "I will approach my own research about real people and their photographic images with greater sensitivity and greater consideration of ethical issues."

In sum, *"...don't forget the photos..."* seems to have been successful in negotiating the ethico-epistemological challenges presented by the material itself, the research process, and the politics of representation (including co-production by Romani partners) – successful in that it has engaged and benefited both Romani and non-Romani "stakeholders" – and has demonstrably prompted visitors to reflect on their own attitudes and positions by providing them with new knowledge. In terms of the questions raised by Holocaust education and representation, the in-depth exploration of a relatively unfamiliar victim experience, that of Roma, seems to have sharpened the willingness of visitors to reflect, not only on the specific issue of antigypsyism, but also on wider issues of prejudice and ethical obligation. However, these outcomes reflect negotiations within a shared historical and cultural experience which has generated its own discourses about Holocaust, racism and responsibility, and a common grammar of representation.

3. Exhibition Experiences (2): *Unwelcome Neighbors*

The idea of taking the exhibition to South Korea/East Asia was conceived in 2018, when the Critical Global Studies Institute (CGSI) at Sogang University, offered to host it in Seoul.[4] It was a launch event for CGSI's "Mnemonic Solidarity" project, which explores the genesis of competitive victim narratives and possibilities for productive forms of shared remembering in both local transnational contexts (Lim and Rosenhaft 2021). The exhibition's journey to Seoul took place in the context of the well-documented globalization of Holocaust commemoration, which frames the mnemonic solidarity project, but exposed some of the unevenness of the "global mnemoscape" – or globalized structures of memory – which shared memorial practices are presumed to reflect (Lim 2018). The general outlines of the Holocaust may have become a universal knowledge but the level of detail, knowledge, and comprehension varies widely: for most East Asians, "Holocaust" evokes a set of basic facts and media tropes about the mass murder of Jews. The popularity of Anne Frank's diary in the region attests to this. More than 700,000 copies have been sold in China and more than four million in Japan. Even the North Korean government has recommended the book (Goodman and Miyazawa 2000, 167–72; Miles 2004, 375; Vooght 2017, 100), The planned exhibition offered an opportunity for Koreans to encounter a group of victims who have rarely been subjects in East Asia and expand their imaginative horizons and understanding of Nazi persecution. In the event, though, it quickly became clear that it would be neither practicable nor appropriate simply to import *"...don't forget the photos..."*.

The substantially new exhibition, *Unwelcome Neighbors: Portraits of "Gypsy" Victims of the Holocaust and Others,* was on display at the Korea Foundation Gallery in downtown Seoul from 24 January until 28 February 2019 (Korea Foundation 2019). It had a total of 3812 visits. The Seoul exhibition also had Hanns

4 From September 2018 to August 2020 Eve Rosenhaft held a visiting professorship at CGSI.

Weltzel's photographs at its core but involved a largely new approach to presenting the material and communicating its ethico-political message. The specificity of the Roma Holocaust remained, as did the wider purpose of moving visitors from encountering victims, to reflecting on questions of complicity and responsibility in the here and now. This experiment in raising transnational awareness of the similarities between the treatment of Romani victims and that of other "unwelcome neighbors" at home called for a reconstruction of the European project.

3.1 *Unwelcome Neighbors*: Pedagogical Aims and Representational Strategies

Unwelcome Neighbors uses "Gypsy" in its title and exhibition texts. This was calculated. For most Korean visitors, the exhibition was their first close encounter with the concept and history of Roma, though many of them were familiar with the term "Gypsy". And the historical meanings and connotations of the terminology are completely absent in public discourse. Therefore, before introducing Romani victims, curators had to explain who Roma are, how they have been historically subject to racism, thus becoming objects of Nazi persecution, and finally why "Gypsy" may be a pejorative term. In essence this approach was not different from the one adopted by *"...don't forget the photos..."*. But the account offered in Seoul provided less detail. Relatively brief texts were juxtaposed with striking visuals: the first wall in the main gallery offered a map of Romani migrations, conventionalized images of the *chakra* and a concentration camp triangle (iconography that also featured on specially designed banners at the entrance to the exhibition).

Figure 4. Entrance to the Seoul exhibition. Photo: Eve Rosenhaft.

In spite of an acknowledged need for information (which we discuss below), the exhibition relied heavily on the power of Weltzel's photographs. In the introductory section, a number were displayed to illustrate

the everyday lives of Sinti and Roma in Germany before the persecution; the people and places in the photographs were not identified, and the photos were framed and hung, as in a gallery. Up to this point, the presentation focused on introducing the generic subject of "Gypsies". The display then focused on the specific, looking at Unku and her family. Images from "*...don't forget the photos...*" were selected and presented to form a narrative of the journey from freedom to persecution. It culminated in a family tree recording the deaths of Unku's relatives, represented by police mugshots, and ended with a brief textual account of the persecution and murder of German Sinti and Roma. The mugshots created a dramatic contrast with Weltzel's photos, serving as a reminder of the brutality of the police gaze. There were additional visual cues in the framing of Weltzel's photos: in earlier parts of the display, the frames were made of wood, whilst the pictures that hung in the "persecution section" were in unpolished metal frames. Visitors' senses were then mobilized, along with the gaze, in a process of engaging them emotionally, as they were drawn into the lives of individuals whom they had previously encountered as anonymous types. Once introduced to the Holocaust story, visitors could enter a set aside space to watch Jana Müller's film *Was mit Unku geschah*, running on a loop with Korean subtitles.

Figure 5. Introducing "Gypsies" at the Seoul exhibition. Photo: Yisook Son.


Figure 6. Unku's family tree. Photo: Yisook Son.

The goal here was to dramatize history so that Korean audiences would not only witness but also engage affectively with the memories of the Roma Holocaust. This signified a crucial difference between the European and the Seoul exhibitions, the involvement of creative artists in the Seoul team: artist-curator and filmmaker Ja Woonyung and photographer Yisook Son shaped the exhibition in collaboration with historian Jie-Hyun Lim. In extensive (and intense) conversations within the curatorial team Eve Rosenhaft (acting primarily as advisor) explained the history behind the photographs and what each of them represented. For the creative director of the Seoul exhibition, Ja Woonyung, the design of the exhibition was an expression of her emotional

engagement with Unku's story, and an effort to raise visitors to the same level of empathy and moral reflection. Before this project, she had worked on representations of global subjects, ranging from her own identity as a forced migrant under the South Korean military/developmental dictatorship to Arabs in Marseille's slums. In this sense, creative work on the exhibition had, for her, both a personal and a professional meaning.

The input of the artist-curators went beyond the structural rearrangement of images. Ja Woonyung crafted installations to materialize the Romani way of life and their experiences and comment on their persecution. One of the first things visitors saw was her life-size reproduction of a detail from one of Weltzel's photos of a caravan in the Magdeburg "Gypsy camp" (Figure 4), while in the gallery space, in front of the Unku narrative, she installed a scene representing an abandoned campsite. In a work of art directly invoking the fallacy of notions of "race", she set up two test tubes of artificial blood: a mocking comparison of "German blood" and "Gypsy blood", it also referenced the persistence of blood purity ideas in both Japanese and Korean nationalism (Robertson 2012; Han 2016, 30–31). Visitors happened upon Ja Woonyung's most daring and problematic installation at the end of the Unku section: a replica of the chair used by German police to seat people for mug shots. She anticipated that visitors would sit in it themselves, and by doing so would help close the temporal and spatial chasm between themselves and the victims of the Nazis.

Figure 7. Installation of an abandoned camping place. Photo: Yisook Son.

Figure 8. Police photographer's chair. Photo: Yisook Son.

Installations of this kind, including what might be called "violence re-enactment" works, are not uncommon in Korean exhibition spaces and historical and memory sites (Arai 2016); there is some overlap with "photo points" ubiquitous in public and tourist areas, which

offer opportunities for authorized placemaking (Zalewska 2017). This consideration served, to some extent, to appease Eve Rosenhaft's reservations about both aesthetic romanticization and "Disneyfication" (Metz 2008). Jana Müller, who was not involved in the curatorial process in Seoul, commented afterwards that installations "would not have been possible in an exhibition in Europe or Germany …. There would have been an outcry from the Sinti and Roma community" (Müller 2019). As familiar a strategy as it may have been, however, the replica chair proved problematic even for Korean visitors, illustrating vividly one of the central challenges of Holocaust representation: balancing empathy and horror (with the danger of re-traumatizing survivors).

Ja Woonyung actively defended her design as an artistic intervention, articulating retrospectively how the final shape of the exhibition reflected a real tension between her own aims and the historians' insistence on a pedagogical and documentary approach. Interviewed in 2021, she said she understood the concerns of Rosenhaft and Müller. Yet as an artist, her purpose in representing and exposing atrocious acts, in the most vivid way possible, was "to find redemption for the victims". She had intended visitors to react with horror, and her only regret was that she should have expressed her message even more strongly (Ja Woonyung 2021). In fact, Ja Woonyung's intuition echoed the comments of viewers of "*...don't forget the photos...*", who frequently ask about the head braces visible in the mug shots: in the absence of the kind of explicitly horrific images we are accustomed to seeing from the camps, they seem to be looking for visible evidence of abuse. The Seoul exhibition answered that question by inviting visitors to approach the police photographer's equipment as an instrument of torture. And visitors were in fact divided in their reactions when invited to sit down.

The most novel feature of *Unwelcome Neighbors* was its last section. Historians on the curating team, CGSI Director Jie-Hyun Lim and Eve Rosenhaft, envisaged the exhibition as a site where diverse critical memories could flourish beyond, and in dialogue with, Holocaust memory, prompting transnational reflection on ethical and political values. Accompanying public events focused on Korean labour and immigrant struggles and on the Nazi persecution of homosexuals. In order to bring home the message of solidarity and responsibility, the curators opened the final section to work by Korean photographic artists, Dongkeun Lee and Nari Lim, who take photographs of South Korea's ethnic minorities and immigrant workers. Lee documented the experience of a Vietnamese-Korean woman who had arrived as a marriage

Figure 9. Images of Korea's "unwelcome neighbors" today. Photo: Yisook Son.

migrants, while Lim's images captured how "foreigners" speak of their personal experience as aliens in South Korea. The subjects of both bodies of work affirm their ethnic and personal identities, as well as their struggle to belong to Korean society.

The critical juxtaposition of pictures of Roma and ethnic minorities in Korean society today, aimed to move visitors beyond empathy or identification with victims. In particular, the curators were determined to resist the temptation to mobilize discourses of Korean wartime and colonial suffering that have too often relied on rhetorical analogies with the Holocaust for nationalist purposes (Lim 2010). Denied the complacent closure of a generic "never again", visitors could reflect self-critically on their own attitudes. The lesson of the "forgotten Holocaust" was that they should open their eyes to forgotten victims of everyday racism, an acknowledged problem in Korea. (The exhibition was planned during a populist backlash over the settlement of some 550 Yemeni asylum seekers who arrived on on Jeju Island between 2016 and 2018.) In this sense, the Seoul exhibition was more aggressive than *"...don't forget the photos..."* in pressing home the shared message about racism and responsibility. It was also more daring, in adopting a strategy that might be charged with relativizing or even trivializing the genocide. This is an issue that both historian curators have confronted in their previous work, and they agreed that the critical juxtaposition of episodes from different times and places could legitimately test the potential for solidarity and meaningful commemoration across national and cultural boundaries. The first challenge was whether an analogy, drawn in such stark terms between historical moments that differed not only in time and place but also in the extent to which visitors could grasp them in detail, would convince at any level.

3.2 Challenges and Politics of Representation: Antigypsyism without Romani Subjects

We noted above that the curators assumed Korean audiences were unfamiliar with Roma, although they would recognize the term "Gypsy" and be somewhat familiar with the outline of the Shoah. Roma have never had any significant role in modern East Asia, although there was a small community of mostly Russian Roma in Shanghai during the early twentieth century (French 2013). In Japan, some key German texts reflecting the Roma Holocaust (including *Ede und Unku*) have been translated in the past decade (notably by the sociologist Ma[r]tin Kaneko – see Kaneko 2016) and have been subjects of literary critical scholarship. The genocide is also mentioned in history textbooks, but public resonance has been limited. There are even fewer publications about Roma in Korea, and most are translations of European survey histories such as Henriette Asséo's *Les Tsiganes, une destinée européenne* and Angus Fraser's *The Gypsies*. The only Roma-related public exhibition in South Korea before *Unwelcome Neighbors* was an exhibition of work by the Czech photographer Josef Koudelka, held at the Museum of Photography in Seoul in 2016–17. Koudelka occupies a key position in the photographic canon of Roma, but in Seoul questions concerning the politics of representation and Roma subjectivity were largely absent. It was his status as a photographic artist that was emphasised, and in reports of his press conference Koudelka, himself, was quoted saying that "the pictures are not about Gypsies. Instead, the Gypsies serve as a medium for telling the story of humanity and human lives" (Kwon 2016). Essentially, then, the curators of *Unwelcome Neighbors* assumed that their exhibition would be speaking to an empty space.

What they did not anticipate was the extent to which stereotypical, and indeed hostile, visions of Roma had already arrived from Europe. In most cases, Koreans' only opportunities for direct encounters with Roma are during visits to Europe and, as they travel, they are already conditioned to expect problems. Amnesty International Korea followed up a report on its website about evictions of Italian Roma with a Facebook post condemning the fact that many Korean travel sites warn visitors to Europe to "watch out for Gypsies" (Amnesty International 2013). In effect, the first challenge was to counter a particular form of antigypsyism without Romani subjects.

In this context, the strategy of starting by explaining "Gypsies" made sense, but it became clear that deploying the term itself, in order to challenge it, was a high-risk translational tight rope. It needed to acknowledge the marginalization of Romanies in European modernity, while not depicting them as primitive outsiders. But the curators' apprehension, about the emotional and physical distance between subjects and audiences, led to a decision to put aesthetic representation before textual explanation. In contrast to the Anglo-German curatorial approach, Seoul artist-curators themselves started identifying individuals in the Weltzel photos who looked interesting and exotic, and then proceeded to build a narrative that would give individuality to the photographic subjects and establish their status as innocent victims of genocide.

The art installations were similarly designed to stimulate sympathy and to serve as a cultural bridge between complex Romani pasts and Korean spectators. But the danger here, as with the selection and treatment of the photographs, was that it would result in ethnic essentialization and romanticization. The very tool that was used to prompt the audiences to understand the ethnic "other" laid its own epistemological traps. The installation showing a fenced-in caravan was not identifiable as a scene of persecution. The abandoned campsite, scattered with unidentified clothes and musical instruments, against a background of recorded violin music, was genuinely moving for a visitor who already knew the history or took care to read the exhibition texts, and many visitors testified that it successfully communicated the sense of despair and devastation that had inspired the artist. But the installations, inadvertently, confirmed stereotypes and emphasised difference, at best raising more questions than they answered, and not questions of the kind that the curators had hoped. The image of a racialized "other" was thus re-appropriated within the Seoul exhibition space.

In Seoul, as in Europe, face-to-face interpretation on site was a key aspect of the exhibition experience. Three guides (all women) were employed by the Korea Foundation to lead guided tours, and they were also on hand to answer questions; nearly all visitors interacted with them (Lee 2019).[5] In the absence of textual explanation their role was crucial, and the experience exposed the influence, as well as the danger of this practice. They were given some very basic training, including a walkthrough, a brief history of German Sinti and their persecution and some general guidelines. In practice they adopted individual approaches, in some cases subverting the narrative structure of the exhibition. In a sincere effort to "connect" with visitors, one of them regularly referred both to her own experience of being harassed by

5 Lee was present in the gallery as an observer throughout the whole period of the exhibition and interviewed the guides about their experience.

(presumed) Roma on the street in Europe and to the character Esmeralda from the Disney film version of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. This was echoed in visitor responses to the figure of Unku. In the context of "*…don't forget the photos…*", attention to her story was motivated by its cultural significance for (East) German audiences. The even stronger focus on her in Seoul might have had some resonance with Korean visitors sensitized to the trope of the young woman victim – the comfort-woman-as-Anne Frank (e.g., Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation 2019). Esmeralda is, of course, an icon for the *sexualized* image of the Romni/Sintezza, and the archive of Weltzel's photographs bears undeniable traces of an erotic gaze (Rosenhaft 2008). The substantial number of visitors to *Unwelcome Neighbors* who commented specifically on Unku's exotic attractiveness was a disappointing outcome of this particular alchemy.

3.3 How Did Seoulites Respond? Limited Success and Different Mnemoscapes

The Seoul exhibition attempted to walk a fine line between historical exhibition and an aesthetic hybrid of art and history. Whether the combination would work, in terms of the curators' pedagogical and representational objectives, would depend on the interplay of materials, producers, mediators, and audiences. Visitor responses were captured mainly by survey forms which they were asked to fill at the end of the exhibition. The questionnaires solicited a range of information, from visitor demographics and pre-visit knowledge of the Holocaust, to their general impression of the exhibit's message and their views on the juxtaposition of the Holocaust and contemporary situations. The forms included standardized questions, as well as requesting visitors to write their own thoughts down. However, tracking and presenting quantifiable responses was not their primary purpose. Rather, the observations below reflect a qualitative analysis, aimed at identifying discursive responses that point to patterns and connections and display the constructive nature of meaning-making within the exhibition (Sandell 2006). The visitor comments that we have highlighted are significant, not least, in that they differ substantially from the responses that British visitors had to comparable questions (implicit and explicit).

Taken as a whole, visitor responses were mixed and sometimes nuanced. The 345 visitors who completed questionnaires had clearly paid close attention to the displays, and most respondents were willing to engage seriously with the issue of what lessons Koreans should draw from the Roma Holocaust experience, and how that is best represented. At the same time, the attempt by *Unwelcome Neighbors* to overcome Korean ignorance of Romani ethnicity clearly led to some unintended side-effects.

The vast majority of the respondents admitted that they had never learned anything about "other victims" of the Holocaust, let alone Roma, before seeing the exhibition. They expressed satisfaction and even gratitude to the curators for educating them about forgotten victims of the Holocaust. While they were appalled and saddened by the Nazi terror, they described being both enlightened and emotionally drawn to the Romani victims, developing a strong sense of affinity. As an affective mode of knowledge production, the Seoul exhibition thus seems to have been successful to the extent that it not only expanded their mental maps of the Holocaust beyond the Shoah, but also generated a basic and emotive recognition of Roma as an ethnic group.

For many visitors, however, this recognition was expressed as an acute, or even heightened, awareness of difference. There were persistent questions about who "Gypsies" (really) are, often couched in terms of mild suspicion. One of the visitors even e-mailed the organizers with nine questions; these included "Why did they pursue the Gypsy way of life? Do Gypsies just not have their own nation-state? Or do they pledge loyalty to the nation-state in which they reside? Do they have a national allegiance towards the country in which they live?" and "It seems difficult to maintain a travelling lifestyle, so why did they live as Gypsies and not as nationals within a nation-state?" Moreover, even visitors who had some contact with Roma repeated misconceptions, typically rooted in European antigypsy prejudice, such as pickpocketing or "asociality". Both questions and comments underline how different conditions for the reception in Seoul were from those in Europe; this mediated encounter with historical Romanies could not make up for either the physical absence of real Romanies, or their limited but powerful discursive presence in Koreans' vision of the wider (and stranger) world.

Aside from communicating Holocaust history, the main purpose of the exhibition was to have audiences seek the familiar within the unfamiliar. Ironically, the epistemological strangeness of Roma ethnic identity seems to have actually sharpened visitors' attention to critical interconnections and/or juxtapositions of Romani victims and other possible sufferers – though they differed in how they evaluated those connections. In a short text introducing the exhibition, Jie-Hyun Lim explicitly asked:

> Why do we have a sense of *déjà vu* when we look at the portraits of Romani victims? The passive objective complicity hiding behind Weltzel's camera lens reminds us of Koreans' hostile indifference towards their own unwelcome neighbors – refugees and foreigners – today. It is up to the audience to decide how to read the attitudes of contemporary Koreans towards their unwelcome neighbors.

The post-visit survey specifically posed two questions that probed the capacity of the Korean public for transnational solidarity and self-reflection in these terms: (1) In global history, do you think there have been any groups of people who have suffered a fate similar to that of the Romani victims? (2) In contemporary Korean society, do you think there have been any groups of people who have suffered a fate similar to that of the Romani victims?

In answer to the first question, nearly half of the respondents invoked atrocities and victims familiar from their own national past. Korean victims of Japanese colonialism (comfort women and forced laborers), the developmental dictatorship, and the Korean War were frequently named, along with Jews. Many respondents did mention other non-Korean victims, including immigrants, refugees, and slaves. These answers indicate that visitors were able to seize opportunities for the critical juxtaposition of diverse experiences and pasts, but the self-identification of Koreans as victims, like Roma, was more frequent than the acknowledgement of their role as implicated subjects or perpetrators. This is apparent from responses to the second question. A number of visitors responded as the curators had hoped. One wrote "There are three million Unkus in the community centres for immigrants. The Roma Holocaust is comparable." Another reported: "The moment I turned to the Korean section, I realized that if things go wrong, the situation in this country might turn into Holocaust."

However, a not insignificant number of visitors resisted the connection between the lives of Roma and the lives of their own Others. Their objections were often expressed as indignation at the relativization or trivialization of the Holocaust, though by implication they were minimizing the significance of racism at home themselves. In response to Jie-Hyun Lim's question, those visitors displayed what we might call a sense of *jamais vu*. One of the guides, a native of Jeju Island, which suffered a brutal anti-communist terror between 1948 and 1950, was very explicit on both points. She reported that her mediation of the exhibition narrative was informed by memories of the stories her grandparents had told her about those years. But this moment of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009) was at odds with her complaint about the "invasion of refugees" on Jeju.

Conclusion

"…don't forget the photos…" and *Unwelcome Neighbors* deployed the same core material to communicate the same history and pose analogous ethical challenges to two very different audiences. In both cases, the curators were aware that they were telling stories that would be unfamiliar to their audiences (at least in detail) and also asking them to see a familiar story (the Holocaust) in a new way, going beyond identification with the victims or the complacent closure of "never again", to see themselves as implicated subjects. The representational strategies they adopted took account of this, and one of the elements of this was to deploy conventions of display, familiar in the respective contexts: while *"…don't forget the photos…"* adopted an information-rich approach to stress existing Holocaust awareness, *Unwelcome Neighbors* addressed the presumed ignorance of Koreans with a structured but aestheticized presentation designed to take visitors on an emotional journey – a photographic exhibition that was much more than that. This had the effect, for some Korean visitors at least, of confirming rather than challenging stereotypes, a reminder of how important on-site, face-to-face communication is, in combination with static text and images. It is also to do with two other aspects of its reception: first, the presence/absence of Romani neighbours not only informed visitor responses in respective regions but also determined the extent to which the curators felt bound by a responsibility to Romani subjects themselves and their survivor community and were committed to a representational vocabulary that does justice to a problematic history of aestheticization and exoticization. And (second) that sense of responsibility is, itself, a discursive construct. It depends on the existence of a verbal and sentimental repertoire that emerged in the liberal West in the late twentieth century, which underpins a shared language of racial justice and informs responses to Holocaust representation. This discursive context is less well embedded in East Asian public culture, although the globalization of Holocaust memory and education has contributed to a complex process of change there. Moreover, it seems likely that while *"…don't forget the photos…"* generally attracted visitors who were already operating within that discourse (given its venues and hosts), while *Unwelcome Neighbors* drew more of a cross-section of the curious (despite the fact that substantial media coverage of the exhibition cited the curators' political aims). As of the spring of 2020 *"…don't forget the photos…"* was still travelling – its progress interrupted only by the coronavirus pandemic. The Seoul exhibition closed at the end of February 2019. It remains to be seen whether *Unwelcome Neighbors* will have left traces in South Korea's historical consciousness or memory culture.

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Between Antigypsyism and Human Rights Education: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representations of the Roma Holocaust in European Textbooks

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Abstract

This paper investigates representations of the Roma Holocaust in European textbooks on history, civics, and geography for pupils in upper primary to the end of secondary education. By applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to a dataset of 472 passages and images referring to the Roma Holocaust from 869 textbooks, this paper reveals educational discourses of in/exclusion by focusing on narratives and linguistic tools, such as speech acts, level of detail and specificity, perspectives in semantic and grammatical forms, vocabulary and syntax. Most knowledge disseminated on the Roma Holocaust concerns numbers and technicalities of murder while Roma-specific details, survivor stories, and individual voices, as well as Romani terminology for the Holocaust (*Porrajmos*) are rare. Generally, the textbooks show little commitment to circulating knowledge about the Roma Holocaust, or specifically focusing on civic or human rights education. Portrayals of the Roma Holocaust are permeated by both explicitly and implicitly racist discourses, coupled with a distinct lack of critical tools with which to deconstruct these narratives. Overall, current textbook representations of the Roma Holocaust mirror social discourse and possibly serve to reproduce Romani exclusion and risk reinforcing antigypsyism attitudes.

Keywords

- Antigypsyism
- Critical discourse analysis
- Education
- Roma
- Roma Holocaust
- Textbooks

Introduction

Historical and current antigypsyism in Europe raises urgent questions on the role and opportunities of education vis-à-vis Roma inclusion and overcoming discrimination. Curricula and textbooks are important tools in building national narratives and normative definitions of society, nation, or citizenry (Schissler and Soysal 2005; Williams 2014; Fuchs and Bock 2018). They are fundamental in the creation of common identities, connecting such entities with particular socio-cultural collective values assumed to be shared among particular groups (Williams 2014; Fuchs and Bock 2018). The representation of ethnic minorities in school textbooks provides a rich source of data for anti-discrimination research because, as authoritative cultural objects, textbooks discursively represent and construct visions of society and its constituent parts. In this sense, textbooks both influence and mirror dominant social discourses about culturally, racially, or ethnically defined (minority) groups (Cruz 1994; Weninger and Williams 2005; Janmaat 2007; Padgett 2015; Abdou 2018). Even though content of textbooks alone cannot reveal what is actually taught in schools, it can give invaluable insights into the issues and discursive frames which students will most likely face during their formal education.

This article begins with two key observations in current textbook research: First, studies on representations of the Holocaust and other atrocities of the Second World War have revealed that textbooks covering these topics rarely mention Roma (Carrier and Kohler 2020; Luku 2020). A study on the representation of Roma in European textbooks, however, has shown that the Roma Holocaust is, alongside demographic aspects, the most prominent theme in textbooks that make *any* reference to Roma at all (Council of Europe 2020). These findings call for more in-depth analysis of how the Roma Holocaust, in particular, is represented in European textbooks, and reflections on the role and purpose of education in the context of antigypsyism and widespread discrimination of Roma.

Two major aims of Holocaust education have been identified by cross-national textbook studies: One emphasizes historical knowledge, the other civic and human rights education (Bromley and Russell 2010; Carrier, Fuchs, and Messinger 2015). The latter is influenced by postwar responses resulting in heightened national, European, and international understandings of humanity and morality, as well as the need to protect these values within our societies and embrace a collective value of justice (Alexander 2013). When Holocaust education emerged, and even as it developed further, Romani experiences were initially ignored in the process of historical documentation, memory restoration, recognition, retribution, and reparations (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, Acuña, and Trojański 2015). It was not until the 1990s that the persecution and genocide of Roma and Sinti became a topic of scholarly attention (About and Abakunova 2016), and educational projects focusing on the subject only began to appear in the 2000s (Polak 2013). A specific research focus on the Roma Holocaust in the formal contents of teaching is even rarer.[1]

1 A notable exception is Stachwitz (2006) who investigated the representation of the genocide of Roma and Sinti in German history textbooks at the turn of the twenty-first century and found that it is often absent and, when it is present, is imprecise and inaccurate.

This study investigates representations of the Roma Holocaust in textbooks designed for corresponding ISCED levels 2 and 3[2] in history, civic education, and geography. It draws on a dataset developed in a joint research project between the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media | Georg Eckert Institute, the Roma Education Fund, and the Council of Europe, entitled "Representation of Roma in European Textbooks and Curricula" (Council of Europe 2020). The project covered a systematically selected sample of 869 textbooks from 20 European countries in use and/or approved for the school year 2018–2019, 289 of which included references to Roma, Sinti, or other national equivalent terminology.[3] Applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to this dataset of references, this paper investigates the portrayal of the Roma Holocaust in textbooks by focusing critically on narratives and linguistic tools which either (re)produce inequality or promote Romani inclusion within European societies.

Dominant societal discourses, which in several European countries deliberately promote antigypsyism, provide the context for the production, use, and reception of textbook content. This makes human rights education in teaching the Roma Holocaust especially challenging and complex (van Baar 2014). For example, classroom observations in Romania, where Holocaust education has been mandatory for over a decade, documented practitioners having trouble addressing the topic, even if increasingly mentioned in textbooks. Many history and civics teachers display cognitive barriers concerning the Roma Holocaust; Kelso deems this due to ignorance of the topic, or deep-seated prejudice against Roma (Kelso 2013, 70). Even when trying to counteract the stereotyping of Roma in class more generally, some teachers end up inadvertently reinforcing anti-Romani attitudes expressed by students (Szakács 2018, 161–62).

Without minimizing the role of teachers, this article focuses on identifying how such dominant societal discourses are expressed and reproduced in textbooks, which we see as key media for addressing discrimination in educational discourses. Given their wide reach and authority in national education systems, textbooks hold transformative potential in challenging dominant societal discourses and provide us with important sources for researching the current state of Roma Holocaust education in Europe.

1. Methodological Approach

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) tools employed in this article are those outlined by Teun A. van Dijk (1993; 2015). As he contends, the CDA framework is useful for analysing "the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk 2015, 466). We adapted van Dijk's tools for our study, specifically examining speech acts dominating the text; local meanings and coherence detailed; specificity of content related to the Roma

2 ISCED: International Standard Classification of Education. Depending on each country's education system ISCED 2 and 3 range from upper primary to the end of secondary education.

3 In addition to the report on Romani representations by the Council of Europe, the international working group also made available online a "List of References to Roma in European Textbooks," including all original and translated quotes from the textbooks quoted in this paper and a complete list of all textbooks consulted: https://repository.gei.de/handle/11428/306. All translations of non-English textbook passages in this paper were generated by the working group.

Holocaust and experiences; perspectives taken revealed by grammatical forms (e.g. pronouns, adverbs, verbs, active/passive voice); and the use of vocabulary and syntax that specifically relate to narrations of the Roma Holocaust. To contextualize this analysis, we also considered authorship (i.e., participation in textbook production), readership (i.e., who is addressed) and schemata (i.e., implicit knowledge and underlying assumptions). We interpreted the findings by linking these aspects with broader discourses fostering Roma exclusion and discrimination.

Empirically, this analysis draws on a data subset of a larger study of representations of Roma in European textbooks, analysing in detail those passages that specifically refer to the Roma Holocaust (472 references). We counted as 'reference to the Roma Holocaust' any mention of genocide or violence against Roma; any description of events, ideologies, or policies which led to the persecution and genocide of Roma during and prior to the Second World War (453); as well as content referring to remembrance or reparations for persecution and crimes against Roma (19). After identifying and classifying these references thematically, we applied a CDA framework and developed further codes inductively. All three authors reviewed and coded all references to the Roma Holocaust to ensure intercoder reliability. Five main steps were followed:

1. Identification of the concepts and themes relevant to the Roma Holocaust.
2. Development of specific codes based on the CDA framework and examination of the data.
3. Coding the data, also developing new codes based on concepts and themes identified through close readings of the dataset.
4. Sorting the data based on the refined codes, themes, and concepts.
5. Synthesizing the concepts and themes.

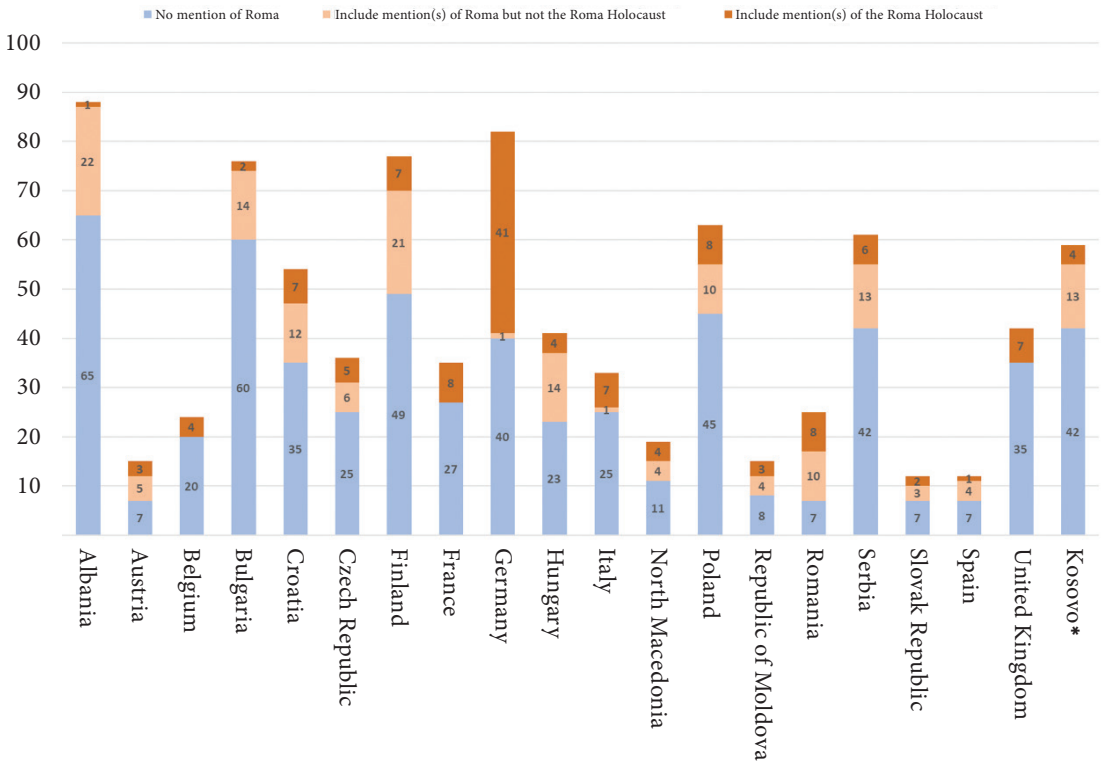
2. Description of the Dataset

Of 869 history, civics, and geography textbooks from the larger data corpus, 289 mention Roma at all and, of these, 132 refer to what we categorized as the Roma Holocaust. With 472 passages or images, content referring to the Roma Holocaust represents approximately half (49 percent) of all references to Roma in the larger data corpus (Council of Europe 2020). While atrocities against Roma during the Second World War do therefore appear as a significant issue when Roma are mentioned, the proportion of such references varies greatly according to country, ranging from two to 100 percent (Figure 1). For example, of 41 references to Roma appearing in 23 (of 88) Albanian textbooks only *one* sentence mentions the physical elimination of Roma by Nazi Germany. In contrast, four of 24 Belgian textbooks mention Roma and *all* four of these are history textbooks that refer to the Roma Holocaust. Similarly, in eight out of the 35 French textbooks, there are 71 passages and images referring to Roma, and all, except one, refer to the atrocities during the Second World War. Half of German textbooks (41 out of 82) reference atrocities against Roma perpetrated during the Second World War.[4] On the one hand, the space and attention

4 The size of the textbook samples varies to a large degree from one country to another, due to the heterogeneity of textbook markets and state regulations. Germany has an especially large textbook market with 16 federal states following different curricular requirements, leading to different versions of the same book being taught simultaneously throughout the country. As more than one version has been included in the dataset, similar references recur in the German sample.

dedicated to the Roma Holocaust appears larger in these latter works compared to many other countries; on the other hand, Roma are almost never mentioned in *other* contexts than those of past atrocities, and hardly any insights into the past or current everyday lives of Romani populations or their contributions to society are given (Council of Europe 2020).

Figure 1. Textbooks Mentioning Roma by Country



3. Findings of the CDA analysis

Speech Acts and the Intended Reader

Textbooks are an authoritative multimodal genre characterized by assertions through declarative sentences and images (van Leeuwen 1992). The most frequent speech act found within the dataset, *the assertion,* points to the authorial intention to share knowledge about the Roma Holocaust in order to lead the reader(s) to particular historical narratives presented as truths and facts. In turn, assertions position the textbooks and their authors as authorities on Roma Holocaust history and experiences.

The type, form, and extent of information given within a text also indicate its intended reader(s). The absence of the terms for the Roma Holocaust used by Roma, such as *Porrajmos* or *Samudaripen*, as well as the scarcity of Romani-specific aspects of remembrance, suggest that Roma are not among the intended

readers of these textbooks. In total, five references, from Croatia (1), Germany (1), Hungary (2), and Italy (1), include a Romani term for the Holocaust. A passage from a Hungarian textbook is a remarkable exception: "We call the Roma genocide *Porrajmos*" (Száray 2016, 269). Not only does the author of this book include the Romani term (meaning 'the devouring' or 'the destruction') that many Roma use when remembering the genocide of their people, he also aptly constructs a common 'we' that combines, in a dual voice, 'we, the Romani people' with 'we, the dominant society'. This is, however, the only case of Roma-inclusive dual voice in the 472 references to the Roma Holocaust.

Similarly, definitions of Sinti and Roma – offered in Austrian, French, and German textbook content on the Holocaust – suggest that the imagined audience for these texts barely includes Romani students, or that students need an explanation as to who Roma are. These definitions vary in detail and are typically found in textboxes or in the margins. What they have in common is that they describe Roma as "living in" Europe or in a European country. None of the 14 definitions assert that Roma belong to the wider society outside the group's location, by using words like "part of", for instance, or legally inclusive terms such as "citizens of" or "residents of".

Pejorative denominations for Roma, such as *Zigeuner* in Belgium and Germany, *cigan* in Bulgaria, *tzigane* in France, *zingaro* in Italy, *cygan* in Poland, or *ţigan* in Romanian, convey negative connotations via etymological and morphological associations in the national languages and phraseology, by associating Roma with stereotypes of untrustworthiness, poverty, uncleanliness, and criminality, to name a few. Such terms appear in the textbooks in quotes from historical sources, for example, or in authorial text, and are sometimes included as a 'synonym' in brackets (before or after the term 'Roma'), without explanation as to the discriminatory context of their use and pejorative connotations. As official texts endorsed by governments or educational institutions, textbooks using pejorative terms without further explanation suggest tacit compliance with the stereotypical terminology and a lack of acknowledgement of how this might be hurtful to Roma communities. More worryingly, it may also contribute to the further exclusion of Romani students' experience in the classroom and the further solidification of these terms in everyday language among the majority population.

Level of Importance: Sinti and Roma "were also excluded, persecuted and murdered"[5]

The level of importance accorded to a topic can be evaluated by considering the amount of detail and level of specificity it is afforded within a text. How much information is given, or alternatively how vaguely or indirectly prejudice, discrimination, persecution, or other mistreatment of a racial or ethnic group are described, indicates the priority given to these aspects within the text as a whole, as well as its positioning vis-à-vis discrimination through discursive constructions of 'us' vs. 'them' (Van Dijk 1993, 249–83; Van Dijk 1999, 147–48). We thus gauged the discursive importance assigned to the Roma Holocaust by also analysing levels of specificity and detail in the textbook references to the Roma Holocaust.

5 Dickmann. (2014, 148–49)

It is most striking that Roma are linked to the main content by being listed as victims in relation to another group's experiences, in sentences like this from a Slovak textbook: "A similar fate was met by the Roma" (Kovac et al. 2016, 68). One of many examples is from a German history textbook, "[…] *Apart from* Jews, other peoples were *also* victims of extermination, *including* the two ethnic communities of the Sinti and Roma" (Geus 2011, 184 emphases added). Resonating with Kelso's findings (2013), 40 percent of references that mention multiple victims include Roma with transitional or conjunctive adverbs, such as; "also", "not only", "as well as", "in addition to", and often, either as secondary to another group, or the last entry in a list of victims. These references are, on average, one to two sentences long and no further specificities on the persecution of Roma are given. Both the use of conjunctive adverbs and the low level of detail and specificity indicate that the content is not particularly interested in conveying knowledge about the Roma Holocaust.

One third (155) of the 472 references to the Roma Holocaust exclusively refer to Roma and no other persecuted group. However, it is important to note that without the German textbooks, only 45 out of 238 (18.9 percent) of the passages and images in textbooks from the remaining 19 European countries give exclusive accounts of Roma. Not a single textbook from Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Italy, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Serbia, or Spain dedicates a single paragraph or sentence *exclusively* to the Roma Holocaust. Additionally, the level of detail varies greatly, the most common details being of a 'technical' rather than moral or personal nature: i.e., how many (the number of victims), where (names of camps), when (specific dates) and how they were murdered. This account in a textbook from England places emphasis on the number of Jews and Jehovah's Witnesses and subsumes Roma under "the rest":

> There were about 8000 men in the camp, but it was rumoured that the number was shortly to be increased to 20,000. There were 1500 Jews, and 800 Bible students. The rest were politicals, so-called criminals and gypsies. Deaths took place daily in the camp (Wilkes 2016, 69).

Detail, specificity, and an individual perspective could be expressed by using direct quotes from Romani individuals. However, accounts of Romani survivors are scarce within textbooks, with only 12 direct quotations from Romani individuals found in German (10), French (1), and Austrian (1), and one indirect account included in a Hungarian (1) textbook.[6]

Lastly, we considered whether the mass murder of Roma during the Second World War is labelled explicitly as genocide or Holocaust, because doing so can signal to readers the distinct suffering and experiences Roma communities faced. The word "Holocaust" is mainly mentioned in lesson or unit titles where the body text includes references to Roma but not always in sentences or paragraphs about Roma. The specific designation "Roma Holocaust" is mentioned three times in Hungarian (2) and Moldovan (1) textbooks. *Porrajmos* is introduced as a Romani term for the genocide of Roma in five textbooks. With nine instances the designation "Roma genocide" is found more often in the dataset. These terms locate descriptions of the atrocities in different discourses. While all the terms denote a moral discourse, the

6 In this textbook, a non-Romani researcher vividly describes the story of a Romani community deported to Dachau, based on implied firsthand accounts.

term "genocide" also includes a legal discourse, and *Porrajmos* assigns agency in naming the trauma to the community that experienced it. Terminology specifically including the word "Roma" indicates the relevance and importance placed specifically on the Roma Holocaust experiences.

The grammatical forms used indicate that the content is not dedicated to particular knowledge of the Roma Holocaust. Instead, Roma are referred to as victims, almost exclusively, in relation to another group's experiences. As a result, the Holocaust may appear to readers as having (mainly) happened to another group, or that what happened to other victims is of more importance.

Perpetrators' Viewpoint

Romani experiences during the Second World War are presented overwhelmingly from the perspective of the perpetrators, a finding that echoes broader research on the Holocaust in textbooks. Studies have shown how the perpetrator's narrative is privileged, while Jewish life, history, and culture before and after the Holocaust, Jewish resistance or viewpoints, are often missing from dominant accounts of the Holocaust (Boersema and Schimmel 2008; Carrier and Kohler 2020; Luku 2020). We found similar patterns in narratives of the Roma Holocaust in the dataset.

A vocabulary that originates with the perpetrators dominates the presentation of justifications of Romani persecution: e.g., "Institute for Racial Hygiene"; '"elements of a different race"; "historically grown blood community"; "enemies of the people"; "the Gypsy issue," while sometimes being used in inverted commas to show authorial distancing from this terminology. These instances rarely provide an explanation qualifying the vocabulary; inverted commas are placed as if their use was self-explanatory. Furthermore, the perpetrators' categorization and labelling of victim groups (e.g., "the Roma," "the Gypsies"') remain unquestioned in most textbooks.

Apart from direct quotations from Sinti or Roma survivors, 13 references include quotations from original sources. Five of these are from decrees and other government documents, five quote survivors who are not Sinti or Roma, and three cite contemporary political figures. Their content describes the actions of the perpetrators, pushing aside victims' experiences, emotions, or actions.

Textbooks in many countries give the full names of (mostly German) perpetrators, i.e., Adolf Hitler, Adolf Eichmann, Heinrich Himmler, Dr. Mengele, Dr. Rotman, Wilhelm Frick, and sometimes mention their official position. In Romania, Ion Antonescu and in Croatia the Ustashe regime are introduced as perpetrators. By comparison, the names of Romani victims and survivors (Johann Trollmann, Asta Fadler, Karl Stojka, B. Steinbach, Ch. Winterstein, Herman W, *all in German, French, and Austrian textbooks*) are given much more infrequently than those of perpetrators.

Victimhood, Passivity, and Lack of Agency

A total of 42.8 percent of the textbook passages coded use passive verbs in describing the Romani experience during the Second World War, with variations across countries. Austria (92 percent), Belgium (73 percent),

Croatia (68 percent), Czech Republic (80 percent), Finland (78 percent), Kosovo (100 percent), and Poland (60 percent) stand out with relatively high proportions of passive verbs. In the textbooks of many countries, therefore, Roma are consistently the subject of passive verbal constructions stating that they "were deported", "were killed", "were slaughtered", or "were murdered." The use of the passive voice reinforces the victimhood status assigned to Roma by perpetrators in the past and perpetuates it today by stressing that something *was done to* Romani individuals (passive or indirect object), rather than that *Roma did* something (active subject). The perpetrators emerge as 'the doers' (active agents), while Roma appear as passive receivers of action (sometimes leaving open who exactly *does* the action). For instance, the authors of a French textbook state: "From 1940, the Gypsies had been concentrated in camps before they were deported to Poland to be murdered" (Auger and Bonnet 2012, 101).

Even some exceptions to this grammatical pattern reinforce the same logic, portraying Roma as stripped of agency and passive receivers of action, for example, when an active construction in a photo caption in a French textbook describes Roma as "Gypsies waiting for death in Belzec (1942)" (Dalbert and Prado-Madaule 2012, 99) or a German book mentions them as "suffer[ing] a fate" (Berger-von der Heide 2009, 87). In these (albeit rare) examples where the *doer* of an action is Roma, the use of active verbs does not lend semantic agency, as is the case when perpetrators' actions are presented via verbs in the active voice. Instead, Roma appear stripped of agency due to the *lexical* nature of the verbs, whose meaning presents them as helpless, not playing an active role in their own lives, but rather as 'objects' in the hands of others, or even of an implacable 'destiny' or 'fate'.

Very few acts of resistance by Romani individuals are mentioned, comprising 29 references. In these, abstract and passive verb forms prevail. This reinforces the passive role of Roma, despite the agentic content of the events as described in this Polish textbook (i.e., Romani persons rebelled):

> In 1943, a sector called the Gypsy Family Camp was established in the Auschwitz camp, in which whole Roma families were placed. During the first attempt to liquidate them in May 1944, a prisoners' rebellion broke out. Around 6,000 Roma were murdered. After the rebellion was suppressed, the camp was finally liquidated in early August of the same year (Kozłowska, Unger, and Zają c 2012, 143–44).

A notable exception is the resistance story of Sinto boxer Johann Trollmann, who is mentioned in several German textbooks. His story is in some cases recounted in active verbal forms (e.g., he "dominated," "launched punches," "dyed his hair," among others).

> To the audience's consternation, the Sinto, although slight in comparison, dominated his opponent from the first round. He bobbed and weaved around him, landed punches at will and scored point after point. However, the referees declared the fight a draw. The audience protested loudly against the outrageous result, forcing the organizers to give in and declare Johann Trollmann the winner after all. Eight days later, however, the German Boxing Association stripped the young Sinto of all his titles as well as his membership of the association. According to the explanatory statement, Trollmann fought in a manner 'foreign to the [German] race', his boxing style being 'gimmicky' and 'not German'. He was granted the

> right to one last fight. Johann Trollmann dyed his hair blond and stood in the ring without defending himself. He could not have shown his protest more clearly (Lendzian 2013, 153).

The very inclusion of such events – which we refer to as "stories of resistance" – is noteworthy because they offer complexity to the otherwise usually one-sided portrayal of Roma before, during, and after the Holocaust. Moreover, the use of active verbs in these accounts indicates that it is possible to employ grammatical constructions in ways that empower and lend agency to victims of persecution rather than reinforcing an exclusive victimhood status.

Who is Responsible?

Atrocities, according to many textbook representations, somehow *happened*, and the use of the passive voice allows avoiding explicitly naming specific perpetrators. Instead, readers may infer the identities of perpetrators from previous statements within the chapter. Alternatively, other references de-personalize perpetrators by referring to them in a more abstract fashion as ideologies or policies ("National Socialist ideology" or "Nazi racial policies"), regimes, camps, or even locations of crimes and atrocities. Over half (55 percent) of the references fail to directly identify the perpetrator(s) of acts of persecution against Roma.

When an active verb is used with the perpetrator as the subject, in almost all the references this subject is a group ("the Germans", "the Nazis", "camp guards", "SS-task forces" or an abstract term ("racist policies") like in this Polish history textbook:

> In the areas occupied by the Germans, the Jews and Gypsies suffered the worst fate. The Nazis proclaimed that they were a threat to the German people. Referring to racist ideology and centuries of prejudices, they planned mass genocides. (Przybyliński and Moryksiewicz 2012, 102)

Assigning the perpetrator role to a non-descript, abstract, or generic entity, or simply referring to 'the Germans' or 'the Nazis' locates responsibility at a greater geographic and temporal distance, leading to possible self-distancing from the crimes, as something that "we" need not feel guilty about, but rather "others" (i.e., the Germans, the Nazis). The absence of grammatical tools to directly, or implicitly, connect the perpetrator described with past or current societies or readers, misses an opportunity to generate a sense of collective responsibility.

In countries where local authorities were associated with the Nazis or pursued fascist policies themselves (e.g., the Ustashe regime in Croatia, Antonescu regime in Romania), temporal and spatial distance is more difficult because positive national identity-building relies on geographic and temporal continuities.

> The emergence of the Roma 'problem' is a consequence of the evolution of Romanian nationalism, on the one hand, and of the change of political regime in Romania under the government of General Ion Antonescu, on the other. According to Marshall Ion Antonescu's testimony at his trial in 1946, the policy of 'Romanization', which in summer and early autumn

> 1942 led to the deportation of Roma to Transnistria, was his own decision […] (Adăscăliţei and Lazăr 2007, 67).

The textbooks therefore emphasize how specific crimes – e.g., murder, deportation – were the deeds of particular regimes and imply that the population at large did not necessarily take part in the atrocities, or, if they did so, reluctantly or attempted to resist:

> Eventually, great dissatisfaction, and then resistance, was caused by the terror that the Ustashe authorities had begun against Serbs, Jews, Roma, and Croat political insurgents. Ustashe authorities accepted fascist and Nazi ideologies, based on racism and anti-Semitism, and they adopted a model that emphasized the cult of the nation and the leader from their Italian and German mentors. [...] Soon the German model was completely embraced and concentration camps were opened where, along with Jews, Serbs and Roma were killed in their masses (Erdelja and Stojaković 2015, 180).

This kind of narrative might not only enable students to disconnect the national self from the crimes – e.g., it was not 'us' (e.g., Croatians, Romanians) – but can also serve to distance readers from the victims: the common 'we', implied here, is the non-Romani population. This dual distancing, while acknowledging that past atrocities had been carried out where 'we' live, may serve to diminish the connection of this collective 'we' to past atrocities ,and reduce chances for a dissonant self-identity (see Bărbulescu 2015), as well as any individual or social moral responsibility to ensure equity for Roma today.

An exemplary passage from a Romanian textbook shows how responsibility is placed on Romani victims via narratives legitimating policies of assimilation or perpetration before, during, and after the Second World War:

> The Roma minority (Gypsies) were in a difficult situation. Because they had limited material means, lacked education and their way of life was often different from that of the rest of the population, they were subjected to several coercive measures by the Romanian government. During World War Two, they were deported to Transnistria, where many Roma died in concentration camps. After the war, the communist regime imposed a settlement scheme on the Roma minority that was primarily designed to assimilate the Gypsies. In some respects, this [scheme] had positive consequences: Compulsory education and professional training. Encouraged by the government's demographic policies, the number of Gypsies rose spectacularly. The assimilation of Gypsies was not a success, even though, according to official documents from 1980, Gypsies no longer existed in Romania. Even after 1989, their situation had barely changed, although the Roma minority enjoys full rights and attempts are made to integrate them into Romanian society (Băluţoiu 2013, 97–98).

This passage perpetuates negative stereotypes of Romani narratives, justifies forced assimilation, blames victims for their persecution, and presents the perpetrators of atrocities in a somewhat positive light. Furthermore, "Gypsy", a pejorative term, is explicitly introduced as a synonym for "the Roma minority" but used non-critically throughout the paragraph.

Refutation/Condemning

Grammatical structures or contents that unequivocally refute or condemn the actions of the perpetrators are scarce. A prevailing refutation device found in the textbooks is the use of quotations, without critical discussion, around words or statements which the perpetrators themselves used to justify persecution and violence, claims that Roma "had to be" "cleansed", were "inferior races", "antisocial elements", or "work-shy", for instance. It is striking how the textbooks often present such wording while failing to inform readers that these aspects *were not the cause* of atrocities against Roma, but racist *justifications* perpetrators used to legitimize their crimes.

Discussions of the pervasiveness of racism, its origins, and legitimization via different societal mechanisms, as well as its usage in justifying crime, are conspicuously missing in such descriptions of the purported 'causality' of the Roma Holocaust. An Italian textbook states:

> The Nazi persecutions, for example, affected Jews and Gypsies, two populations who had already faced a diaspora, even if for very different reasons: The Gypsies for their traditional nomadic lifestyle, the Jews for the conquest of their homeland, Palestine, by the Romans in the 1st century AD (Frugoni et al. 2013, 291).

A further observation is an absence of clear and decisive information on why it is immoral to classify Roma via stereotypes, prejudice, or negative characteristics. The underlying assumption here is that the reader already understands and grasps concepts of racialization, oppression, and prejudice, rendering more in-depth discussion – beyond flagging problematic words with quotation marks – superfluous. Condemnation of the ideology is taken for granted and not explicitly stated, as in this example from Germany:

> According to National Socialist ideology, the 'community of ethnic Germans' only included the 'historically grown blood community'. Any groups not regarded as part of this community, including Jews, Roma and Sinti ('*Zigeuner*'), homosexuals and 'antisocial elements' were vilified as 'enemies of the people'. The National Socialists declared a 'battle' against all of them (Bernsen and Brückner 2016, 119).

Furthermore, the text appears to assume that the readers themselves are free of prejudice. In the absence of prior knowledge or appropriate teaching guidance, there is a risk that uncritical narrative constructions about Roma may be fostered among readers exposed to unrefuted repetitions of racist, or demeaning narratives and categorizations promoted by perpetrators.

Another (less frequent) approach to explaining the reasons for the persecution, particularly in textbooks from Eastern European countries, references laws or policies, such as racial hierarchy laws, sedentary laws, or others that Roma were deemed to violate. Such laws are often left – at least explicitly – unquestioned in terms of their immoral or racializing character, or their authoritarian enforcement onto entire populations. This makes it difficult for readers to grasp and therefore condemn criminal acts perpetrated in observance of such laws. The unguided reader may be tempted to follow (or remember) the argument

that Roma violated a law. Consequently, the persecution of Roma could be read as a government reaction to law breaking and reproduce the stereotypical discourse of "Gypsy criminality" that prevails in media coverage of Roma across Europe (Tremlett, Messing, and Kóczé 2017). Such lines of argument effectively portray Roma as *other*, external to an assumed 'legitimate' social identity, which can further reproduce and exacerbate the exclusion Roma face in Europe at present.

> A government decree ordered the Roma to become settled and give up their nomadic way of life. Anyone who failed to respect the order could be imprisoned in labour camps for Roma people. Two labour camps were set up as of August 1940 in Lety u Písku and in Hodonín u Kunštátu. At first, Roma who refused to become settled were interned; later, any Roma were detained. From spring 1943 Roma and Jews were deported primarily to Auschwitz, the so called 'death factory'. During the protectorate, more than 4,000 men, women and children of Roma origin were slaughtered (Capka 2016, 63).

The above excerpt from a Czech textbook mentions a government decree which specifically targeted the Romani way of life. It provides a legally oriented narrative which presents Roma as disobeying a law but fails to offer any discussion of this law's discriminatory character or any explanation of what the "nomadic way of life" meant for Romani communities. This passage can be read as describing a legitimate action on the part of authorities, whose role is to enforce laws, not to question their moral consequences. Subsequent reports of deportation to camps and murders of Romani women, children, and men may therefore result in a paradoxical reading of the situation which may justify, rather than condemn, crimes against Roma.

Human Rights Narratives and Empathetic Connections

Contrary to general Holocaust education concepts, direct or explicit human rights education in relation to the Roma Holocaust is conspicuously rare in the textbooks analysed, with the exception of German textbooks and two references in one English textbook. More common is an *implied* human rights education, indicated by vocabulary such as "crimes against humanity" or "dehumanized". Both direct and implicit references, within a rights-based narrative, make up 15.7 percent, or 75 of the total 472 references to the Roma Holocaust. However, the majority of references (65 of 75) presenting readers with a rights narrative, appear in German textbooks. Apart from these, only 3.8 percent of passages on the Roma Holocaust reflect a (human) rights narrative.

A two-page section in an English textbook showcases how Roma Holocaust education can provide opportunities to engage with historic and contemporary prejudice, discrimination, and persecution, and their interconnections. The title of the section is "How can prejudice and discrimination lead to persecution? People who have suffered systematic persecution. Case Study: The Roma gypsy people" (Davison and Woodyatt 2009, 114). The section offers historical details on prejudice and discrimination against Roma. It also provides the reader with information on how the history of prejudice led to Nazi persecution and how Roma continue to face prejudice, discrimination, and persecution in society.

Describing human or individual characteristics and emotions, instead of abstract topics, can lead to empathetic connections with Roma Holocaust experiences and provide opportunities for lessons on social justice and human rights to the reader. References that promote such empathetic connections are, however, extremely rare. The dataset identified 47 (9.9 percent) references that evoke an emotional response, 32 of those in German textbooks.

An empathetic and human connection to Roma Holocaust victims can be achieved lexically by inspiring an emotional response, establishing a connection and a deeper understanding of victims' trauma. Additional methods include eyewitness accounts, the telling of personal stories, and the inclusion of material from Romani sources. In a Hungarian textbook, powerful storytelling from a witness account is used to describe experiences Hungarian Roma faced in a German concentration camp. The passage illustrates how, in contrast to the dominant structure of presenting details through assertions (i.e., the dominant mode of authorial texts), a storytelling structure that evokes sensory experiences (e.g., colours, smells, temperature, textures) effectively pulls the reader into the scene. The passage also stands out because of the level of detail it provides, as well as by the variation of passive and active verbal constructions with Romani subjects.[7]

> The end of the Gypsy community of Ondod was Dachau. Here their humanity ceased to exist. They became faceless. Their personality shrunk to an identification number in the eyes of the SS. It was on the left side of the front of their linen jacket. The Gypsies were marked with a red triangle. For hours at dawn, the SS took roll calls. The hundreds of thousands of identification numbers were read in German, and the owner of the number had to reply. This also entailed many punishments, as Hungarian gypsies who did not speak German found it difficult to remember the German meaning of the number. So, for long hours, there was the queuing, in the snow, frost in the yard. They were living in unheated wooden houses, lying on boards, wearing blankets or overcoats. Their food was also subject to the famous German precision. The diet was repetitive, and in terms of quantity and quality did not fit the concept of human food. Initially, the daily portion was one piece of brick bread for twelve people, and later the same portion was given to twenty. The only vegetables were boiled beets. […] (after Dr. Elemér Varnagy) (Personal account of Gypsies from the village of Ondód being sent to the concentration camp at Dachau) (Balla 2012, 162).

An Austrian geography book includes a poem by Karl Stojka, a Romani artist:

> We Roma and Sinti are the flowers of this earth. You can crush us, you can tear us out of the earth, you can gas us, you can burn us, you can beat us to death – but like the flowers we return again and again ... Prof. Karl Stojka (Dittrich, Dorfinger, Fridrich, Fuhrmann, Kögler et al. 2017, 39).

7 Even though the passage contains a factual error – that the colour of the triangle used to mark Roma in the camps was red – the vividness of the witness account could, if used critically by the teacher in class, engender richer engagement with the topic than mere numbers or technicalities would.

Artistic expression and commemoration, while rare in the dataset, can facilitate an emotional and personal connection to past persecution. Interrelating the humanity of the reader and the Romani individual who experienced the Holocaust gives a human perspective to previous details given in the chapter, linking past persecution and human rights in a more concrete way.

Finally, tasks and questions, meant to summarize acquired knowledge in textbooks, are strong indicators of what students are expected to learn or remember about a topic. Textbook exercises that reflect specifically on Roma experiences and build empathetic human connections are very rare. Instead, students are frequently asked to recite the technicalities of how, where and when Roma were murdered or persecuted, such as in a French textbook: "How was the extermination of Jews and Gypsies carried out in Auschwitz-Birkenau?" (Auger and Bonnet 2012, 94) or – in relation to certain maps and sources – "Where did the genocide of the Jews and Gypsies take place?", "Which different methods were used to exterminate the Jews and the Gypsies?", "How many Jews and Gypsies were killed in the genocide?" (Fellahi and Hazard-Tourillon 2014, 81).

Such examples represent, in our view, missed opportunities to encourage historical or personal reflection on the persecution and experiences of Romani groups during the Holocaust, and fail to encourage students to engage empathetically with the topic. Some exercises, however, do invite the reader to actively inquire about past atrocities in their local context, to consider everyday aspects of persecution, and reflect critically on how discrimination still affects Romani communities today:

> […] Were any 'gypsy camps' set up in the town where you live or go to school during the period from 1936 onwards? Find out more about when they were built, how big they were and what everyday life was like in the camps (e.g., by looking at camp regulations). Keep a record of this information in your portfolio (Brückner and Focke 2015, 194).
>
> Tasks: 2. Give an account of the persecution of Sinti and Roma.
>
> 3. Analyse to what extent Sinti and Roma are still discriminated against today (Berger-von der Heide 2015, 117).

Discussion and Conclusion

Historical and Human Rights Education

The primary purpose of Holocaust education considered in this paper was the transmission of historical knowledge on a particular aspect – in this case, the Roma Holocaust. Our findings suggest that this purpose is only sporadically met by the textbooks analysed. As we have shown above, the analysed textbook content is characterized by a pronounced dearth of specific historical knowledge related to the persecution and genocide of Roma. Importantly, particular collective and individual experiences of Roma are largely absent and disconnected from the broader historical knowledge presented in textbooks. This disconnection is achieved via various linguistic mechanisms, for example,

by mentioning Roma only as one entry in a longer list of victims, or by using transitional or conjunctive adverbs (e.g., "as well as", "too"). Most knowledge that readers gain about the Roma Holocaust hinges on technicalities of murder: where, when, or how Roma were killed alongside other victim groups. Romani-specific details, experiences, survivor stories, and individual voices, as well as Romani sources and terminology for the Roma Holocaust (*Porrajmos*) are a marked rarity, only found in textbooks from a few countries. The omission of historical content, specifically on the Roma Holocaust, limits the chances for readers to gain historical information from the Romani perspective, despite such information being increasingly available.[8]

The secondary purpose of Holocaust education, to teach universal human rights and the value of social justice, is arguably achieved even less by the textbook passages analysed. Human rights narratives related to the Roma Holocaust are nearly non-existent outside German textbooks where, although they are present to some degree, are minimal. The dominant perspective of the perpetrator (grammatically via active verbs or semantically via the unmarked and unreflective reproduction of perpetrator terminology or causal narratives), the consistent victimhood status assigned to Roma (e.g., through passive constructions), and the limited number of sources quoting individual Romani voices fail to enable readers to form emotional connections with Romani experiences of persecution. In the same vein, very few Romani individuals are introduced by name, leading to a portrayal of the Roma Holocaust as an impersonal experience and of Roma as a collective, homogenous group, united by suffering and an adverse fate. The scarcity of stories of Romani resistance and post-war redress can be understood as a missed opportunity to educate readers on rights violations, past traumas, and intergenerational impacts from a human rights perspective. Generally, the textbooks analysed fail to make connections between past, present, and future. Overall, the neglect of personalization and depth in their portrayal of Romani persecution during the Second World War is a dereliction of Holocaust education which might otherwise serve to build a sense of moral and social collective responsibility and solidarity with the Romani community.

Textbooks, European Antigypsyism, and Roma Holocaust Education

As mass media with authoritative character, textbooks can either reinforce existing prejudice and discrimination or promote anti-racist discourse.

The analysis presented here showed that European textbooks, by and large, resonate with widespread antigypsyist attitudes, while rare examples of human rights and inclusive Roma Holocaust education do exist and should be encouraged. The narratives they promote can be said, therefore, to be situated between antigypsyism and human rights education.

Our analysis revealed, first, that both explicit and implicit racist discourses permeate the portrayal of the Roma Holocaust in European textbooks. Coupled with a lack of critical tools to deconstruct racist discourses, this coexistence may serve to reproduce wider social Romani exclusion and antigypsyism.

8 A positive example and initiative is the RomArchive: https://www.romarchive.eu/en

Discourses of marginalization are also reflected in textbooks. For instance, the subordinate importance accorded to Roma Holocaust experiences – either through non-inclusion of the topic itself, or through relegation of Roma to an additional, secondary group of victims ("as well as", "also", and so on). These discursive patterns reconfirm, rather than contest, the widespread Roma exclusion prevalent across Europe in employment, housing, health, and education, as European Commission Roma Civil Monitoring reports demonstrate (European Commission 2019). Second, we have evidenced the predominance of the perpetrator's viewpoint along with a disregard for Romani voices in textbook discourses on the Roma Holocaust. This finding echoes the overwhelming mass-media representations of Roma as victims of persecution (Cangár, Kotvanová, and Szép 2003; Messing and Bernáth 2017;). Third, the omission of explicit refutation of the Roma Holocaust equally reflects the absence of public condemnation of current collective crimes and injustices by European states and their representatives in many countries whose textbooks were analysed here (European Roma Rights Centre 2019). These discursive themes relate to the dearth of responsibility and acknowledgement of Roma exclusion, prejudice, persecution, and overall antigypsyism within European societies today. Moreover, the analysis showed the limits of Roma Holocaust textbook representation in promoting a human rights narrative, paralleled by the negligence of European societies and states to guarantee the human rights of Roma.

There are important lessons to be learned here. In May 2020, in the middle of a COVID-19 lockdown, a neo-fascist group in Hungary marched in the city of Budapest, demanding that the government end what they inadvertently referred to as "gypsy criminality". A week later, the Roma Holocaust memorial in the city was vandalized with the phrase "eradicating Gypsies equals eradicating crime" (Bhabha and Matache 2020). As our analysis has shown, similar problematic phrases in school textbooks used in quotation marks, but left unrefuted, also refer to "Gypsy criminality" as a reason for the Roma Holocaust. The eerie resemblance between these educational discourses and the slogans of neo-fascist vandals underlines, once more, the urgency of explicitly and specifically condemning the atrocities of the Roma Holocaust, of including more Romani perspectives and voices in narrating the Holocaust, and avoiding weak or ineffective linguistic structures to refute perpetrators' beliefs and actions, while presenting content within a human rights framework and promoting the values of justice and equality.

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Romani Students' Responses to Antigypsyist Schooling in a Segregated School in Romania

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Abstract

In this article I explore the responses of Romani students in a segregated school in Romania to majoritarian deficit narratives constructed about them, investigating the specific nature of such deficit discourses and the specific strategies of resistance deployed by the students. To do so, I designed a theoretical framework which fused elements of Foucauldian and Critical Race Theory (CRT). The case study was underpinned by principles of in-depth critical qualitative research, explicitly addressing the racial, political and systemic nature of educational inequalities in Romania. I spent two weeks in a segregated secondary school, in which Romani students were tracked into Romani-only class groups. I observed 12 lessons and interviewed three white Romanian teachers and 11 Romani students. The findings suggested that teachers mobilized deficit discourses about Romani families, culture, cognitive abilities, and potential, reflected in their pedagogical strategies and justifications of Romani students' 'school failure'. Students resisted such assumptions through counter-storytelling, naming oppression, class disruption, and refusal of the 'rules of schooling', such as homework. I argue that this resistance highlights Romani students' critical thinking and agency. Among others, the findings indicate the need for urgent change in Romanian teacher training and educational policy.

Keywords

- Critical Race Theory
- Foucault
- Roma
- Romania
- School segregation
- Student resistance

Introduction

In 2011, the local administration of Baia Mare, Romania, built a physical wall to segregate the Romani community (Matache and Oehlke 2017). In 2019, the 'Discrimination Barometer' (Institutul National de Statistica 2019) found that 72 percent of Romanians did not trust Roma, and 29 percent would not accept a Romani person in their family. Such physical and metaphorical walls are examples of the antigypsyism that structures Romanian society.[1] In the Romanian education system, discursive and physical walls are built around children and youth, as antigypsyism is expressed through the prominence of narratives based on the 'deficits' of Romani students (Matache 2016) and through school segregation.[2]

This (educational) reality raises questions about the experiences of Romani students in segregated schools in Romania, particularly their responses to "deficit discourses" (Foley 2001, 19) and deficit-based pedagogy. I understand deficit discourses as being beliefs that Roma are culturally, linguistically, and mentally 'deficient' or 'lacking'. These are informed by white majoritarian narratives reflected on the macro-level in the structuring of the education system and on the micro-level in pedagogical practices. Consequently, this article asks the following questions: *what are the specific discourses constructed about Romani students by their teachers? In what ways, if at all, do Romani students resist the discourses constructed about them by their teachers?* To answer these questions, this article seeks to fill the following empirical and theoretical knowledge gaps: first, it addresses Romani students' experiential knowledge and responses to deficit-based schooling, while also unpacking the specific discourses mobilised by teachers; second, it combines elements of Foucauldian and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to provide a nuanced understanding of youth resistance to oppressive schooling.

This article is based on a case study at a segregated school with a majority Romani student population which streamed its Romani students into separate classrooms. I conducted classroom observations, three teacher interviews, and 11 interviews with Romani students in December 2018. The teachers constructed deficit discourses about their Romani students – these were reflected in pedagogy. The students resisted such discourses by constructing alternative discourses about themselves and by rejecting deficit-informed schooling practices. I argue that Romani students' resistance to the deficit discourses constructed about them, and to deficit-based segregated schooling, highlighted the students' critical capacities and their agency, contrary to their teachers' views of them. To make this argument, I

1 End (2012) provides a comprehensive discussion of antigypsyism. The concept is two-layered: first, antigypsyism represents a resentment manifested in discrimination and based on fictious images, beliefs, and projections of an essentialised 'Roma' figure; second, antigypsyism describes violent, historically embedded social structures, powered by whiteness and racist ideologies. These are reflected in the workings of institutions, including the education system (Rostas 2017). End (2012) does not use the term 'whiteness', but I argue that it is an appropriate concept to describe the racist power structure which enforces and reproduces antigypsyism. Ahmed (2004) explains that whiteness is a form of racial privilege which shapes spaces and realities for racialised individuals, such as Roma. It is a historically-embedded structure which reproduces processes of racialisation and white privilege. I define these concepts only briefly in a footnote because I am aware that many readers will be familiar with them already.

2 School segregation in Romania manifests in three forms: schools with a majority Romani population; overrepresentation of Roma in special schools; tracking into separate Romani-only classrooms or separation in the classroom (Greenberg 2010).

first review the literature, then present theoretical and methodological considerations, before turning to the findings and discussion.

In the spirit of CRT, my aim was to place the lived experiences of Romani students at the forefront, using an intersectional lens, though constrained by space and time. To fulfil this aim, I was guided by the paradigm of Critical Qualitative Research (CQR) (Carspecken 1996), which seeks to deconstruct inequalities and oppression in the hope for social and theoretical change. I hope that this project can contribute to the developments of a future 'RomaniCrit', a localised and contingent critical theory, and of more nuanced conceptions of youth resistance.

1. Literature Review

The reviewed literature suggests that segregated schools are underresourced (Surdu 2003; Jigou and Surdu 2007; Roth and Moisa 2011; Brüggemann 2012). Behind the segregated schooling reality, a lack of resources, and ill-prepared and temporary teachers, lies antigypsyism in the Romanian education system (Rostas 2017), evident in deficit discourses. Deficit discourses racialize Roma as 'inferior' in relation to white normativity. Unfortunately, some of the reviewed literature legitimises and normalises these discourses by giving them 'scholarly authority'.

Some scholars invoke a cultural deficit in making the argument that Roma are 'incapable' of benefiting from formal education. Walker (2010) argues that Romani students have "social and cultural conditions" (176) which leave them unprepared for school. She also argues that Romani students have "cultural needs" (Walker 2008, 400) that prevent educational success. Lukáč (2013) argues that Roma have a 'problematic' attitude towards education, which they inherit from their parents. Bhabha and colleagues (2017) claim that this idea is promoted by governments, which are perpetuating deficit discourses about Romani children.

Significantly, much of the reviewed literature lacks empirical data, instead making assumptions about the experiences of Romani students. For example, Law and Swann (2011) argue that "Schools in Central European states […] produce Roma youth who regard themselves as second-rate citizens" (165) without including accounts from Romani youth. The lack of attention to student accounts in much of the literature is also articulated by Bhabha and colleagues (2017) and Ryder (2017). Such research often employs a top-down approach, portraying Romani participants as an 'object' of research, constructing Romani youth as agency-less and voiceless – thus perpetuating epistemic violence. This type of research limits the capacity of policy to respond to the needs of segregated schooling realities and to successfully address racialised marginalisation (Ram 2015; Miskovic and Curcic 2016; Matache and Oehlke 2017).

In recent years, scholars have increasingly defied deficit discourses in their research about Romani educational experiences (see Bhabha et al. 2017; Ryder 2017; Harvard FXB and CIP Centre Belgrade 2018; Payne 2019). Nevertheless, there is a paucity of empirical research that addresses the schooling experiences of Romani students in segregated institutions in Romania. Vincze's (2014) chapter is a good example of empirical engagement with the perspectives of Romani youth in Romania, but it focuses on

ethnic identification and belonging, rather than specifically on responses to pedagogy. It does, however, set a good example of engaging with the complex and nuanced nature of the experiences and identifications of Romani youth. The documentary 'Our School' (2013) by Mona Nicoara and Miruna Coca-Cozma also showcases an avenue for foregrounding Romani students' experiences in discussions around schooling.

Overall, most of the literature around Romani school segregation focuses on policy responses, policy failure, and desegregation strategies (see for example Moisa and Shattuck 2012; Ryder, Rostas, and Taba 2014; Rostas and Kostka 2014;). Rostas' book (2012) is a comprehensive analysis of the governmental and third sector developments around school desegregation within different countries, offering the reader the opportunity "to piece together the whole puzzle" (2). While this literature brings important contributions to the discussions from policy perspectives, it rarely answers questions about the experiences of students in a segregated school or about the workings of a segregated schooling setting. To change the pedagogical reality of a segregated school, we need to know how racialised pedagogy plays out and, significantly, how students themselves perceive and respond to it.

There is no current research using CRT to unpack the realities of a segregated school in Romania. There is, however, an important contribution by Ryder, Rostas and Taba (2014) who use CRT to explain racist antigypsyist power structures which are expressed in school segregation as a form of racialised oppression. They also use counter-stories to highlight the voices and needs of communities when approaching desegregation. While the present study uses the same methodology, it focuses on agency deployment and resistance strategies of students, highlighting how CRT can be used both to deconstruct antigypsyist deficit discourses and to highlight student resistance. Another way in which CRT is used regarding school segregation is in the legal literature (see, for example, Möschel 2014; Eliason 2017). Such work argues that CRT can be applied to the European context but usually homogenises Romani experiences across Europe, treating Europe as a whole. This is not always the right approach, because marginalisation experiences are localised, with different histories of exclusion, in different socio-political, economic, and cultural landscapes.

Thus, this study fills the following empirical and theoretical gaps. First, it addresses Romani students' perspectives and responses to the realities of a segregated school, while also unpacking deficit discourses mobilised by teachers. Second, it uses CRT as a framework to amplify the experiential knowledge of Romani students. Third, it combines elements of CRT and Foucauldian theory for a nuanced understanding of youth resistance to racialised miseducation.

2. Theoretical Underpinnings

First, I want to clarify my perspective on why a 'race'-based analytical grammar is helpful in this context. Miskovic (2009) argues that the meanings of 'race' emerging in North American theory have emancipatory possibilities, advocating for the disruption of a black-white binary – a critique central to Latinx Critical Theory (LatCrit) and CRT. Following this line of argument and drawing on the work of Lentin (2008) and Goldberg (2006), I support a conception of 'race' that goes beyond skin colour. Indeed, Lentin (2008) argues that racisms have always relied on a series of elements – cultural, biological, religious – beyond

phenotype. This is because race is the product of racialisation (see Ahmed 2004) – the construction of an 'inferior other' based on (in this case) ethnic identity. This racialisation occurs in relation to whiteness.

Whiteness is a form of racial privilege (Ahmed 2004) which is the result of an overarching system of domination reflected in political, economic, and social relations and structures. Whiteness presents whites as the norm and people of colour as a deviation. In the Romanian context, whiteness constructs antigypsyism (as defined earlier) which is a historically, culturally, and socially contingent type of racism; the result is a racialisation of Romani individuals and communities (for a wider discussion of anti-Romani racism in Romania, see Dorobanțu and Gheorghe 2019). If racialisation processes are not recognised, racism cannot be recognised either – this is why a 'race'-based conceptualisation is appropriate. Thus, CRT and LatCrit provided the tools to unpack the reality of a segregated school, while elements of Foucauldian theory helped me understand the processes of subject-making and the possibilities of resistance in these.

Originally a critical legal discourse, CRT was coined in the 1970s–80s in the USA. Granting importance to the experiential knowledge of racialised individuals, it exposes how liberal ideals such as colour-blindness, neutrality, objectivity, and meritocracy – all widespread in education systems – perpetuate racial oppression (Fernández 2002). CRT is a fundamentally intersectional analysis, considering the intersections between race, class, and gender (Tate 1997; Ledesma and Calderón 2015).[3] Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) adapted CRT to education, arguing that class and gender-based explanations were insufficient to account for the difference in schooling experiences and performance of Black students in the USA. CRT in education foregrounds the experiential knowledge of people of colour, seeking to counter the conceptualisation of difference as deficit (Solorzano and Yosso 2002; Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010; Ledesma and Calderón 2015). CRT and LatCrit counter deficit-based majoritarian narratives. Majoritarian narratives are structured by and through whiteness – and in Romania also by antigypsyism. They are populated with deficit discourses (Ledesma and Calderón 2015) which assume that ethnic minority parents are not interested in their children's education and that ethnic minority communities have deficient languages, cultures, and behaviour.

In Foucauldian terms, majoritarian narratives are part of the regime of truth shaped by whiteness. Foucauldian notions of power, truth-discourse, regimes of truth, and subjectification help understand how majoritarian narratives impact people's behaviours and beliefs, and also the possibility of resistance. Foucault argues that power is never something possessed, given, or exchanged, but something that exists in relations (Foucault 1980); majoritarian narratives are based on power differentials between groups, individuals, or institutions, in this case between Romanian teachers and Romani students, and/or the Romanian education system and Romani students. This power is productive; it produces 'truth', 'normativity', and the 'possible' (Foucault 1980), evident in truth-discourses (Foucault 1980). Several truth-discourses combined construct a regime of truth: the regime of truth comprises majoritarian narratives, while deficit discourses are truth-discourses.

3 'Intersectionality' refers to the complex effects of the intersection between multiple historically-embedded and socio-culturally situated axes of differentiation, such as social class, gender, race, or sexuality (Brah and Phoenix 2004).

Regimes of truth are significant because they determine 'the norm' and 'the possible'. To survive in society, individuals need to reproduce and embody regimes of truth (Foucault 1980). Thus, power shapes what individuals can and cannot do, be, believe or think, because regimes of truth discipline people – this is described as subjectification or subjection (Foucault 1980; Rose 1999). Subjectification describes the process of becoming subject to the regime of truth, adhering to it, and constructing an identity and behaviour in and around it. A majoritarian antigypsyist narrative, being a regime of truth, produces and reproduces whiteness as the norm and 'the deficient' Romani student as the deviant. It creates teacher-subjects and student-subjects who operate in a racist antigypsyist regime of truth framing the education system. Through subjectification, teachers and policymakers adopt and embody this specific racism, translating it into antigypsyist policy and pedagogy centred on the Romani student as deficient and failing. Conversely, Foucault explains that the truth regime disciplines, but it does not coerce: subjectification is a process of discursive reproduction, but it can also be a space for resistance through agency (Foucault 1983). An individual's actions and realm of possibility can be influenced by power only when the individual has agency: "freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power" (Foucault 1983, 790).

While this discussion of Foucauldian theoretical devices is limited and simplified, it is an important introduction to discussing less evident, subtle, student resistance: resisting subjectification. The care of the self (Foucault 1984) is a way of resisting and challenging subjectification. It involves becoming aware of the regime of truth (Dilts 2011), questioning the truth-discourses involved in one's subjectification and finding a way of living in the regime of truth. The care of the self can be performed through truth-telling, which involves labelling (racial) power relations and (deficit) discourses that shape oneself (Besley 2007). The methodology of CRT, counter-storytelling, is an act of such truth-telling, as it exposes the lived experiences of those who are silenced and racialised in the regime of truth (Delgado 1989). Engaging in counter-storytelling challenges whiteness and an antigypsyist majoritarian narrative, constituting care of the self.

I deployed an understanding of resistance rooted in these ideas. I observed that students' resisted an antigypsyist deficit-based majoritarian narrative through the care of the self, evident in counter-storytelling and truth-telling, but also through immediate and concrete responses, such as class disruption and refusal of the norms of schooling. These forms of resistance acknowledge the existence of agency in subjectification and within the oppressive, majoritarian discursive regime that shapes the realities of a segregated school.

3. Methodological Considerations

Following the theoretical considerations and the aims of the project, the most appropriate methodology was a qualitative one, with a critical research approach, inspired by Critical Qualitative Research (CQR): openly critical and political, focusing on power relations, oppression, and inequalities, the response of individuals and groups to these, seeking to challenge injustice and renegotiating social theory (see Carspecken 1996). The research design was a small-scale single exploratory case study (Yin 2003), because I aimed for an in-depth exploration of the realities of segregated schooling. Triangulation was important

for achieving in-depth analysis (Yin 2003), through a combination of different concepts, methods, and types of data.

The school, with grades one to eight (primary and middle school), was located in a small town, in a marginal neighbourhood with a majority Romani working-class community. It had a majority Romani student population but also tracked Romani students into separate class groups. I spent one day introducing myself, three days conducting classroom observations and three days conducting interviews. I chose a small sample of 11 students and three teachers, seeking to establish trust with participants (Crouch and McKenzie 2006), especially as I was an white adult stranger coming to the school.

My main data collection method was semi-structured interviews based on predefined questions, yet open enough to allow for spontaneous accounts (Flick 2014). I conducted three teacher interviews, to grasp the specific discourses constructed about Romani students. The three teachers, whom I asked to participate in the project due to their position in the school and observed interactions with Romani students, self-identified as Romanian. I interviewed the headteacher, a middle school teacher, and a primary school teacher of a Romani-only class group.

The bulk of the data came from interviewing Romani middle school students. Inspired by CRT, I wanted to give students a chance to formulate their counter-stories – the interview was the most appropriate way. I also chose interviews as opposed to focus groups, because I wanted shy students to not feel intimated and because I was aware that sensitive information might come up; I wanted to protect the confidentiality of the students but also make the interview a comfortable experience. After observing lessons and talking to students informally, I asked students in the segregated class groups if they wanted to talk to me more and be interviewed. Despite its pitfalls, such as self-selection bias of the students who were perhaps most engaged and interested in the school experience and setting, I chose this sampling strategy because I did not want to pressure students to participate, nor did I want the teachers to pressure them to participate. I ended up talking to 11 students, six boys and five girls, aged between 11 to 15. Three students self-identified as Romani-Romanian and the rest self-identified as Romani.

Following the principles of CRT and CQR, I wanted to position the students as experts – I tried to be what Holstein and Gubrium (2002) describe as "active interviewer" (112), facilitating the participants' exploration of their schooling experiences. This is much easier said than done when working with adolescents with whom I did not have much time to connect and did not share an ethnic or class background. Yet, I had noticed during classes that the students enjoyed drawing, so I asked them to draw their houses and neighbourhoods at the beginning of each interview, if they so wanted. I used the drawings as elicitation devices and also to address the power imbalance of the interview setting. Drawing allowed students to avoid eye contact if they wanted, take speaking breaks and hopefully made the experience more enjoyable.

To achieve an in-depth analysis, I also observed twelve lessons, focusing on teacher-student interactions and the specific discourses and pedagogical strategies emerging. I was a non-participant observer (Creswell 2014), sitting at the back of the classroom, taking notes without being involved in class activities. Wragg (1999) highlights the importance of non-verbal behaviour in classroom observations – I focused

on instances of verbal or physical violence, racism, class disruption, and disciplinary measures. I also kept a fieldwork diary, in which I recorded the informal conversations I had with teachers and students during breaks, and also the data collection process. This diary proved useful in navigating my reflections and positionality during the writing process.

After I transcribed the recorded interviews, I used a three-stage thematic analysis approach (see Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe 2010; Flick 2014), broadly drawing on the coding strategies of Grounded Theory: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. First, in the open coding stage (Flick 2014), I immersed myself into the text, systematically noting down in a table the categories (e.g. 'linguistic barriers') that emerged. Second, in the axial coding stage (Flick 2014), I related the categories to each other, looking for relationship between and within categories, thus establishing codes. I established the codes based on the prominence in significance and frequency of the categories. Finally, further reading the transcripts and triangulating with observational and diary data, I selected themes and constructed narratives in the selective coding stage (Flick 2014). I selected separate themes from the teacher data (deficient families, deficient culture, intellectual inability, students as failing adults) and the student data (internationalisation of the deficit narrative, the Romani counter-story, truth-telling as resistance, disruption as resistance, refusal as resistance, and intersectional oppression). Sections 4 and 5 reflect these themes.

This research design had particular limitations. First, the findings cannot be generalised. Second, the limited timeframe did not allow me to grasp whether student resistance was a continuous reality or prompted by my presence. I was also unable to engage with the community beyond the school due to time constraints. Another significant limitation was that I did not speak Romani. The students had to speak Romanian, which often was not their first language. Some meaning might be lost in translation, especially as I did the analysis in English. Overall, I could have adopted a more participatory approach, which would have been more empowering for students.

4. A White Majoritarian Narrative

These segregated class groups studied in classrooms filled with posters about Romanian history and Romanian national holidays, in a language that is their second if not third, about a culture that actively makes them invisible. This was a visceral reminder of the phrase "Historically the school is the institution of another culture" (O'Hanlon and Holmes 2004, 15). I soon understood that whiteness-informed majoritarian narratives dominated the schooling site and practices, most evident in racializing deficit discourses about Romani families, culture, cognitive abilities, and future potential, mobilized by teachers.

I spent most of the breaks in the teachers' room, talking to teachers, trying to understand the discourses they used in the construction of Romani student-subjects. They were quick to tell me that the main barrier to the students' educational achievement was their families, which they described as 'problem families'. The teachers argued that Romani parents did not care about their children's education, operating on the assumption that Romani parents neglected their children and that the family environments were not conducive to formal education. They claimed that students had behavioural issues because of their parents and that they had "*deficient emotional baggage*", which they saw as barriers to educational achievement.

The teachers viewed the family environment as problematic because it is the site of socialisation into Romani culture. The school's mission was understood to be one of assimilation – to help the Romani students become 'less' Roma and 'more' Romanian. Aiming to assimilate Romani students, the teachers revealed the belief that, for a student to be successful, a student needed to act 'Romanian':

> *Roma students[…] in comparison with Romanian students, are their exact opposite. They don't have the ambition that Romanian students have […]But the* Romanianized *Roma students become like Romanians and want to be their equals.*

These beliefs are informed by an antigypsyist regime of truth and reflected in a racialisation of Romani students as mentally unable. They also influenced the teachers' subjectification and behaviour, including a deficit-based pedagogy. During a break, I overheard a conversation in which a teacher told another teacher to go to class. That teacher responded, *"What am I meant to do with them for a whole hour?"*, implying that there was nothing she could teach Romani students for the whole hour because they had limited abilities. Similarly, a teacher threatened to give a student a 'two' (out of ten), adding *"you wouldn't get any more if I gave you a test either"*. Teachers often told me that Romani students were 'stupid', 'weak', or 'mentally disabled'. During a lesson with a segregated class group, the teacher interrupted the lesson, came to where I was sitting, and said – aloud, with all students present – that most students in that class group were mentally disabled and she was happy if they *"didn't take each other's eyes out"*. The low expectations and deficit-based pedagogy also shaped teachers' views of their students' future, implicitly also the career advice, encouragement, or support they gave their students:

> I: And what do you think these children will do professionally?
> *R: Nothing. From my perspective, nothing. Or some of them, who fend for themselves, will end up working in factories, but the majority will be on social benefits […] I don't see these students as doctors, teachers, or civil servants. No way.*

These violent ideology and practices reflect the teachers' subjectification into a racist regime of truth that shapes Romanian society and, implicitly, the education system. In articulating the perceived lack of possibilities and success for her students, the teacher lays bare the systemic racism which sets multiple and consecutive barriers to Romani youth from the first day of school, when their teachers label them as deficient students whose identities are incompatible with academic achievement. This expression of systemic anti-Roma racism occurs elsewhere, too (see Bhabha et al. 2017; Payne 2019), but such deficit-discourses also proliferate in the US American context against Black and Latinx students (Delgado Bernal 2002; Fernandez 2002; Castro-Salazar and Bagley 2010; Martínez 2017), indicating that – while local complexities and manifestation are important to unpack – white supremacy is a transnational structure.

5. Student Responses to Miseducation

Reproducing the Deficit Narrative

It was important to unpack these deficit discourses, but the focus should be the experiential knowledge of the students and their resistance strategies. Being in the school daily for many years, living in an anti-

Romani racist society, it is unsurprising that some students mirrored the deficit discourses put forward by teachers. For example, four students argued that Romanians were better students because they were "nicer" and "more civilised". One student explained that this was knowledge she had learned from school, pointing to the subjectification performed in an antigypsyist schooling setting, highlighting how the state teaches whiteness through schooling:

> *I: What did you learn [at school] about Roma?*
> *R: Roma are not exactly like Romanians […] Romanians are not really like that to say mean things amongst peers […] Roma are crazy, because they say stupid things.*

The subjectification to a racist regime of truth does not, however, diminish the potential for resistance. It seemed that students resisted through telling counter-stories about themselves, their potential, and their community, through naming oppression, and through class disruption and refusal of the rules of schooling.

The Romani Counter-story: Good Students, Strong Communities, and Counter-possibilities

Romani students resisted the regime of truth, and their subjectification to it, by telling counter-stories about themselves and their educational interests, their aspirations and their community. Although teachers claimed that the students and their community did not care about education, all students described themselves as good students, reclaiming schooling and its aims. They defined being a 'good student' not just in academic terms but holistically, invoking the kindness and friendship of their peers. This, in itself, is a counter-story to a majoritarian narrative of educational success. Moreover, they described schooling as a tool to obtain a job and driving licence or to avoid being exploited, re-negotiating the aims of education. A student explained how schooling could help her protect herself from the exploitation her father experienced being a factory worker, which she tied to his lack of schooling. The student created a counter-story about the aim of education, using the tool of whiteness – the school – to protect herself against the abuse of racist society. This highlights how formulating counter-stories can be seen as the care of the self, which is resistance with the purpose of creating a way of living within society.

Furthermore, the students articulated counter-possibilities (Martínez 2017) directly challenging their teachers' low expectations of them. Ten students indicated that they wanted to attend high school and over half of them mentioned wanting to go to university. Most students described specific professional plans and aspirations, thus creating counter-possibilities to the futures the teachers projected for them. Such counter-possibilities enunciated by middle school students were also observed by Martínez (2017) relating to Chicano/a and Latinx students in the USA. Additionally, the students constructed counter-stories about their communities: they saw their communities as spaces of support, and they planned their futures around giving back and supporting the vulnerable in their local community. I also asked all students who their role models were – nine mentioned family and community members, invoking kindness and strength. Community was important in educational achievement and in constructing counter-stories for students of colour in the USA, too (see Delgado Bernal 2002; Fernandez 2002; Castro-Salazar and Bagley 2010; Martínez 2017), showing the links between racialised oppression in different contexts. These counter-possibilities, and counter-narratives about their neighbourhood, pointed to a Romani subject constructed outside a majoritarian narrative, which challenges a regime of truth.

Truth-telling as Resistance

In acts of truth-telling, students named the inadequacy of their schooling, critiquing insufficient and unfairly distributed resources, teacher violence, and deficit-based pedagogy. Having experienced education abroad,[4] some students were aware of how under-resourced their school was and also felt that they were disadvantaged in comparison to Romanian students: *"Sometimes we say 'oh [Romanian-only class group] got such a beautiful classroom and we got what was left over because we are Roma'. And that's the thing and […] it's true."* Students were aware of racialised differentiation, which indicates awareness of, and a challenge to, antigypsyism – an act of care of the self.

The students also described the school as being a physically and symbolically violent environment. Several students mentioned that they, or their peers, had been physically assaulted by a teacher. Some students also explicitly addressed racism in the school. Two students mentioned racist behaviour of Romanian students:

> *I: If you imagine a perfect school, what would that school be like?*
> *R: It would be nicer […] because [Romanians] protect themselves from Roma, they say that Roma have something, that they are ugly and whatever […] they [Romanians] keep swearing at us when we go to [computer room] […] but no one says anything about them.*
> *Calling out injustice, the students showed a critical awareness of anti-Romani racism in their school. This critique is an act of the care of the self and of resistance to a majoritarian narrative framing their schooling.*

Refusing Miseducation, Resisting Deficit-based Pedagogy

Students also actively disrupted classroom settings in which they had little agency or were not listened to. When teachers allowed them to actively participate and not sit in their restrictive rows, they engaged in class. In my interpretation, it indicated that students were disruptive to actively resist classroom settings they found oppressive. Another tactic of resistance was speaking Romani during class. Students told me that they did this to complain to each other about the teacher and also to tell each other the correct answer when assessed. This was perceived negatively by Romanian teachers, who tried to prohibit it. However, the students found everyday strategies to resist the deficit-based, disengaging schooling experience that renders them invisible. Thus, they claimed space and challenged practices and norms based on antigypsyism. Fernandez (2002) explains that Latinx students in the USA had a similar practice of refusal, cutting class or engaging in other activities when they found their schooling oppressive.

Four students also mentioned that they did not do homework for lessons taught by teachers who were violent, using their power over their homework to refuse the conditions of violent schooling:

> *To me … easy … easy is Maths, Romanian, History, I study for these three subjects. But I don't study for Biology and Geography. […] I don't study because […] the Geography teacher is mean, once, yesterday, he hit [student]. […] Because he says that we* are stupid, like those people, handicapped, that we don't know how to write [author's emphasis].

4 Some students in the sample had lived abroad with their parents. Their inclusion in the sample was arbitrary.

This response reflected an awareness of deficit discourses and that these underpinned the teacher's violence. Revealing this in the interview was an act of truth-telling, naming oppression, and refusing the homework represented resistance.

These captured instances show students' agency and intervention into their own subjectification to a white truth regime, a majoritarian narrative. Through practices of care of the self – naming oppression, refusing homework, speaking Romani, constructing counter-stories – the students showed a range of resistance tactics to racialised oppression. Contrary to teachers' beliefs, these students were active agents in their education, with a sharp critical awareness of deficit discourses. However, we should not exoticize their resistance – these students have the right to a fulfilling educational experience. They should be able to enjoy learning opportunities and not have to resist a physically and symbolically violent environment in order to survive. Their resilience is a sign of an education system shaped by anti-Roma racism, which sets multiple barriers to the achievement of Romani students, not least physical violence and a fundamental expectation of failure.

Intersectional Oppression

Sexual violence (sexual harassment and sexual assault) was brought up by a student without me asking. She reported feeling unsafe, learning from the experiences of her sister:

> *R: Mum doesn't want to leave me at this school, because, first, I had a sister in the 'second chance' programme and then a boy picked on her. He wanted to rape her and then my sister never wanted to come again [to school]. And then the headteacher said that no, it's not true and mum said that she's not gonna leave me for much longer either.*
> *I: Have you told your class teacher? That you're scared?*
> *R: I told her many times…*
> *I: She doesn't believe you?*
> *R: No. So, us, from our class group, no one believes us.*

Being Roma and being a teenage girl intersected in silencing the experiences of this student and her sister. She might miss out on the opportunities of schooling because her parents must protect her immediate physical safety. The teachers disregarding her feelings of unsafety and discomfort in the school sent her the message that her safety and concerns did not matter, that she was disposable. Yet, this was one of the most outspoken students who used her agency to challenge injustice at all times. Her premature resilience and awareness of threats is a reminder of the ways Romanian society constantly fails Romani women and girls.

6. Reflections

Theoretical Developments

Although CRT provides valuable insights into racialised oppression, deficit-based discourses and counter-storytelling, CRT is embedded in the context of the USA. I hope that this project can contribute to developments toward a 'RomaniCrit' – something Matache and Oehlke (2017) call for – which would address the unique history and situated struggles of Romani communities in Romania, producing knowledge with and for Romani communities.

Furthermore, the combination of elements of Foucauldian theory with CRT could prompt developments in educational theory toward more nuanced understandings of students' resistance strategies. Students' perceived disruptive behaviour should also be understood as deployment of agency in relation to inadequate schooling. Yet we need theories that recognise student agency even when it is performed in subtle ways, such as through storytelling. Perhaps more interdisciplinary and participatory approaches are a solution, inspired by principles of participatory action research or ethnographic research, or fields such as children's geographies.

Ethical Implications and Reflexivity

Discussing ethical implications in a small number of words, without transforming them into an afterthought or a performative aspect of research, is challenging. The project received ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education at the University of Cambridge, and I obtained Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) checks in the UK and in Romania. I received written consent from teachers for their interviews, and from students and their parents or guardians for the interviews with students. However, a genuine discussion about research ethics with marginalised youth is more complicated than that. While I did ensure full anonymity and confidentiality, I could not help but wonder whether some students might have wanted me to take action upon telling me how they had been mistreated. I decided against reporting the violence because I was concerned that the teachers would punish the students after I left. Furthermore, negotiating consent beyond forms was challenging, especially describing it to teenagers who were entering an imbalanced power relation; I was limited by my lack of Romani skills and of contact with the students' parents. Perhaps, further discussions around the complexity of achieving truly ethical research should be had in training educational researchers.

Questions of ethics are also inextricably connected to researcher reflexivity. Indeed, Silverman (2018) argues that reflexivity is mandatory for non-Romani researchers, like myself, given our historical power over knowledge-production. This is particularly true when working with young people – the distance between myself and the participants was mediated by age, class, gender, and whiteness. However, thinking through an insider-outsider binary seems unhelpful because it essentialises and homogenises the identities of participants, describing both mine and the participants' identities as static, when identities are fluid and shifting. Thinking insider-outsider relations as a continuum, as Fremlova (2018) suggests, seems more useful in explaining researcher-participant dynamics, as some experiences bring us closer to that of our participants'. For me, this was my experience of sexual assault. When the student told me that she was afraid of sexual violence in the school, I felt unable to respond. The male headteacher had already invalidated her and her sister's fears, and, by extension, mine as well, which left me feeling powerless.

Understanding identities as shifting but being mindful of my positionality meant not claiming to explain what it means to be Roma in a segregated school but rather pointing to discourses and constructed realities. My hope is to contribute to knowledge on anti-Roma racism, and to challenge dominant discourses about Romani adolescents as inert or lacking agency.

Conclusion

Returning to the research questions outlined in the introduction, Romani students in this segregated school did reject and resist the white majoritarian deficit narratives constructed about them, though some internalised some deficit discourses. Romanian teachers mobilized deficit discourses about Romani families, communities, culture, cognitive abilities, and future potential, which was reflected in their antigypsyist pedagogy. Students resisted these discourses and the oppressive schooling through counter-storytelling, naming their oppression, disrupting classes, and refusing homework as protest. Thus, I argued that the students' resistance to the deficit discourses constructed about them and to segregated schooling highlighted the students' critical capacities and their agency, contrary to how the teachers portrayed them. The students were miseducated and treated below their potential, which only proves the role education can play in reproducing inequalities.

I hope that this case study can be one of many highlighting Romani students' agency and critical capacities, and the ways in which the education system fails them, actively preventing them from achieving academic success. Similar research involving a larger sample could generate more generalisable findings and potentially influence national policy. On a theoretical level, I hope that the combination of CRT with Foucauldian theory can elicit more nuanced conceptualisations of youth resistance and agency deployment. I finish with the hope to see a future 'RomaniCrit', a theory contingent on the histories and localised experiences of Romani communities in Romania, building on recent theoretical endeavours (see Dorobanțu and Gheorghe 2019).

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Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers As a Community of Difference: Challenging Inclusivity As an Anti-racist Approach

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Abstract

In order to consider how white privilege functions in late modernity, this article engages with issues of identity and political economy to theorise the impact of racist discourse on Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the United Kingdmom (UK). The article specifically problematizes the increasing aggregation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as one community of difference in the UK. The article expresses the author's concern that contemporary discourse and associated policy developments have racialized communities, and in doing so negated them through a failure to acknowledge the breadth of experience of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. The article makes a theoretical argument, evidenced by a comprehensive review of literature in the social sciences and key policy documents in the UK. It also incorporates an analysis of reports produced by UK government and civil society organisations over the past 15-year period. The article argues that the categorisation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as one community of difference has occurred due to the embedded racism within contemporary European society that functions through and is augmented by neoliberal capitalist norms. In conclusion the paper argues that the norms of neoliberal capitalism, that are typified by individualism, competition, and the primacy of capital over human experience, allow the perpetuation of this racist discourse that is not challenged by narratives of inclusion but rather is augmented by them.

Keywords

- Data aggregation
- Neoliberal capitalism
- Racism
- Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers
- Social inclusion

Introduction

This article considers how Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK have been framed as a racialized community of difference in the last 15 years and the impacts this has had on their social, economic, and political inclusion. Notwithstanding the historic subjugation and racist marginalisation of Roma that underpins their contemporary lived experience (Achim 2004; Bancroft 2005; Acton et al. 2014; Okely 2014; Alliance Against Anti-Gypsyism 2016), the article follows the work of critical scholars who have noted how Romani identity has been constructed in the contemporary period through a re-racialization (Balibar 2009) that has ultimately augmented the problematization of Romani people in its apparent endeavour to protect them (Surdu and Kovats 2015; Kóczé 2018; Yildiz and De Genova 2018). In the late modern era discussions of Roma, Gypsy and Traveller identity in the UK have oriented around those communities' historic and contemporary vilification and social exclusion, and the subsequent need to champion legislation and policy for their inclusion. Within that context policymakers, academics, activists, and civil society have lobbied for inclusive language and terminology to empower previously disparate communities of Roma. However, in creating Romani identity, and in the UK by grouping Roma with Gypsies and Travellers, a racializing process has placed them as distinctly apart from the rest of society under an umbrella of racialized difference, and this, in itself, has placed them at greater risk of harm. This article explores how that process has manifested within the specific context of the UK. It considers how the grouping of heterogeneous peoples has occurred without consideration or critique of the harmful impacts of such aggregation on those peoples' lives.

In order to develop the argument presented in this article, a range of sources were utilised through a process of qualitative desk-based research. Having recently completed a monograph on the harms of hate against Gypsies and Travellers in the UK (James 2020), it has become patently obvious to the author that identity conflation, aggregation, and negation were significant aspects of those harms, both as underpinning factors and outcomes. Therefore, to consider these issues in light of a critical whiteness perspective, an initial review of the literature in the social sciences scrutinised the key issues for Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers (Fremlova 2018). Specifically, that review focused on aggregation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as communities of difference, racialisation of Romani, Gypsy, and Traveller identity, the development of Romani identity as a categorical tool within the European Union, and critical theorising on Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller inclusion. Second, the research process involved a review of reports produced by and for the UK government, paying particular attention to those reports that had attained significant attention within academia, policy environments, and within civil society organisations supporting Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. Following completion of a thematic analysis of the reports that used key issues raised within the literature review process, the article was prepared from the theoretical perspective of a critical criminologist. Thus, the paper constitutes a contribution to discussion about the contemporary nature of approaches to Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller inclusion as well as an attempt to make a theoretical point. That point is the need for academics, civil society, policymakers, and practitioners to ask how and why they find themselves in a competitive space (be that institutional, national, regional and/or global), wherein the nuances of lived experience are lost. In asking these questions, the paper argues that there is a need to look beyond the boundaries of those spaces to the globalised nature of politics, economy, and society and the forces that direct them according to the needs

and requirements of neoliberal capitalism in late modernity (Fisher 2009). The aim then, in this paper, is to provide an example of how the daily practice of trying to deliver inclusive agendas fails, or at the very least falters, due to embedded neoliberal capitalist norms that are unseen and uncontested.

The article follows a critical realist framework to produce an analysis that outlines what we empirically know, what actually occurs, and how we can understand it (Bhaskar 1998). Therefore, this article outlines how Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been defined in the UK over recent years, how discourses of race and ethnicity have informed that definition, and what the impacts of their aggregation as a community of difference means for them. In doing so, the article takes a critical, criminological, theoretical stance that acknowledges how social harms manifest in contemporary society within a neoliberal capitalist political economy (Hall and Winlow 2015; James 2020) The imposition of Roma, Gypsy and Traveller categorisation has occurred within a culture of seeming inclusivity and spaces of progressive action. In order to elucidate the impact of this categorisation process the paper sets out the gains made from this apparently inclusive space, which allows for some recognition of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. However, it goes on to identify the negative impacts of such categorisation, including the skewing of statistical reports on Roma, Gypsy and Traveller inclusion and the negation of some Gypsies and Travellers who do not conform to, or are not included within, racial or ethnic categorisations of identity in legislation and policy in the UK. The categorisation process, as determined by largely non-Romani, non-Gypsy and non-Traveller communities, organisations, and policy environments, will be critically considered as part of racist discourse that is facilitated by a human rights agenda that has inherently incorporated the norms of neoliberal capitalism (Kóczé 2018). Thus, it is possible through this analysis to conceptualise how white privilege functions in late modernity.

1. Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK

It has been estimated that approximately 200,000 migrant Roma live in the UK, though such estimates are acknowledged as problematic due to the lack of coherent source information. (Brown et al. 2013) They provide an outline of Roma migration from mainland Europe to the UK and the difficulties they have faced since being in the UK (see also Beluschi-Fabeni et al. 2019). Further, they note that as Roma migration to the UK has increased in the twenty-first century, so their specific needs and concerns have been complex and rarely identified as bespoke comparative to indigenous Gypsies and Travellers, as will be discussed further in due course. The identities of Roma from mainland Europe are extremely diverse, including Sinti, Kale, Manus, Kalderas, Lovari, and Romanichals that Liegeois referred to as 'a rich mosaic of ethnic fragments' (1994, 12; Kostadinova 2011). Roma are protected as an ethnic group under the Equality Act 2010 in the UK.

In the UK it has been estimated that Gypsies and Travellers constitute approximately 200,000-300,000 people (Brown et al. 2013), though some estimates are much higher, suggesting that Gypsies and Travellers make up 1–1.5 per cent of the population (James 2019). Of all indigenous Gypsies and Travellers in the UK, Romany Gypsies are the largest group (Clark 2006). Romany Gypsies are often perceived by non-Gypsy/Travellers as the most legitimate group amongst Gypsies and Travellers in the UK and romantic notions of their culture, style, and ways of living are evoked through media images that are bound up

with the idea that the 'real' Gypsies are Romany Gypsies. Also of Romany heritage are the Welsh Kale, a very small group of people in North Wales. Romany Gypsies were recognised as an ethnic group under the Equality Act (2010) in England and Wales, following case law in 1989 (Greenhall and Willers 2020).

Scottish Travellers or Gypsies live throughout Scotland and are linked culturally to Romany Gypsies, particularly by their language in parts of Scotland. They have been recognised as an ethnic group by the Scottish government via case law since 2008 (Greenhall and Willers, 2020). Irish, or Pavee, Traveller culture is similarly organised to Romany Gypsies. Their identities are distinct, however, and research has shown that they have rarely mixed as communities (Clark 2006). Irish Travellers gained recognition in England and Wales as an ethnic group in 2000 following case law, and previously in Northern Ireland within the Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Act (1997) (Greenhall and Willers 2020).

Showpeople are commercial Travellers who move from town to town in the fair season between February and November (Clark 2006). In law, however, they are treated distinctly from other Gypsies and Travellers: Showpeople are not recognised as a racial group as they are considered 'occupational Travellers' (Greenhall and Willers 2020, 518). They are provided with some protection for their settlement in planning law that facilitates Showpeople's requirement for particular places, referred to as 'yards' to stop and stay on in the winter months, wherein they can store their fairground rides. New Travellers are the most recent people to take up a nomadic style of living in the UK, having come into being in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They are now acknowledged as a diverse group (Webster and Millar 2001), included in accommodation needs assessments for Gypsies and Travellers (Home and Greenfields 2006; James 2006), and they have been nomadic for more than a generation (Clark 1997).

2. Racialisation

Having established who the Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK are, it is now possible to consider some of the issues raised by their conflation into a racialized community of difference. It is important to note here that the term 'racialisation' is used advisedly and in accordance with the writing of race scholars (Reeves 1983; Rattansi 2005; Murji 2017). The argument among these authors is that the process of racialisation occurs when discourse incorporates 'racial categorisations, racial explanations, racial evaluations and racial prescriptions' (Reeves 1983, 174). This acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional and multi-layered construction of racial identities (Rattansi 2005) upon, within and between peoples (Howard and Vajda 2017) means that it is possible to perceive the harmful material, social and psychological impacts of racialisation. Notwithstanding criticisms of the term (see Goldberg 2005) which have been useful in its refinement, the notion of racialisation is applied here with the specific intent of acknowledging the breadth and invasive nature of racism in contemporary society embedded within the social, political, and economic fabric of European and world history. Further, the focus on race within this paper does not intend to minimise the intersectional nature of Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller experiences. (McBride and James 2021) In terms of race issues, within Romani studies the focus of research and scholarship has been bifurcated by firstly, a fascination with the integrity of Romani identity that has been criticised for its essentialising outcomes, and secondly, a focus on the political economic underpinnings of Romani exclusion that fail to acknowledge the impact of racialisation and racism. The need for a

nuanced approach to understanding the subjugation of Roma in contemporary society is evident, and scholars have proposed useful approaches that acknowledge the impact of political economy on Roma while also recognising their racialized experience without essentialising their identity. (see, for example, Yildiz and De Genova 2017; Kóczé 2018). This paper endeavours to contribute to that approach through an analysis of the impact of racialisation in the first instance and the framing of that process within neoliberal capitalism in the final analysis.

There is little doubt that a number of the matters to be raised here would be similarly problematic within other European states were the situation of Roma to be scrutinised to this level of specific identity and local legislation and policy (Stevens 2004; Piemontese et al. 2013). Indeed, the concept of Roma identity is problematic in itself in this regard. I have referred above to Roma migrants, as if they were a coherent community, while in reality they are diverse in their countries of origin and cultural identities (Liegeois 1994; Simon 2012). Although they may have a common heritage, the main thing that has brought Roma together in solidarity across Europe has been their experiences over centuries of exploitation, exclusion, slavery, and execution (Achim 2004; Bancroft 2005; Alliance Against Anti-Gypsyism 2016). Contemporarily, the subjugation of Roma has been sustained through processes that have criminalised, securitised, and minoritised them (Van Baar 2011; Yidiz and De Genova 2018). The problematisation of Roma throughout Europe has likewise occurred in the UK historically and contemporarily as Gypsies and Travellers have experienced significant harms because of prejudicial attitudes towards their communities (Okely 2014; Taylor 2014; James 2020). This has placed Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in precarious spaces, living in poor conditions and lacking access to appropriate support, health, and welfare services throughout Europe. Their political voices have been negated via their economic and social exclusion (as well as their spatial exclusion in many countries) and thus they have lacked power and capacity to challenge the status quo (Howard and Vajda 2017). In various European states Roma experiences of harm have been exacerbated by the rise of right-wing nationalist politics that have scapegoated Roma for the ills of contemporary life (Bancroft 2005) and are not challenged by the neoliberal capitalist norms embedded into EU-level politics (Kóczé 2018). In other states, while opposition to Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers is less virile, it is implicit (Yildiz and De Genova 2018). In the UK studies have found that general public perceptions of Gypsies and Travellers are adverse (Hutchison et al. 2017; Abrams et al. 2018) and the 2014 Global Attitudes Survey found that 50 per cent of UK respondents held negative views of Gypsies and Travellers (Pew Research Centre 2014).

The commonly poor circumstances that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have found themselves under in late modernity has increasingly been highlighted by organisations with a remit to improve the human rights of marginalised and excluded peoples, as noted above. In Europe this ultimately led to the various peoples with common heritage, who were previously denigrated as 'Gypsies', being united under the moniker of Roma (Council of Europe 2011). Subsequently, and in response to lobbying by civil society, the European Union created a Framework for Roma Inclusion 2020 that required member states to address the social and economic inclusion of Roma (including Gypsies and Travellers in the UK) and numerous other national initiatives for Roma inclusion proliferated at local, national and international levels. (Kóczé and Rövid 2012; Luggin 2012). Party to these initiatives and in-line with European Union support from the Fundamental Rights Agency, organisations supporting Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have worked to challenge prejudice and discrimination against them. However, scholars have noted two

key issues that have arisen that have rarely been considered (Kóczé and Rövid 2012; Surdu and Kovats 2015; Yildiz and De Genova 2018). First, the idea that Roma are one united group across nation states is questionable and fails to acknowledge the diversity of those people the Roma label represents, let alone any other intersecting aspects of their identities (Belton 2005; Howard and Vajda 2017). In this regard, the solidarity provided by that label was intended to serve as a protection against nationally derived prejudice but has actually served in many cases (alongside potential over-prediction of numbers of Roma people) to place Roma as a significant threat to domestic interests. Thus, it is arguable that they have been increasingly scapegoated within nation states and perceived as illegitimate citizens. (see also Bancroft 2005) In addition, the paternalistic approach of the European Union and associated initiatives for Roma inclusion have taken insufficient account of the actual needs of the various people represented as Roma. This is notwithstanding the potential for the promoted concept of 'community led local development' that may provide some acknowledgement of localised needs, though is likely to serve as a tool to responsibilise Roma to address their own problems. Indeed, Roma have been identified as a problem population, who are associated with poverty and welfare dependency and are increasingly considered to be vulnerable. The European Union, in turn then, can provide help and support as a pan-European organisation ideally positioned to address a pan-European problem. Evidently there is a paradox here, as Surdu and Kovats (2015, 8) note, 'Presented as a pan-European ethnic minority, Roma can symbolise the need for European governance' that simply serves to reinforce institutions and processes that perpetuate anti-Gypsyism and normalise attitudes that sustain anti-Gypsyism (Howard and Vajda 2017).

In the UK the governance of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers that previously outlawed them as vagrants, thieves, and vagabonds (Taylor 2014) has shifted in the contemporary era to protect them as vulnerable, marginalised denizens, according to the European model (EHRC 2016). The idea that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are vulnerable is highly problematic though, as it suggests that they lack agency and it fails to recognise their successes, their apparent resilience or their resistance. (Belton 2013; Howard and Vajda 2017) The social control, exclusion, and subjugation of people with Romani heritage throughout Europe has been facilitated by a constant overview of their lives, including registration of their communities and creation of isolated Roma settlements (Piemontese 2013), their securitisation (Van Baar 2011) and their criminalisation (Alliance Against AntiGypsyism 2016). European Union initiatives for inclusion have simply served the same purposes wherein they have delved into people's lives according to stigmatised, racialized perceptions of them that have been defined by non-Roma organisations and policy makers who do not entirely know or appreciate the actual needs of those communities, or how they would prefer to see their lives improved (Kóczé and Rövid 2012; Simon 2012; Surdu and Kovats 2015). Nor have those Roma had political power to engage with their own governance due to the intersecting nature of their social, economic and spatial exclusion (Howard and Vajda 2017). The structures from which the parameters for inclusion are set are those circumscribed by dominant ideologies of human rights that are infused with perceptions of inclusion and exclusion as defined by those white privileged people who largely wrote them and which are framed by neoliberal norms (Kóczé 2018).

In the UK, Gypsies and Travellers have been subject to social control measures that keep records of their whereabouts through annual caravan counts, assessments of their accommodation needs, and policing of them in public and private spaces through multi-agency working that have ultimately served to exclude, securitise, and criminalise them (James and Richardson 2006). Further, local policies regarding illegal

encampments by Gypsies and Travellers in the UK facilitate reporting of their presence by non-Gypsy/Travellers when they arrive in areas that are perceived as illegitimate and thus where they are not welcome (Ryder 2011; James 2019). This oversight has meant that Gypsies and Travellers have been criminalised in the UK as they are over-policed as offenders and their chosen living spaces have been closed off to them via planning and public order law. Lane and Smith (2019) have noted that the complex derivation of policy in the UK, that depends on differing approaches at central, national, and local government levels, has meant that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are caught up in a range of different policy ideologies that either acknowledge their racial identities, are effectively post-racial and thus negate their identities, or target those who are mobile (Goldberg 2015). It is important then to consider the specific circumstances of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK to appreciate how contemporary racialisation has occurred and within that discussion to acknowledge how Gypsies' and Travellers' cultural nomadism in the UK has been misinterpreted.

Acton (2010) has argued that on their arrival in Europe from the Indian subcontinent Roma responded to the economic conditions they met which led those in the East to settle to pursue their economic goals, while those that arrived in the West became commercial nomads. Despite the settlement of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe (and increasing settlement of Roma in the West), cultural nomadism remained an important aspect of many Roma peoples' identity. That nomadism has been sustained, and embraced, by Gypsies and Travellers in the UK. However, it does not necessarily mean that all Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are mobile. Indeed, as noted by Shubin and Swanson (2010) the mobility of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers does not require them to be constantly moving, but can refer to their emotional mobility, or what has been referred to here as their cultural nomadism. Cultural nomadism refers to Roma', Gypsies', and Travellers' predisposition to think and act in a boundless fashion. Simplistic analyses of nomadism equate it to mobility, whereas studies of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have long recognised the nuanced and variable nature of cultural nomadism that includes a range of approaches to living that are bound up with notions of freedom and autonomy (Halfacree 1996; Levinson and Sparkes 2004; Acton 2010; Shubin 2010). Indeed, the lifestyle associated with nomadism, living in close groups with strong bonds of familial attachment and strict moral codes, is what signifies Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller cultures most. Van Baar (2011) has noted how the nomadisation of Roma in Europe has had negative consequences due to the over-stating of the nomadic (most often interpreted as mobile) nature of Romani identity that has augmented the notion of Roma as the ultimate 'Europeans' as stateless peoples (Yildiz and De Genova 2017). That nomadising discourse simply feeds into racialized perceptions of Roma as a phenotypical racial group. This paper does not adhere to the idea that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers constitute a racial group, nor a nomadic group. However, it does acknowledge that historic racialisation and contemporary re-racialisation has served to separate Roma out in European society in a way that has placed them apart from the white majority and interpreted as such by embedded perceptions of whiteness within EU policy.

The relatively recent protection provided to traditional Gypsies and Travellers in the UK within race relations legislation has provided some recognition for Gypsies and Travellers (James 2019) who have suffered centuries of racism as noted above (Taylor 2014; Cressy 2018). However, it has been argued that processes of racialisation have served to problematise Gypsies and Travellers in the UK, akin to the problematisation of Roma throughout mainland Europe (Acton 2010). Further, that contemporary

racialisation process has enhanced the romantic myth of the traditional Romany Gypsy as more legitimate than other groups of Gypsies and Travellers (Kenrick and Puxon 1972; Okely 1983). Defining racial identity in law is a complex process that can be reductionist and ethnocentric (Marsh and Strand 2006), but its legal negation serves as a significant tool to exclusion (Clark 2006). The variable and slow application of legal recognition of ethnic minority status for Gypsies and Travellers in the UK has served to increase competition and suspicion between communities themselves and with non-Gypsies/Travellers. Howard and Vadja (2017) note that discrimination occurs both vertically, via the implementation of policy and practice upon Roma, and horizontally, via social relations between communities and families of Roma. Its impact is determined by the intersection of identity and inequalities. By appreciating the disruptive nature of horizontal discrimination, it is possible to acknowledge how hierarchies have emerged within and between Gypsies and Travellers in the UK alongside their experiences of vertical discrimination via the implementation of policy upon them.

3. Racialised Discourse in Legislation and Policy

The hierarchical positioning of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK has occurred via the complex application of definitions of identity within legislation and policy. Rather than there being an all-encompassing approach to Gypsy and Traveller identity in acknowledgement of their social, economic, and cultural similarities, there are conflicting approaches to their identities in law. There has been a historical tendency for legislators in the UK to define Gypsies and Travellers according to their economic purpose associated with their apparent nomadism that is actually their mobility, rather than their racial identity (Willers and Johnson 2020). As noted above, it is only people of Romany decent and Irish Travellers who have been recently recognised in equality legislation as ethnic groups. In UK planning law and policy a disjuncture occurs as economic purpose and its associated mobility have been used as the defining features of Gypsy and Traveller identity. In the specific context of the UK this turns the situation for Gypsies and Travellers on its head as the failure of legislators and policymakers to understand both nomadism and Gypsy and Traveller cultures results in a paradox. Gypsies and Travellers in the UK often prefer to live in vehicles or on Gypsy and Traveller sites rather than in housing, which is perceived as a cultural anathema to many. The cultural nomadism of Gypsies and Travellers, whether living on sites or in housing does not equate to mobility, but planning policy has reduced it to such, particularly since that policy was redefined in 2015 (DCLG 2015). Hence, for Gypsies and Travellers to live on sites they are required by policy to be mobile to some extent, and their ethnicity is not considered in site provision. Planning policy in the UK in this regard imposes a sedentarist binary approach to nomadism that fails to acknowledge the culturally nomadic cultures of all Gypsies and Travellers (James and Southern 2018). Because of this approach, ethnicity is negated and those Romany Gypsies or Irish Travellers who are not mobile, often as a consequence of their age or infirmity, may not be provided with culturally appropriate accommodation; therein lies the paradox. The lack of culturally appropriate accommodation provision for Gypsies and Travellers in the UK has been acknowledged as highly problematic and underpinning significant poor health and welfare outcomes within those communities (Cemlyn et al. 2009).

Interestingly, in the past provision of culturally appropriate accommodation has largely been delivered to Romany Gypsies due to their perceived ethnic authenticity within racialized discourses of Gypsy

and Traveller identity in the UK, alongside the history of Romany Gypsy mobility. However, since the legislative closure of traditional Gypsy and Traveller stopping places in the 1960s their mobility has reduced somewhat and Romany Gypsies have often settled on sites, though they are no less culturally nomadic. Irish Travellers, however, are far less likely to have attained sites to live on as they have been perceived historically as a less legitimate group than Romany Gypsies and have experienced anti-Irish prejudice alongside anti-Gypsy/Traveller attitudes (Howard 2006). They have likewise been impacted by the loss of traditional stopping grounds and have been consequently more mobile, often having to stop and stay in places proscribed by local settled communities. Within planning legislation in the UK, in accordance with the above, Showpeople and New Travellers are recognised as Gypsy and Traveller communities, despite their non-Gypsy/Traveller ethnicity in equalities legislation. This has been assured by the explicit requirement for mobility outlined by the re-defined planning policy in 2015. Showpeople are occupationally mobile due to their running of fairs around the UK, and New Travellers have been the least likely to attain appropriate accommodation on sites due to perceptions of their racial inauthenticity, so they are more likely to be mobile.

Due to their inclusion within planning law and policy, New Travellers have been incorporated into official assessments of accommodation need for Gypsies and Travellers, as well as associated planning processes and provision (or lack thereof). Their position in the hierarchy of legitimacy of Gypsies and Travellers is, however, at the bottom, due to their lack of racial authenticity. Indeed, many academics, policymakers, and researchers do not consider New Travellers at all within their discussions of Gypsy and Traveller inclusion, or they simply negate them despite their presence in local, regional, and national reports (see, for example, Cemlyn et al. 2009; Cromarty 2019). Historically Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers have perceived New Travellers as interlopers, who should bear responsibility for the introduction of draconian legislation in the late twentieth century that served to criminalise trespass and consequently their communities (James 2006). This tension between traditional Gypsies and Travellers and New Travellers identifies how protective those communities have had to be of the limited resources and spaces available to them in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as neoliberal capitalist agendas have increasingly informed the socio-political environment. Interestingly, New Travellers often conform to notions of the 'true Gypsy' stereotype as they tend to live low-impact lifestyles, including living in horse-drawn vehicles. The use of a horse-drawn vehicle, the 'vardo', is strongly associated with traditional Gypsy and Traveller cultures in the UK. Hence, the stigmatisation of New Travellers as 'fake Gypsies' (Murdoch and Johnson 2020) is confused by their alignment to ways of living that are perceived as legitimate by those who romanticise Romany Gypsy lifestyles.

Showpeople are likewise not legally recognised as an ethnic group in the UK. Because of their specific occupational accommodation needs, and subsequent local planning delivery of those needs over time, discussions of provision also often leave out Showpeople (EHRC 2016). Throughout the fair season Showpeople can generally reside on land set out for their fairgrounds. However, the Showmen's Guild has expressed concern that Showmen, similar to other Gypsies and Travellers, have suffered a crisis of space provision in recent years for their winter yards. In addition, it has been noted that changing patterns for fairs has impacted on Showpeople's need of space, meaning that they are likely to travel less far and are more likely to need their yards for accommodation throughout the year (Cemlyn et al. 2009). Interestingly, the exclusion of Showpeople from much research and discourse on Gypsy and Traveller issues may be

impacted by their relative economic security, access to education, and welfare outcomes (Cemlyn et al. 2009). Acknowledgement of their positive outcomes may not serve the purpose of othering discourses, either those that purport to want inclusion or those that exclude.

Brown et al. (2013) note that migrant Roma have specific needs and wants in their lives that are not effectively met by provision in the UK. This lack of consideration of the particularities of Romani experience and needs is due to the application by the UK government of EU policies on Romani inclusion that have incorporated indigenous Gypsies and Travellers with migrant Roma. Interestingly, whereas it has been argued that within EU policy the specific needs of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK (as well as others in Western Europe) have not been met due to their lack of coherence with Romani needs (Kóczé and Rövid 2012), the needs of migrant Roma in the UK have been eclipsed by local Gypsies' and Travellers' needs. So, Gypsies' and Travellers' requirements for culturally appropriate accommodation as detailed above, and the tensions therein that are embedded in different definitions of their identity in legislation are not relevant to migrant Roma. Migrant Roma alternatively have needed settled accommodation in housing, and while nomadism may have played a part in defining some aspects of Romani identity over time, for migrant Roma accessing accommodation has not been related to an aversion to 'bricks and mortar' that is bound up with Gypsies' and Travellers' identity in the UK as cultural nomads (Kabachnik 2009). Thus, we begin to see the incongruity of conflating Roma with Gypsies and Travellers in the UK. Their needs and wants are different and rarely met because of racializing discourses that simply place them in competition with each other for resources that do not necessarily meet their requirements.

4. Reporting of Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller Identities

In the previous section of the article it was made clear that UK legislation and policy are contradictory in nature and have played out within a racialized discourse that has created a hierarchy of legitimacy of Gypsies and Travellers. Further, inclusion of Roma within that discourse has failed to address their specific needs.[1] It is necessary now to consider how Roma have been increasingly aggregated with Gypsies and Travellers as part of that re-racializing environment. As noted above, the key contemporary issue raised by civil society in support of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK has been their exclusion via failures to provide culturally appropriate accommodation to them. A seminal report completed for the Commission for Racial Equality in 2009 set out the breadth of inequalities faced by Gypsies and Travellers in the UK (Celmyn et al. 2009). This report provided a baseline for subsequent reports and discussion of Gypsy and Traveller inclusion as it carefully noted the various communities impacted, how their exclusion had played out via discrimination in all aspects of their lives, and how the lack of secure appropriate accommodation had largely underpinned those experiences. Subsequently, however, reports on Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of discrimination have variably included Roma within their analysis, with little consideration of the relevance of their incorporation in such reports.

A case in point is the Equality and Human Rights Commission report (EHRC 2019), *Is Britain Fairer?*, and its associated reports, including a Spotlight Report on inequalities faced by Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in England (EHRC 2016) that acknowledged and challenged the discrimination faced by Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers and their associated poor outcomes in terms of health and welfare. Written within the

discourse of racial prejudice, the EHRC reports, in 2016 and 2019 specifically, distinguish between the white majority and Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as a racialized other. In doing so they compare their research findings to the previous Commission for Racial Equality report (Cemlyn et al. 2009) to make their point that Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller exclusion has been unremittent. However, the 2009 report did not include Roma, and thus the inherent comparison between the reports that occurs in the 2016 and 2019 studies is problematic, notwithstanding occasional references to differences between outcomes for Roma and those for Gypsies and Travellers. Indeed, the reports do not identify who the Gypsies and Travellers referred to in the reports are, and given their focus on race, they may well have excluded some Gypsies and Travellers who were included in the 2009 Commission for Racial Equality report, making comparisons erroneous. Given that migrant Roma face a breadth of issues that have not been addressed within the UK (Brown et al. 2013), it is likely that their experiences of discrimination and exclusion have distorted the statistics presented in the EHRC reports, or at the least distorted perceptions of those statistics. Critical analysis of research that aggregates minority communities' data have highlighted the capacity of such research, particularly those that use surveys, to skew the statistics (Simon 2012). It is possible that any gains made by indigenous Gypsies and Travellers in the intervening years between the 2009 and the 2016/2019 reports may have been lost through the inclusion of Roma in the latter studies. This would be because of the likelihood of Romani exclusion as economic migrants to the UK which may have placed them in a worse societal position than indigenous Gypsies and Travellers due to the vagaries of racism and prejudice against such migrants (McGinnity and Gijsberts 2016; Howard and Vajda 2017). Similarly, it could be that Roma have better outcomes than indigenous Gypsies and Travellers due their greater security of accommodation in housing that could have masked losses experienced by indigenous Gypsies and Travellers over that period. Ultimately, we do not comprehensively know the situation of either Roma or Gypsies and Travellers because their accretion has occurred without sufficient consideration of the variability of their circumstances or experiences.

The aggregation of Roma with Gypsies and Travellers has occurred in multiple reports (for example, Lammy 2017) over the last 15 years, with limited thought or consideration of whom these monikers represent or how their aggregation simply serves to augment racialisation processes and essentialise Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller identity. Further, the categorisation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as one community has increased the existing tendency of policymakers and practitioners in the UK to conflate the identities of Romany Gypsies with Irish Travellers that has enhanced the myth of the legitimate Romany Gypsy (Clark 2006). Research on hate harms experienced by Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK offers another working example of how the conflation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers has had direct impacts (James 2020). Such research has evidenced the high rates of hate crimes, speech, and incidents that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have experienced throughout their lifetimes. However, the tendency to place discussion of these experiences within a simplistic racialised paradigm has meant that many Gypsies' and Travellers' voices have not been heard, particularly the voices of Showpeople and New Travellers. In addition, the impact of a sedentarist binary approach to nomadism has not been considered as impacting those experiences, nor has the effect of hierarchies of racial authenticity been considered as influencing the variable experiences of hate for Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. The increased tendency to approach the issues faced by such diverse communities from a paternalistic perspective augments the framing of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as racialized vulnerable communities in need of help and support. Two outcomes follow from this. First, it is argued that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are not

acknowledged as resilient communities that have implicit strengths and capacity to evolve, as well as resist discrimination (Belton 2013; Yildiz and De Genova 2017). Second, Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been aggregated to the degree that some indigenous Gypsies and Travellers are not included in discussions for their own inclusion, and indeed they are often purposely excluded as not conforming to specific notions of racial identity that are biologically determinist. The article will now go on to address how this situation can be best understood via an appreciation of the neoliberal capitalist context within which it occurs.

5. Racist Ideology in the Twenty-first Century

Thus far, this article has set out who the Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK are, how their experiences have been racialized, how racialisation processes have impacted legislation and policy, and aggregated their diverse identities. The paper will now turn to considering what this really means for Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the twenty-first century and how these circumstances can be best understood. As noted above, Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been increasingly aggregated as one community of difference in the UK, and the argument here is that a process of re-racialisation has served to negate the unique experiences of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers and thus failed to expose racism and prejudice against those communities. In order to highlight the racism and prejudice experienced by Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers, it is necessary to identify the social forces in place in contemporary society that have exacerbated their exclusion and placed them in precarious social spaces.

A critical criminological approach, informed by ultra-realist theory, allows for a consideration of harms experienced in contemporary society that acknowledges the role of neoliberal capitalism in engendering them (Hall and Winlow 2015). Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have experienced racism over centuries, as noted above, that has largely occurred as a consequence of biologically determinist attitudes towards them. Those attitudes remain in contemporary society and are embedded in social policy and practice as evidenced through various examples provided here of the ways in which Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been socially controlled, excluded, and marginalised over time via structures of paternalistic governance that have variably criminalised them and/or protected them. In the postwar era, as the neoliberal capitalist project (Harvey 2005) has progressed, so it is possible to see how the interests of the market and liberal notions of freedom have encapsulated existing racisms and exploited them through a re-racialisation process that has occurred via both visible and invisible mechanisms (Howard and Vajda 2017).

Neoliberal capitalism has been identified by theorists as a culture of individualism, competitiveness, meritocracy, and relative deprivation (Harvey 2005; Davies 2017). In this environment, resources are distributed upwards in the social hierarchy under the false premise that everyone, including marginalised communities such as Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers, will benefit from the trickle down of the wealth created. Aligned with this, neoliberal capitalist *responsibilisation*, teamed with deregulation and withdrawal of the state, has resulted in an environment in which judgement and regulation of others is encouraged (Harvey 2005; 2011; Dardot and Laval 2017; and Davies 2017) Traditional notions of structured power have been distorted in this context as power is diffused by liberalism that provides the conditions within which capital can burgeon. As such, the structures of race, class, and gender that

facilitated the rampant growth of industrial capitalism, in significant part via imperialist colonialism (see, for example, Phillips and Bowling 2012; Warmington 2020), continue to order our perceptions of everyday experience, even though they do not necessarily represent our contemporary identities (Appiah 2018). Those structures of power are used to retain and perpetuate elite positions and are rallied against by progressive liberal thinkers. However, by focusing on those structures of power instead of acknowledging how neoliberal capitalism has framed and channelled that power according to the needs of the market, neoliberal capitalism has been nullified as a point of real concern, and alternately been considered only as an aspect of that power dynamic (Meyer 2014). This serves the interests of neoliberal capitalism well as processes of pacification have been inherent in its success; diverting attention from the generative mechanisms of problems in society means that the flow of capital has not been interrupted (Fisher 2009; Hall and Winlow 2015).

To consider the lives of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers without due regard for the impact of neoliberal capitalism on the society within which they live fails to appreciate how whiteness is embedded into neoliberal capitalist discourse, as well as how racialisation has served the needs of neoliberal capitalist goals (Kóczé 2018). A discourse of anti-racism has attained significant primacy in late modernity as excluded peoples have correctly challenged their experiences of exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination, and subjugation over time. However, neoliberal capitalism is nothing if not flexible, and by acknowledging aspects of racism within its structures it has been able to quash any comprehensive scrutiny of its systems that would expose how racism continues to serve its specific purpose, that is, to ensure the primacy of profit over people. European Union policies on Romani inclusion exemplify this point. By highlighting the issue of racism against Roma throughout the European Union and expressly targeting countries that do not address Romani inclusion, the needs of Roma are apparently met, or at least the European Union's system of governance has fulfilled its purpose to protect human rights. However, as already established, that system of governance has been defined by perceptions of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers that are paternalistic and framed by notions of race and racism dictated by white privilege. The principles of equality and fairness that have defined human rights in the context of individual freedoms in contemporary liberal democracy are 'saturated with capitalist powers and values' that do not acknowledge what anti-racism really means (Brown 2015, 205). An anti-racist stance acknowledges that processes of racialisation have occurred and impacted groups of people differentially (Brah 1996; Virdee 2015). Only in recognising the impact of racialisation can challenges to its outcomes be identified and met by those communities effected and others in solidarity with them (Howard and Vajda 2017). The human rights agenda therefore has limited capacity due to its intrinsic incorporation of capitalist neoliberal norms that aim to deliver equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome for all. Further, the framing of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as having a right not to suffer ill-treatment (akin to other excluded peoples) does not acknowledge or embrace the human right to flourish, but instead places them in the context of negative rights that simply reiterates their apparent vulnerability and need for protection (Badiou 2001; Raymen 2019). Further, it arguably requires them to show adaptability and individual drive through resilience in their abject circumstances, which in itself simply requires Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers to conform to the neoliberal capitalist responsibilisation of people for their own ills.

The dominance of the human rights agenda within the European Union has meant that an uncritical acceptance of its approach to racism has been embraced by national policies for Roma', Gypsies', and

Travellers' inclusion (Kóczé 2018; Yildiz and De Genova 2018). This has meant that support for those communities within nation-states has increasingly been framed by this context, and hence the language of research, reports, and policy has pursued the aggregation of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers, relying on an uncritical perspective that has failed to acknowledge the variable experiences of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers or what their equality within the European Union would look like (Howard and Vajda, 2017). Within neoliberal capitalism this makes sense for governments looking to reduce costs to public services and the multiple agencies whom social services are outsourced to (Schwarcz 2012). The apparently inclusive approach of late modern social policy in the UK that purports to aim for universal human rights, as to date informed by EU policy (though not post-Brexit), does not operate in a vacuum but rather also functions within the parameters of market ideology. Those outside public services, such as civil society organisations, must bid and lobby for resources, in competition with private companies, to support the most marginalised in society. Public authorities likewise must bid for resources and account for them based on fiscal capacities, rather than human need. Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers lack the fiscal or social capital to compete in this environment, as do their representative organisations (Kóczé and Rövid 2012).

The hyper-competitive nature of bidding for resources from the public sector and private companies pitches Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller support organisations against each other to access the funds they need to exist and thrive. They therefore draw on any social capital available to them to retain their organisational advantage. Unfortunately, this means vying for position, lobbying interested parties, and engaging with socially powerful issues that attract attention and funding. This has meant the inclusion of Roma within the remit of Gypsy and Traveller support organisations and the use of ethnicity as the defining feature of Gypsy and Traveller identity in order to access funds to tackle racism in alignment with the European Union model. This myopic approach to Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller identity augments the hierarchy of Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller legitimacy. Further, Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller support organisations find themselves having to accede to neoliberal capitalist norms of competitive individualism. The complex quagmire of public service delivery in the UK that employs managerialist notions and language of multi-agency, streamlined, 'joined up' approaches to justify providing minimal resources has resulted in a heady mix of private, civil society, and public agencies competing for position to act as the voice of the marginalised (Simmonds 2019). The pursuit to the bottom that ensues, as Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller support organisations attempt to gain funds to help their communities, means that they must engage in the racialised discourse of vulnerability to represent Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. In order to access funding, they need to evidence that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers are the most hard-done-by of the marginalised. This dreadful competition, notwithstanding its capacity to give voice to the marginalisation that Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers do experience, legitimises the focus of agencies on Roma', Gypsies', and Travellers' trials rather than their triumphs.

The accretion of identities of Gypsies, Travellers, and Roma has failed to recognise or acknowledge Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller diversity and specifically their racialized identities. Here, it is important to acknowledge the fight that Roma and many Gypsies and Travellers in the UK have had for recognition of their ethnicity in law. However, despite this Roma', Gypsies', and Travellers' inclusion within public policy and practice has largely been presentational rather than reality, as evidenced in the reports and papers written about them and discussed above. Further, caution should be exerted, and racism scrutinised as

Cunneen notes (2019, 13), 'race itself becomes solidified as a category in which people, in many cases, from heterogeneous backgrounds, can be captured and named' for the purposes of control agencies (see also van Baar 2011).

Conclusion

In this article I have endeavoured to consider the specific contemporary circumstances of Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK in order to elucidate how racializing processes have impacted their social exclusion. Specifically, I have drawn out the ways in which Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been framed by legislation and policy in the UK, and subsequently in reports on their inclusion. Despite the differences between the variable groups of people brought together under the moniker of 'Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers', they have increasingly been drawn as one community of difference within a racialized discourse that is specifically problematic in two ways. First, it implies homogeneity of cultures, experiences, and needs amongst those people and associates them with vulnerability. Statistical devices used to argue for Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller inclusion in the UK therefore actually fail to acknowledge their unique particularities and consequently augment a dialogue of difference that problematizes all Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. Second, some Gypsies and Travellers in the UK, who are not recognised legislatively as ethnic groups, are excluded from inclusionary practice, policy, and discussion. They consequently lose legitimacy and the existing hierarchy of authenticity applied to, and between, Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers in the UK is exacerbated.

The article has argued that a critical criminological approach to research in this area is useful as it allows for an appreciation of the role of neoliberal capitalism in creating the contemporary conditions within which racism and prejudice are manipulated in contemporary society to re-racialise Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers. By examining how neoliberal capitalist norms have played out for Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers, it is possible to see how apparently inclusive policy and reporting has simply re-played existing racist assumptions about those communities. As such, neoliberal capitalist needs have been met that require cost reductions in delivery of public services and responsibilisation of marginalised communities. The assumption that neoliberal capitalism provides the only effective mechanism for delivery of an equal society is embedded within European Union notions of human rights and delivery of services to marginalised peoples. Few studies consider or critique this perspective as to do so implies a lack of recognition of the need for identity politics. However, this article would suggest that alternately a critical appraisal of political economy is essential to address issues of identity, and particularly racism. Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers have been grouped together as one community of difference in a way that neither meets their needs, nor represents them in contemporary society. The racism embedded within this process is hidden by notions of inclusivity and solidarity that have been framed and delivered via white privilege within the context of neoliberal capitalism. Only Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History month, supported by UK governments since 2008, may be the exception to the rule here, by effectively providing space for solidarity between all Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller communities.

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Book review by

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As an active citizen, I approached the book with curiosity about the fluidity of the concept and understanding of the "family", because I live in a time and space where it is being re-negotiated and violently redefined by politicians as well as minority advocates. As an educator who works on the topic of the Holocaust, I was curious to gain new perspectives and a nuanced knowledge of victims' emotional lives and the factors which informed their decisions. And, as a Romani youth worker, I was above all interested in learning something new about the history of the Roma, our cultures, and identities. The introduction promised just that, and, to an extent, it delivered. Of the eleven chapters, only three explore the fate of Sinti and Romani families; both the editors and the authors of those chapters make it clear that the scarcity of data and information on the lives and deaths of Romani people from before, and during, the Holocaust is one of the most significant obstacles to informative and qualitative research.

The eleven articles in the book are divided into three parts: the first section focuses on Jewish and Romani families during the Holocaust, and the other two explore the meanings, functions, and compositions of families after the war. The articles in the first explore family relationships in the ghettoes and in hiding, with a chapter on Romani families and communities. The second section describes the different policies pursued after the war by national or international institutions, which affected family relationships – with no Romani-related content. The third and final section, however, which is about family relationships after the Holocaust, devotes some time to the experiences of Romani people and communities. The lack of data, mentioned earlier, is offset by the critical approach of the authors, the analytical examination of already existing interviews, and testimonies and use of secondary sources. Researchers analysed local memorial books, museum exhibitions, archival documents, and, most importantly, interviews and testimonies of Sinti and Roma survivors, their descendants, and other members of local communities. I think it important that, besides consulting official, written data produced by non-Roma, the authors often used testimonies and interviews, the words of Roma themselves, granting them the agency we so often lack in academic research.

How can choosing the family as an analytical unit and a lens contribute – and to what? One might wonder, as I did, why the editors chose to work with the concept of the family to create new, or challenge existing, knowledge. The introduction claims that"[a]pplying the family perspective allows us to see how even extended families engaged in decision-making processes that revolved around more than individual imperatives", especially regarding decisions about where people decided to migrate, which tend to be explained by political ideologies rather than by the practicalities of "a search for where one had a relative to join". On the flipside, because we all have relationships we consider as family, portraying historical events through family histories brings victims emotionally closer, and allows us to identify with them, which seems to be crucial at present where far right ideologies, antisemitism, and antigypsyism are increasingly regaining ground . Instead of applying a romanticizing approach, the introduction emphasises that the family is a social construct, with various meanings across space, time, class, religion, and communities. Historical events and political ideologies contribute to these changes and the book provides examples of these and influential factors during a specific historical period.

How policies and events influenced the meaning of family and how family relations impacted decisions, strategies, and fates

We see two different approaches in the chapters of the book: one tries to understand how the very meaning of family changed during the Holocaust; and the other uses the family as a medium to add new layers to our knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust, such as how events of world history manifest in family histories, or how space and identity are connected through history and family relations.

Natalia Aleksiun in "Uneasy Bonds – On Jews in Hiding and the Making of Surrogate Families" analyses family-like relationships emerging in hiding between Jewish people (surrogate families) as well as between Jewish and non-Jewish ones in Eastern Galicia during the Second World War. The author worked her way through testimonies and personal journals. One type of non-biological family relationship occurred between Jewish children and adults hiding in the same place. Often, the connection between abandoned children and temporary caretakers might have simply been limited to the practical processes of cleaning and feeding them. Another common bond between Jewish people in hiding were sibling-like relationships, which lasted over a long period of time, and in other cases, Jewish women were helped by single or widowed non-Jewish men through faking identity and marriage documents, who in return kept house and performed other duties. What is remarkably interesting in this article is the analysis of the relationships between Jewish and non-Jewish people, and the author's contemplations on their dynamics. We tend to think about the ones in hiding as victims, rather than people with agency, and about their helpers as heroes. However, very often, these relationships were exchanges, beneficial for both. Sometimes the bonds grew so strong that they remained alive after the war, and the relationship was legalized through adoption or marriage. In other cases, the children were taken by their biological parents after the war or sent to an orphanage. Entering these new, "surrogate" families often required Jewish people to pass as non-Jewish, and the truth came to light later. In these cases, family came to be a means of material sustenance or emotional support, rather than kinship or a unit of tradition and religion.

After the Holocaust, with the emergence of the aid-providing international organisations' operations, the definitions and the desired characteristics of the family were directly and quite openly influenced by policies. Laura Hobson Faure analyses oral history interviews, organizational case files, and private and organizational archives to demonstrate how different the approach French and American Jewish welfare organizations took when deciding the fate of "Holocaust orphans", and how these approaches may have shaped their embeddedness in, or exclusion from, their extended families in "Siblings in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath in France and the United States. Rethinking the "Holocaust Orphan" We are led through the lives of Racheal and Lea Z., who both lost their parents and were placed in a Jewish nursery in France and were later sent to the United States where they had relatives. The article reveals that the European organizations' main interest was to replace parents, keep siblings together, and reunite them with remaining relatives or to create new families for the children. However, in the American social work ethics "[e]motions and compassion were associated with outdated charitable practices. [… They] often separated siblings, placing them in different foster homes. […They] saw remaining family members as potential barriers to stable foster care placements." The sisters then had very different experiences in separate foster families and were never placed with their relatives. Their story demonstrates that as

a result of American organizations' understanding of Holocaust orphans' needs, the girls had to seek their own definitions of family: one re-established a family by building one of her own, and the other re-established the past, by researching her family history and processing the death of her parents through therapy and giving public testimony.

However, "The Impact of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's Aid Strategy on the Lives of Jewish Families in Hungary, 1945–1949" focuses on the practices of the aid-providing institutions in terms of support for children who lost one or both parents in the Holocaust; the revelations of Viktória Bányai echo in the present, as similar questions are being raised, but this time concerning the care of Romani children. The main question of the article is why there were more provisions for children in institutional care than for children remaining in their (incomplete) families in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust in Hungary, and the answers are shocking and banal. Bányai lists and explains the reasons why many parents saw it better for their children to be placed in institutions rather than at home with them, how conditions emerged which made this a rational choice, and what other voices were present urging policy-change. The leadership managing the distribution of aid and its Zionist background saw parents unable to care of their kids due to lack of self-confidence and self-respect, inability to make a living for themselves and being used to living on alms, on the one hand; and, on the other, as obstacles to making these children part of the Zionist movement and make Aliyah. Although there were policy suggestions from within the leadership saying that families and communities should be strengthened and supported in re-starting their wage-earning activities, so that children could re-enter their original communities, the Zionist agenda and, later, communist influence did not allow them. Understanding the bits and pieces of how ideological power-games filtered into policies, the distribution of funds, and eventually determining the future of Jewish children who survived the Holocaust; in one of the final sentences Bányai states "[a]t the heart of this debate is the role of family in the upbringing of children, with special regard to so-called dys-functional families and those that pass on values considered inappropriate by the current powers-that-be", which is great food for thought for readers to contemplate the continuity of similar arguments and practices when it comes to poor and or/Romani families. It becomes clear that the functions and the meanings of family are being determined by ideology-based policies and decisions rather than some kind of organic change or evolution.

In "Looking for a Nice Jewish Girl … Personal Ads and the Creation of Jewish Families in Germany before and after the Holocaust", Sarah E. Wobick-Segev explores the change in priorities of Berliner Jewish men and women looking for spouses before, during, and after the Holocaust. Through personal ads placed in Jewish newspapers, attitudes and desired partnership-building conditions are revealed, and how these changed over time due to the risks and the realities during the Nazi regime and attempts at recovery after the crises of the Second World War. The expectations in the advertisements relate the experiences, fears, motivations, and desires of those looking for life-partners. The article starts at the turn of the twentieth century when these ads started being published, when the main criteria was financial and social suitability, but love and affection started to gain importance, then goes on to describe the era between the rise of the Nazi dictatorship and Kristallnacht (1933–38) when wealth became relevant for emigration and connections abroad were a significant advantage. After 1938, a significant number of people who placed ads were men over 40, as they were thought to be at greater risk and needed partners with whom to leave the country. Marriage, and therefore the family, became

"an expression of significant accommodation to new realities", even after the war when endogamy and pronatalism were the main concerns.

In addition to providing new information about how sedentary Roma and the local majority communities lived together and cooperated before the Second World War in the Belarusian-Lithuanian border region (which I will mention later), "The Romani Family before and during the Holocaust - How Much Do We Know? An Ethnographic-Historical Study in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Border Region" by Volha Bartash, gives us an insight into how specific family-like bonds affected the opportunities Romani people had during the Holocaust: Romani families who worked for farmers often built trust-based relationships with their employers and asked them to godparent their children in the hope of greater access to opportunities in the future. These extensions of family relations made it easier for many to go into hiding when the deportations began, even if most did not avoid such a fate. The make-up of families before the war had a direct impact on the chances persecuted people had.

Chapter 9 tells the story of a young Jewish woman escaping Germany in 1937, who then helps her brother and parents join her in England over the next two years, and her attempts to help other relatives or friends escape Nazi Germany. Beyond providing a new understanding or analysis of the family, Joachim Schlör in "I Could Never Forget What They'd Done to My Father. The Absence and Presence of Holocaust Memory in a Family's Letter Collection" rather uses the family, and in particular the letters exchanged by its members, as mediums to understand how global history becomes family history, or how spaces and individual identities are mutually constructive. One member of the family, who had been criticized for having too many acquaintances, travels to another country fleeing the danger of deportation and the death camps, and her number of friends becomes an asset in saving others from death. More and more friends and distant relatives turn to her and ask for help. The article, via many stories of unsuccessful escape attempts by relatives and friends, also reminds us, that successful migration (then and today) cannot be separated from loss and is always a family drama. Not only in making the decision, that one family member leaves the rest behind becoming a traitor in the eyes of many, the uncertainty of reunification, or the fear and reality of not being able to save more relatives and friends, but in that it changes those families forever, who become detached from the land they had called home for generations and generations, which had been part of their identity.

These chapters, about families in the Holocaust and its aftermath, encourage us to reconsider the very definition of family, the role of the extended family, and what "family life" means. How we view it adapts to particular circumstances, changes as a result of decisions made by those in power rather than by its members; and how the very make-up of the family, the roles within it, may be utilized in order to survive.

Family as a means of survival and resistance

Besides thinking about the fluidity of the concept of the family, the book allows us to look at case-studies of family histories, during and after the Holocaust, as a set of strategies for access to food, hiding, and migration opportunities. Existing family structures were sometimes advantageous for one's survival but, in other cases, being forced to live together made it even harder to endure the hardships.

"Separation and Divorce in the Łódź and Warsaw Ghettos" by Michal Unger and Dalia Ofer's "Narrating Daily Family Life in Ghettos under Nazi Occupation. Concepts and Dilemmas" reveal stories of keeping families together at all costs, whether divorce or separation to different ghettos in Europe. We learn that there were spouses, separated before the war, forced to live together again in the ghetto, whole families, 8–10 people in one single room, or numerous families in a single flat. Conflicts over food emerged, men became frustrated by losing their roles as breadwinners, which occasionally even escalated into the murder of their wives. Both articles analyse the sources and the nature of conflicts within families living in the ghettos, but they also reveal certain survival strategies: some families stayed together in spite of their long-distance relationships before the war, because sharing food was more efficient than living on individual food stamps; parents separated from their children in the hope of saving their lives; and, where both parents were unable to work, children becoming breadwinners, securing the survival of the whole family. Sometimes, only separation and filing for divorce were able to secure the physical and mental survival of individuals. In terms of resistance, there were families who stayed together despite their wrecked relationships and tried to create a homely atmosphere in order to mimic normality as a way of coping with the terrible situation and precarity.

Robin Judd writes about the hardships of obtaining permission for marriages between British, American, and Canadian soldiers and European, mostly Jewish women right after the end of the war in 'For Your Benefit Military Marriage Policies, European Jewish War Brides, and the Centrality of Family, 1944–1950,' and we may wish he had done it in the form of a TV mini-series instead of an academic article. Through the personal stories of couples, we learn what administration hardships lay before military-civilian couples, and what ideological, stereotype-based assumptions allowed for policies which often removed the chance of married life for these mixed couples. Although we do not get a lot of information either about the motivation of the soldiers or the women, or about the future of those who did manage to get married, it is clear that besides love and affection, the prospect of escaping Europe might have made these marriages desirable for women who had lost their families or who were widowed during the war. It was a chance for them to build a new life, far away from the sites of horrors and memories.

In "Return to Normality? The Struggle of Sinti and Roma Survivors to Rebuild a Life in Post-war Germany," Anja Reuss argues against the importance of building and re-building the family of Roma and Sinti after the war as a cultural peculiarity, asserting that establishing new relationships and caring for children was a type of self-assurance and also gave survivors a chance to build their individual identities. Because Roma and Sinti did not have international religious or political organizations providing aid for them and, even after returning from the camps, faced with antigypsyism, their only source of support was the family, the concept of which had shifted to an extended community in the face of all the losses. Having children (or taking care of orphans within the family) was a way of returning to normality and escaping solitude. This was extremely problematic for women who had been sterilized in the camps or had been through the process earlier so as to avoid deportation. They often had to be estranged, excluded even, from their communities, unless they could take care of orphaned children from their immediate or extended families.

Helena Sadílkova presents a critical reading of Romani people's experiences before, during, and after the war in Czechoslovakia as she places the emphasis on the agency and active decision-making of Roma, in

relation to migration, rather than portraying them as passive sufferers of events, more generally the case in research based on official papers and policies produced by non-Roma. In "The Post-war Migration of Romani Families from Slovakia to the Bohemian Lands. A Complex Legacy of War and Genocide in Czechoslovakia," she argues that looking at decisions about moving elsewhere, as direct consequences of the conditions and situations of Romani families and communities before and during the war, helps us understand that migration was an active way for them to secure a better life. Emphasizing the responsibilities of the non-Roma all through the article, she states that moving to Czech territories from Slovakia en masse was an escape route for Romani families out of antigypsyist local conditions, and also an economic decision securing their upward mobility, a way of actively resisting the place local society had carved out for them.

Each family history is unique and very general patterns in their strategies are impossible to detect, not only because of the lack of sufficient data, but because of the very diversity of said strategies. Romani and Jewish families have actively re-constructed their understandings about the family in order to secure their survival or a better future for themselves.

New knowledge about Roma during and after the Second World War and today

Reading the book as a Romani civil society practitioner, a crucial aspect of the four articles provided me with knowledge which I think I can utilize in my work and activism. This was the general lack of reflection on what we know about our past, and how we interpret it for different purposes. Very often, as Romani activists or academics, we tend to take the knowledge presented to us by *gadje* about our culture and history for granted. We internalize it and base our international identities on these, often misrepresented, fragments. Articles such as the one by Volha Bartash tell us about the diversity of social status and interethnic relationships of different Romani communities before the war, and that we should nuance our perception about, and construction of, our relationship to the majority population and to our ancestors. We are extremely diverse, as are the forms of antigypsyism we have endured.

In her analysis entitled "The Romani Family before and during the Holocaust – How Much Do We Know? An Ethnographic-Historical Study in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Border Region", Bartash differentiates between nomadic and (semi-) sedentary Roma in terms of lifestyles during the interwar period. After describing how the family was constructed differently in the two types of Romani communities, and how their relationship with the majority population varied depending on the life they lead, Bartash outlines how these factors may have played a role in the attempts families could make, and decided to make, in order for them and their loved ones to survive the horrors of the Nazi regime. She argues that nomadic, traveling groups had fewer close relationships with the non-Roma; however, they were part of the local economies. Interethnic marriages were also rarer, and these couples generally lived on the outskirts of populated areas, even though most of them did look for dwellings (renting rooms or service buildings from peasants) in the towns and villages when winter came. Because sedentary Roma lived within the majority society and even had formalized ties with non-Roma through marriages or godparenting, they had wider networks, more supporters, and opportunities to migrate elsewhere and 'pass as non-Roma' or be hidden by them. Every assertion in the article is backed up by testimonies from descendants of Romani people who experienced the horrors and whose stories were passed down in the forms of stories,

or by Jewish witnesses. Via these testimonies we can follow the lives of different Romani families and consider how differently we would understand what it means to be Roma today if a multitude of stories from before, and right after, the Second World War, had not been lost but written down or kept alive by the "Romani mail".

"The Postwar Migration of Romani Families from Slovakia to the Bohemian Lands. A Complex Legacy of War and Genocide in Czechoslovakia" by Helena Sadílková and Anja Reuss led me to a similar conclusion, that is, if we rely only on policy documents and research written by, and from the perspective of, non-Romani scholars, our identities and present-day struggles will be defined by them. Therefore, research done by Roma, as well as a critical, self-reflective approach by non-Romani researchers are crucial, and we must question what we think we know about our history and the agency we, the Roma, had.

Natalia Molina, Ramon Gutiérrez, and Daniel HoSang, eds. 2019. *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Book review by

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With worldwide outcry against racism and white supremacy now an everyday reality, it seems timely to have a new innovative collection that explores the racial and historical formations which influenced our current social and racial inequality. The edited volume *Relational Racial Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice* establishes a new way of thinking about present and past racial formations. Renowned scholars of race, immigration, and American Studies, Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and Ramón Gutiérrez refine ongoing discussions within the fields of History, American Studies, Sociology, and Anthropology to create a definitive volume regarding the history of racial formations and racial projects in the United States. However, the methods outlined in the book can easily be utilized in the European context, especially regarding the situation of many Romani communities across Europe. This is especially relevant as new migration and conflict in Europe have reinvigorated discourses around nationalism, race, and mobility which affects Roma and those deemed "others" in the European imaginary.

Building on the classic *Racial Formations in the United States* by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, the contributors to this new volume shows the messiness and tensions around race in everyday life. For the editors, "Race is not legible or significant outside of a relational context. From this perspective, race does not define the characteristics of a person; instead, it is better understood as the space and connections between people that structure and regulate their association" (Natalia Molina et al. 2019, 6–7). This framework provides a way for scholars working today to decenter whiteness and binary constructions of race about whiteness. At the same time, it is also a method that relies less on a singular focus of individual racial groups and more on their encounters with one another.

Starting with a roundtable discussion, the first section of the volume theorizes race relationally across the various regions of the United States. Chapter 1 takes a conversational tone with a transcription of a discussion from 2016, where scholars Lipsitz, Sanchez, and LytleHernández discuss the state of the field and the necessity of going beyond their areas of expertise to explore racial formations. Chapter 2 features scholar Natalia Molina re-examining Chicano/a history through a relational lens. Chapter 3 builds on Molina's method, with scholar Alyosha Goldstein's analysis of racial and colonial dispossession of property and wealth, drawing on the shared histories of settler colonialism and slavery in the United States, to show how reparation politics become enmeshed in ideologies of colonialism, whiteness, and property rights.

The second section of the volume builds on the theoretical insights of the first section and highlights the political potential for relational research. Chapter 4 begins with scholar Roderick Ferguson's examination of antiracist formations across the twentieth century. Ferguson finds that, by utilizing a relational framework, nationalism can be set within larger intersectional and global struggles for racial equality, highlighting the "genealogical" approach of the activists using history as a tool to highlight their emancipatory struggles (Natalia Molina et al. 2019, 94). Chapter 5 further highlights the power of historical overlap and convergence between racialized peoples with Steven Salaita's analysis of the political struggle of Palestinians and American Indians. Chapter 6 makes similar comparisons between African Americans and American Indian historiographies, with historian Tiya Miles's essay "Uncle Tom Was an Indian: Tracing the Red in Black Slavery." Mills examines how Indian and African American experiences with slavery have overlapped, diverged, and been retold. Finally, Chapter 7 focuses on the connection between African American slavery and immigrant rights activism, exploring what Saidya Hartman has called the "afterlife of slavery" in the discourse of immigration.

The third section of the piece focuses on the historical framework for relational racial formations foregrounding the events and forces which shape racial categories over time. Catherine Ramirez's chapter focuses on the Carlisle Indian School and the existence of Puerto Rican students at an "Indian" school, where Puerto Ricans attempted to align themselves with American Indians and be "assimilated" to avoid their colonial status. Chapter 9 explores the racialization of Japanese Americans in the Southern United States during the Second World War and their attempts to become "Hawaiian" to navigate the Jim Crow system and distance themselves from the anti-Japanese sentiment. Perla Guerrero focuses on Vietnamese refugees and Mexican immigrants in Arkansas, and Raoul Lievano analyzes the urban space of Stockton, California.

In the final section of the volume, the chapters deal with the policies which are informed by relational frameworks and explore how groups negotiate their power relationships and utilize race strategically. Laura Enriquez largely examines the tension within the category of "undocumented" on college campuses. Michaël Rodriguez-Muniz meanwhile illuminates the tensions between racial groups when discussing the redistribution of resources and shows how groups often use relational logic in advocating for equity. Finally, Julie Lee Merseth focuses on the emergence and negotiation of a new racial category of Arab and Muslim post-9/11, utilizing the discourses of the period which explicitly compared African Americans and Asian Americans to Arabs and Muslims.

All in all, the volume is an expansive look at the many ways in which race operates in the United States; each section is rich with detail and the authors painstakingly attempt to show that race is not as simple as a binary argument between whiteness and Blackness. Nonetheless, some of the material falls a bit short, with incomplete data or lacking historical specificity and comparativeness. For instance, Chapter 8's comparison of the Carlisle Indian School and Puerto Ricans fails to mention the Americanization campaigns, occurring simultaneously in urban spaces like New York City, which targeted similar populations. This added data would have shown how Puerto Ricans in Carlisle and other places also negotiated their status as non-whites in a world beyond the Native and Black framing. Likewise, studying urban spaces such as Stockton risks making an argument that is too specific to a particular Californian history, defined by settler colonial genocide as much as it is managed by property distribution and legal means. However, much of the material is still notable and useful as a methodology for future studies on race and ethnicity in the twenty-first century.

The utility of such an examination of relational racial formations in the European context is twofold. One is the method of foregrounding relationships between groups and privileging space instead of individual racial categories. Two is decentering the binary construction of race, even in the European context with "Europeans" versus "non-Europeans" or more recently "Immigrants" versus "Natives" and focusing more on the complicated histories of racial formations in Europe which intersect with ideas of nationalism, racism, and citizenship. For Romani Studies, this is especially useful as, often, the works tend to narrowly focus on "Roma" and less on the relationships between Roma and other racial categories in the same space. At the same time, even with more focus on antigypsyism, race remains a marginal category of analysis in Romani studies with much literature instead focusing on access and discrimination (Aidan McGarry 2017; Angéla Kóczé 2018; Huub van Baar 2018; Huub van Baar et al. 2019). With European countries diversifying rapidly and the limits of multiculturalism being tested,

now is the time to expand Romani Studies to explore the historical and social construction of racial categories relationally.

Roma were never simply racialized in a vacuum but were constructed in part through their relationship with others deemed "non-European". However, literature still privileges the divide between *gazhe* (non-Roma) and Roma, instead of the connection between Roma and other groups sharing similar social statuses. Here is an opportunity to answer the call that the volume provokes and explore those histories and relationships deeper and fuller. A recent work that points us in that direction is Giovanni Picker's 2017 book *Racial Cities: Governance and the Segregation of Romani People in Urban Europe*, where he explores how Roma occupy urban spaces and racial categories noting the particular positions that they fill within the racial order, while highlighting how Roma also act upon that order. At the same time Picker also explores how other racialized populations negotiate their status relationally to Romani populations. By privileging the idea of space and development Picker manages to dissolve some of the hardened conventions within Romani Studies and exposes how city planners and officials engaged with relational logic in their development plans and spaces.

Another recent work which uses the experience of Roma in a comparative, and at times, relational way is Minayo Nasiali's 2016 book *Native to the Republic: Empire, Social Citizenship, and Everyday Life in Marseille since 1945*. Nasiali's approach focuses on community reformers, politicians, and social scientists in postwar France and their ideas about urban space, citizenship rights, and race. Here, Roma appear alongside colonial subjects of the Empire as "foreigners" in their own right and are racialized as such through ideas of citizenship, fitness, and poverty. In doing such an analysis Nasiali manages to focus less on the oppression of the Roma on the part of the state but on how the spaces of Marseille were encounter points between racialized peoples and where racial projects were shot through with ideas of postwar development, French nationalism, and whiteness. Picker's and Nasiali's works, while from different disciplines and utilizing different methods to some extent, both show how the method of relational formations of race can be used to explore the realities of Romani people in Europe today. We can hope that future studies will embrace relational racial theory as a means to tell new histories of racial formations in Europe.

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Futures Past Means *Tajsa*
Review of an Artwork by Krzysztof Gil

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The notion that Romani genocide victims belong to an ever-growing number of past, present, and future victims of antigypsyism is an inherent part of many artworks by Romani artists, Krzysztof Gil's[1] subversive piece being one of them.

Tajsa. Yesterday and Tomorrow (2018) is a painting (semi-rotunda) displayed within a makeshift abode on a campsite (Weychert-Waluszko 2016). The installation was first exhibited at the Galeria Henryk in Kraków for a solo show entitled *Welcome to the Country Where the Gypsy Has Been Hunted* (2018).[2] Wojciech Szymański writes:

> Made of random pieces of wood and other materials, the cubic shack resembles in shape, dimension and execution the traditional, poor and temporary houses built by Roma people marginalised by law and society. Yet, by using the paradigmatic form of the white cube gallery, he creates a situation within a situation for viewers. On entering, the installation turns out to be a self-contained exposition space with a darkened interior, seemingly a dialectic antithesis of the gallery space (Szymańsk 2018).

The space is almost completely enveloped in darkness. Delicate spotlights allow the eyes to adapt. At first, only the soft ground under the feet can be felt and faint sound can be heard. The form, which refers to nineteenth-century painted panoramas, evokes the sense of being within a situation. Drawn with delicate white lines (vanishing here and there, merging with the black), the depicted scene of a hunt reveals itself only gradually, as the eyes of the viewer become accustomed to the surrounding darkness. At the centre, facing the entrance, trophies are laid out. Phantom characters have been taken from historical paintings, and one can easily identify famous works of art: figures from Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, Irene bending over the body of Saint Sebastian from Georges de la Tour's painting, or seventeenth-century still lives of slain animals. This 'appropriation art' plays a key role. Viewers are willingly seduced by elegant drawing, puzzles hidden within the work – all this refers to the 'visible', to the common universe of European culture. However, barely visible, is the victim of a *Heidenjacht* (Gypsy hunt), a corpse whose limbs are entangled with carcasses of animals, in a central position in the composition. It is hardly noticeable for want of interpretational tools at our disposal. We are only able to see what we have acquired in an educational process – elements of the dominant culture – and not what is being shown to us: a *Heidenjachten*. Under the bulb illuminating the space, a magical Romani object

1 Krzysztof Gil was born in 1987 in Kraków, Poland, and grew up in Nowy Targ. A Hans Guggenheim grant allowed him to attend the Józef Kluza Secondary Art School in Kraków, from which he graduated with distinction in painting and visual advertising. Since 2008, he has been co-running the art group Romani Art. Between 2008 and 2013, he studied sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts, Kraków, obtaining his diploma in lithography under Piotr Panasiewicz, PhD, and in drawing under Joanna Kaiser, PhD. In 2018, he received his PhD from the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków. Gil is a lecturer at the Chair of Painting, Drawing and Sculpture, Faculty of Art, Pedagogical University, Kraków. He has been awarded a grant by *Porozumienie bez Barier,* Fundacja Jolanty Kwaśniewskiej, and, thrice, by the Polish Minister of Interior and Administration. He is actively involved in combating discrimination and social exclusion and is a member of the international association ternYpe.

2 The title of the exhibition refers to a contemporary photograph found online, depicting an inscription on a wall in a Polish town. The inscription was photographed, described as a 'hate couplet', and uploaded onto social media by the writer Łukasz Orbitowski (location: Ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki Street, Skorogoszcz, 27 April 2018).

appears, a tiny 'hairy cross', or *truszuł bałenca, made of bees' wax blackened with soot and covered with human hair, presaging death and symbolising the grave.* 'Magical' objects of this kind like the *bengoro* and *kokało bałenca* were used in games played with representatives of the majority nations – their role was to cause fear and scare off attackers (eRom 2018). In his comment on the work, Gil points out the weakness of such resistance and the fragility of a weapon made of wax, meant to protect Roma trying to avoid bullets from the firearms of aristocrats:

> An excerpt from a eighteenth-century German hunting chronicle […] serves as the point of departure […]: "The trophies included a superb deer, five roes, three sizeable boars, nine smaller boars, two Gypsies, one Gypsy woman and one Gypsy child." […] In the 18th century, German and Dutch laws did not punish those who killed a Roma. Gypsy hunting became a pastime. […] Hunting trips were seen as public entertainment, and this continued until the 19th century. […] The title of the installation – *Tajsa. Yesterday and Tomorrow* – implies that Roma hunting did not end in the 19th century, and its consequences affect their fate till this very day. […] In the Bergitka dialect, the word *tajsa* stands for both the immediate past and what is going to happen. There is no word for 'tomorrow'. *Tajsa* signifies the past and the future, and the speaker's intention is interpreted in that context. To me, the term, freed from any context, became a metaphor of a time in which the past and the future happen simultaneously (Różyc 2018).

It is worth pointing out that the figure of a hunter, chasing people, is found in many of Gil's works, including two pieces: *Rat-Rat-Night-Blood* (2013) and a mural commemorating the Romani Genocide painted on the gable wall of a tenement at 42 Męcińska Street in the Grochów district of Warsaw and not unveiled until 2014. The subject matter of the work is not only *Heidenjachten* but also the terror in which Roma have been living over the centuries. Gil writes: "This is not the kind of fear that makes you numb and anxious, this is another kind of fear, one that is always there, one that is so natural that you stop noticing it" (Gil 2018). Homi K. Bhabha described it as a muscular tension in the body; it was also referred to by Fanon: "The symbols of social order (…) are at one and the same inhibitory and stimulating: they do not convey the message 'Don't dare to budge'; rather, they cry out 'Get ready to attack'" (2004, 89).

A counterpoint to the visual aspect of *Tajsa. Yesterday and Tomorrow* is provided by the recording of an interview with the artist's grandmother in which she relates the story of her father's death, murdered presumably by Poles, his Polish neighbours, soon after the war:

> Dad was lying by the riverbank, on his belly, without his shirt, his face in shallow water, his bicycle and violin case close by … My grandfather asked Zygmunt (…) who was passing by, to help him turn dad round. Mum and I came closer and felt utter despair… there was a hole in dad's head. I took the sand out of dad's mouth… Grandfather made a cart. They placed him on the cart, he was covered in blood. He was still bleeding from his head. They brought dad inside. No signs on his body. He had no shirt on, they must have taken it off him. We checked him for bruises. Nothing. Just one hole in his head. Blood kept flowing from this hole. Grown-ups went out to look for help. We, kids, were left home alone, looking at dad lying there, dead… The windows were low. I saw a man watching us and then… Militia came,

> even a prosecutor and doctors. There was nothing we could do when they said it'd been an accident. (…) The word was out that a Gypsy had been killed. A mate of my grandfather's told him about three drunken men boasting in the inn that they'd killed a Gypsy. He knew their names, we knew them, they lived nearby, but no-one would believe us … Oh God, it's difficult to talk about that ... when we took dad to the cemetery, everybody came out of their houses. And they laughed. All laughed. They laughed at us ... it was horrible, horrible... (Gil 2019).

In an essay accompanying the exhibition, Gil shares his own recollections, including one of a pogrom he witnessed at his grandma's:

> Late 1990s. (…) A group of nationalists announced an attack on the estate. We had three days to prepare. In grandad's cellar, the elders were fabricating weapons of whatever was at hand: planks and nails. They told us kids to stay in aunt's flat, on the fourth floor, far from gas and flying stones. My brother and I went downstairs and saw mothers and grandmothers by the windows. They were holding pots and salt [the only weapons they had – M.W.]. […] I will never forget (Gil 2018).

Tajsa has another meaning too, akin to the politics of affect, or, according to Brian Massumi – futures past. A past future is a vision of the future which – as the facts demonstrate – has never come true, but it still constitutes an integral component of the present-day, performing important functions in the economies of affect. In this regard, the phenomenon of past futures can be analysed in two different, though related, ways: on the one hand, it is part of our memory of the past; on the other, however, visions of past futures affect the present and, as such, are connected with current, rather than past, politics of affect. In consequence, the phenomenon constitutes an omitted or barely noticed sector of research on memory and affects.

In Gil's case, the play on meanings is very subtle: it indicates the mechanisms of perception linked with blanks in official history, making it impossible for the audience to 'see' some of the represented content and, as a result, highlights the mechanisms of rendering long-standing violence and its hidden consequences that render invisible contemporary *antiziganism*. The Romani Genocide continues.

All images: Krzysztof Gil, *Tajsa. Yesterday and Tomorrow*, 2018; documentation of the installation, the artist's archive, courtesy of Krzysztof Gil.

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