CONSTRUCTING OR REPOSITIONING ROMA IN POST-SOCIALIST SLOVENIA AND CROATIA?

By

Julija Sardelić

Submitted to

Central European University

Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Internal supervisor: Professor Júlia Szalai

External Supervisor: Professor Will Kymlicka

Budapest, Hungary

2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take a minute before I hand in this thesis to thank those, who followed me on my path this and helped me to get this far.

First of all, I would like to thank my two advisors Professor Júlia Szalai and Professor Will Kymlicka, who offered me more than complete guidance throughout the writing process of my thesis.

My deepest gratitude goes to Atilla Szabo, who did not only offered me love, support and understanding throughout my studies, but was also was always there to help me, when my paper needed editing.

I would also like to thank the Nationalism Studies Program faculty and staff for giving me an opportunity to study here in Budapest. This was definitely one of the most unforgettable experiences in my life. Mostly because of my classmates, who made it that way. I would like to thank Nora, Eszter, Anja, Daniela, Emin, Alex, Tamás and all others, who made my days brighter here in Budapest. Special thanks goes to Karolis, who was always here, if I needed the help with bags full of books and other school related problems, when they got too difficult and too heavy.

I would like to thank Miro and Dijana for all the help they offered me, while we were conducting several researches in the Roma community of Orehovica together. And all the members of the Roma community in Orehovica, who cooperated in my research. I would also like to thank my friends from Roma Academic Club for their support.

Finally, I would like to thank my family back home, who was always cheering for me when I needed it the most. This goes to my closest family Sardelić as well as my extended family in Kamenci. Withouth them I would not be here today.

To my mom,

my endless inspiration

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I aimed to unravel some not yet fully addressed issues relating to how Roma were constructed as *the Other* through different historical processes. I decided to research this topic in socialist Yugoslavia and its two successor states of Slovenia and Croatia. The two countries have been selected deliberately. As shown at the beginning of the analysis, most studies on the position of Roma under Socialism and after its collapse tended to omit in-depth research on these two countries due to several different reasons. Unfortunately, there is a lack of resources that could show how the position of Roma was constructed in Croatia. Furthermore, resources that were available about Roma in Yugoslavia, in many instances, contradicted each other. Prior to the research, I formed a hypothesis that I wanted to confirm in my thesis. The hypothesis runs as follows: *Roma were not constructed as the Other in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia, but were only repositioned in accordance with new hegemonic ideologies, while the process of Othering was fueled by cognitive schemes that had already been present in socialist Yugoslavia.* My basic argument is that Roma did not become a marginalized and discriminated group after the transition period, but rather that marginalization and discrimination were constructed based on some approaches taken towards Roma in the socialist period. Since every minority has a multilayered position in society, I have taken different approaches to discuss my argument. Firstly, I analyzed the legal framework of Roma minority protection. Secondly, I conducted a research of media discourse on Roma. Finally, I performed a case study in two Roma communities: the Roma settlement of Kamenci in Slovenia and the Roma community in Orehovica in Croatia. On the basis of all three research patterns, I came to the conclusion, namely that Yugoslavia did not avoid applying the differentialist treatment of Roma, which resulted in the employment of cultural racism. Although slight differences appeared in the treatment of Roma in the post-socialist period, the basic underlying approach towards Roma remained the same.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

In his famous essay *Multiculturalism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism*, Slavoj Žižek[1] argues that all ideologies that are somehow derived from the notion of multiculturalism are inseparable from the production modes of capitalism as perceived in the global era. On this basis, he continues arguing that different politics connected to multiculturalism are, in reality, just a subtle subversion of a certain form of racism, which, in Marxist terms, reifies what it positions as the Other.[2] The differentialist approach introduced by multiculturalism(s), according to Žižek, is a new form of essentializing the approach employed in order to designate *the Other* into an inferior position: "Multiculturalism is a disavowed, inverted, self-referential form of racism, a 'racism with distance' […]. [T]he multiculturalist respect for the Other's specificity is the very form of asserting one's own superiority."[3] From Žižek's perspective, it can be derived that a genuine problem of racism, which is targeting especially the inferior groups, cannot be resolved by an act of (multicultural) recognition, but by a change in the society as a whole, i.e. the macro-change in modes of production or the economic system.[4]

Although we can acknowledge certain points of Žižek's critique to be acceptable, it is questionable whether there is an inherent and necessary connection between multiculturalism as an inverted form of cultural racism and contemporary (multinational) capitalism. Furthermore, it is also questionable whether there can be only one understanding of

[1] Slavoj Žižek , "Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multicultural Capitalism," *New Left Review* I, 225 (Sept. – Oct. 1997): 44.
[2] Ibid., 225: 44.
[3] Ibid., 225: 44.
[4] Ibid., 225: 46.

multiculturalism, as suggested by Žižek. In his book *Multicultural Odysseys* (2007)[5], Will Kymlicka argues that Žižek only gives an analysis of what is popularly named as *Benetton multiculturalism*, concluding: "There is nothing in the logic of multinational capitalism that requires (or precludes) multiculturalism. In countries where social movement multiculturalism has achieved some success, corporate elites can seek to make money from it by marketing commodified forms of cultural difference as a consumer good. Where social movement multiculturalism is failing, corporate elites can happily distance themselves from it, as they traditionally have done."[6] In Kymlicka's view, multinational capitalism can be as easily connected to other ideologies produced by different social movements, and also to more conservative ideologies.[7]

In his essay, Žižek does not give a detailed description of why, in his view, an alternative economic system does not refer to multiculturalism and hence abolishes the question of the new form of cultural racism. However, Tariq Modood argues that such considerations, which are connected to the essentialization of the Other in the form of cultural racism, have to be put under further empirical investigation to reveal the process of its construction.[8]

In this paper, I will examine in detail whether an alternative economic system in comparison with capitalism did in fact abolish all forms of racism and other power relation structures without in any way referring to different ideologies of multiculturalism. I will argue that a certain alternative economic system in a specific historical and spatial constellation did both *de iure* and *de facto* use a reference to multicultural terminology and did not avoid hierarchization between different 'ethnic' and 'national' categories, which, consequently,

[5] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[6] Ibid., 131-132.
[7] Ibid., 131-132.
[8] Tariq Madood, "Anti-Essentialism, Multiculturalism, and the 'Recognition' of Religious Groups," in *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, ed. Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 180.

produced various forms of visible cultural racism in some cases. Furthermore, I will show whether (and, consequently, how) *The Other* is produced throughout two different historical constellations that are especially characterized by two different modes of production, i.e. socialism and capitalism. In more concrete terms, I will consider the construction of the position of Roma in two post-socialist countries (Slovenia and Croatia) that have more or less successfully undergone the post-socialist transition and built their nation-state mostly on the ideology of ethnic nationalism and the integration of some forms of what can be perceived as multicultural politics (in the form of certain minority protection). In addition, a comparative and contrastive analysis will show in what way their position has changed and then compare it to the one they had in socialist Yugoslavia.

According to many different studies, Roma have been constructed as the inferior and marginalized *Other* after the collapse of socialist systems since their position deteriorated rapidly.[9] Other authors (such as Will Guy) agree with such a position and argue that Roma ended up as losers in the transitional period due to the rise of (majority) ethnic nationalisms and anti-Roma sentiments.[10] Many authors have argued that Roma had a better position in the socialist period due to efforts of communist parties to include Roma into the wider society, especially through employment, as argued by Gábor Kertesi.[11] However, Kertesi[12] and other scholars, such as Michael Stewart[13] and Júlia Szalai[14], argued that it is problematic to

[9] See for example: Dena Ringold, *Roma and the Transition in Central Europe: Trends and Challenges* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000).
[10] Will Guy, "Romani identity and post-Communist policy," in *Between the Past and the Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001).
[11] Gábor Kertesi, "The Employment of the Roma – Evidence from Hungary" (working paper, Budapest Working Papers No. 1, Institute of Economics, HAS – Department of Human Resources, Corvinus Univeristy, Budapest, 2004), 45.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Michael Stewart, "Communist Roma policy 1945-1989 as seen through the Hungarian case," in *Between the Past and the Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001).

understand the treatment of Roma as a social group and policies of forced assimilation as a benevolent approach.

As was shown by many researchers, in most socialist countries Roma were treated as a social group that needed to be integrated (which was only a manifest word for a latent content of assimilation). The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) took a different approach by giving more space for Roma to develop their cultural autonomy.[15] However, I will argue in this paper that the approach the SFRY emloyed towards Roma was not unified over space and time. In more concrete terms, there was no overall consensus in the SFRY on how Roma should be perceived (as a social or ethnic group or even as a national minority), which also resulted in a very divergent treatment of Roma in SFRY successor states. Most of the literature on the overall position of Roma in the SFRY[16] only schematically describes how Roma were treated in the two socialist republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Namely, it is argued that the population of Roma in those two countries was the lowest among all socialist republics.[17] Although this observation might be correct, Roma are the largest minority (or, at least, one of the largest minorities) in some regions, such as Međimurje in Croatia and Prekmurje in Slovenia,[18] which forms a solid ground for further investigation.

---

[14] Júlia Szalai, "Conflicting Struggles for Recognition: Clashing Interests of Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Hungary," in *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*, ed. Barbara Hobson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[15] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 122.

[16] See for example: Tatomir Vukanovich, *Romi (Tsigani) u Jugoslaviji* (Vrane: Nova Jugoslavija, 1983).

[17] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 266.

[18] Nenad Pokos, "Demographic Analysis of Roma on the Basis of Statistical Data," in *How Do Croatian Roma Live*, ed. Maja Štambuk (Zagreb: Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, 2005), 39.

Alenka Janko Spreizer, *Vedel sem, da sem Cigan – rodil sem se kot Rom: znanstevni rasizem v raiskovanju Romov* (Ljubljana: Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, 2002), 311.

The research question, which will be investigated in this thesis, is: Why and in what way were Roma positioned as *the Other* in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia? I will study this question from a historical perspective. On the basis of this approach, I will argue that Roma did not become the most marginalized group after the transition, but their present position was formed through different processes that predate the transition period. Therefore, my main hypothesis in this paper is the following: *Roma were not constructed as the Other in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia, but were only re-positioned in accordance with new hegemonic ideologies that applied some of the similar approaches that were already precedent historical constellations (i.e. as in the SFRY).*

In order to test this hypothesis, I will analyze whether Roma were subjected to a differentialist treatment sometimes resulting in cultural racism, as defined by Paul Gilroy[19]and later by Étienne Balibar. [20]

To get a more thorough overview of the position of Roma, this cannot be analyzed from a single perspective, but has to be perceived as multilayered. Following the position of Michel Foucault, we have to analyze both the present and past positions of Roma as being constructed as a dynamic and interchangeable result of relations of power, which produces the basis for the categorization of knowledge. Furthermore, anthropologist Fredrik Barth[21] argued in his book that ethnicity cannot be perceived in an essentialized way and in isolation (as anthropologists have described Roma). [22] In this paper, I will follow these two perspectives, since I will analyze the position of Roma from a multilayered perspective and try to ascertain

[19] Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
[20] Étienne Balibar, "Is there a Neo-Racism?," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 17-29.
[21] Fredrik Barth, introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ed. Fredrik Barth (London: Alvin, 1969), 10.
[22] Alenka Janko Spreizer, *Vedel sem, da sem Cigan*, 260

how the relations between minority and majority are significant in constructing a minority position.

The first layer of this research that I considered to be one of the most important in framing the minority position is the legal approach taken to minority. The analysis of the legal approach will show, how Roma were treated as a category of legal protection. I will analyze the kind of legal approach the SFRY took towards Roma as a whole and then focus on different socialist republics, especially Slovenia and Croatia. In the next step I will investigate how this approach changes (or stayed the same) after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and ascertain key features that affected policy makers in constructing these approaches in the post socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia.

While analysis of the legal approach shows how Roma were categorize *de iure* through legal document, the next two chapters will reveal what kind of position Roma have in the society d*e facto.* These two chapters are fully connected to the first part of analysis since they indicate, how the *de iure* position is actually formed by *de facto* processes of relation of powers from the Foucauldian perspective[23] and not simply through enlightened moments of epiphany.

Secondly, I will analyze how Roma were portrayed in national and regional (majority) newspapers over a chosen period of time both in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia. Since several major newspapers did in the past, and still do, mostly represent the voice of majority representatives (through the voice of journalists who identified themselves with this majority), as argued by critical discourse analyst Teun A. Van Dijk.[24] Furthermore, I will apply Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's notion of *epistemic violence,*[25] the practice according to which *the*

[23] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972 – 1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980).
[24] Teun A. van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), 241.
[25] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988).

Other is being constituted. While Spivak applied her theory to the analysis of the colonial subject, I will show that a similar notion can be employed in the analysis of Roma, who are not positioned as *the Other* from the colonial perspective. However, their positioning carries many resemblances. On the one hand, I will analyze the dynamics of the positioning of Roma as the Other both in the SFRY and in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia. Furthermore, I will investigate whether this positioning indicated a differentialist treatment towards Roma, which resulted in cultural racism. In addition, I will also pay attention to whether Roma were given a certain space in the media to challenge such understandings.

Furthermore, although Roma can be understood as inferior in the Foucaultian dynamics of power relations, it is simply overhasty to conclude that they are nothing more than passive observers in these processes and do not reflect and challenge the understandings of their present and past positions. Therefore, the largest chapter this thesis will be dedicated to how Roma perceive their own position in selected historical processes. This chapter will be a presentation of a case study research conducted in two Roma communities: the Roma settlement of Kamenci in Slovenia and the Roma community in the municipality of Orehovica in Croatia. Since it is not possible to acquire an entire overview of all Roma in the two selected countries, these two Roma communities have been chosen as a representative sample. Also, they are both located in the region of Prekmurje and its neighboring (but cross-border) Međimurje in Croatia. As I will discuss in this chapter, the position of these two communities can be described by some other features that make up for a fertile ground of comparative and contrastive analysis, but also for a reflection of the formation process of Roma as a minority through different historical constellations. While doing field research, I conducted several field interviews with different members of the community in order to get their perspective on whether a differentialist treatment and cultural racism have been present. I gathered statements on how members of these two communities understand their ethnicity, their past

and present positions as well as statements on employment, education and discrimination. While interviewing, I tried to avoid focusing on voices of those who are recognized as community representatives. Thus, I tried to include the largest possible variety of voices from members belonging to different age groups, gender, status in the community etc. Using this technique, I tried to avoid unifying the minority voice and, consequently, took into account Nira Yuval Davis' critique of minority representation[26].

On the basis of this analysis, I will show that both the SFRY and its successor states did, in certain instances, employ a differentialist approach and cultural racism towards Roma, which resulted in constructing Roma as *the Other*. In all instances, I will argue that this is nevertheless not only a feature of the post-socialist period, but was present in the SFRY as well.

[26] Nira Yuval Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997), 57.

2. RETHINKING POSITION OF ROMA BEFORE AND AFTER POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

2.1. Roma in the socialist period

The Roma minority has been chosen for this analysis due to the fact that both in socialist and capitalist systems their characteristic framing of their position has been specific and unique in comparison with other (mostly kin-state) minorities, since Roma are left without a reference point of their own nation state and can be considered as a minority "par excellence". As Kymlicka states, "[t]he Roma are unlike immigrants or national minorities, since their 'homeland' is both everywhere and nowhere."[27] According to Will Guy, the position of Roma in Europe can be described as follows: "The estimated five million Roma of Central and Eastern Europe still represent the overwhelming bulk of the continent's largest and most excluded minority. They are present in every country yet remain on the margins of society without a nation state to defend them as they suffer the sharp pain of racist assaults and the more grinding pressures of material deprivation and daily humiliation."[28]

The question that arises in this section is: How did Roma historically end up being overrepresented on the margins of society? In *Between Past and Future:The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe* (2001), edited by Will Guy, different authors give a detailed description of the kinds of position Roma enjoyed under socialist state regimes. According to Will Guy, there is a general agreement among these different authors about communist policies towards Roma. Most authors indeed argue that although Roma ethnic identity and its recognition were

[27] Will Kymlicka, "Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe," in *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?,"* ed. Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74.
[28] Will Guy, Introduction to *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), xiv.

generally oppressed, socialist states with their assimilationist policies, paradoxically, put efforts into 'including' Roma into wider society[29]. According to Guy, most socialist countries took a position that "the dominant aspects of Romani identity were not ethnic, as is generally believed, but social, and that this social identity derived from the subordinate position of Roma as workers in the wider economy."[30] Similarly as Will Guy, Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov argue that "[t]he general aim of Communist policy was to make Gypsies equal citizens of their countries but successful equalization was understood to mean the complete assimilation of Gypsies, so that they would swiftly vanish as a distinct community."[31]Lech Mróz has presented similar research findings[32] for socialist Poland, Will Guy[33] for socialist Czechoslovakia, László Fosztó and Marian-Viorel Anăstăsoaie for Romania, Marushuakova and Popov for Bulgaria[34] and Tracy Koci for Albania[35].

In his article (but even more so in his book *The Time of the Gypsies*[36]), *Communist Roma Policies 1945-1989 as seen through Hungarian Case*[37], Michael Stewart describes various policies that were employed to deal with the position of Roma in Hungary during the above-mentioned period. He argues that in Hungary, as well as in other countries with similar

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 8.
[31] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, "Historical and ethnographic background: Gypsies, Roma, Sinti," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 47.
[32] Will Guy, "The Czech lands and Slovakia: another false dawn?," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 285-332.
[33] László Fosztó and Marian-Viorel Anăstăsoaie, "Romania: representations, public policies and political projects," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 285-332.
[34] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, "Bulgaria: ethnic diversity – a common struggle for equality," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 370-388.
[35]Tracy Koci, "Albania: awakening from a long sleep," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 351-369
[36] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).
[37].Michael Stewart, "Communisty Roma policy."

regimes, policies towards Roma have been oriented in that way to address them not in terms of ethnicity, but in terms of 'social', which de facto meant that those policies were taking a highly assimilationist approach. This approach was manifestly taken in order to 'integrate' Roma into the society as proletariat. However, it would fail in the long run, since what was promoted as integration was no other than forces assimilation..[38] Another sociological research study based mostly on quantitative data analysis shows how socialist policies were very 'successful', especially when considering the number of Roma employment and their (forced) 'inclusion' into the society as a labor force. It is the study entitled *The Employment of Roma – Evidence from Hungary* (2004) conducted by Gábor Kertesi that proves that before the collapse of the socialist regime in Hungary, most Roma had been employed and there had been no significant differences between the employment rate of Hungarians and Roma. However, this difference increased rapidly shortly after the collapse of socialist Hungary. According to Kertesi[39], the high rate of unemployment among Roma in Hungary appeared due to the fact that many factories that had formerly employed Roma closed down due to new demands of a different economic system.

However, the second reason that most Roma faced the destiny of unemployment cannot be derived directly from the new economical constellations, but from the fact that most Roma were unskilled and uneducated workers, whereas the new economic system gave priority to skilled and educated workers. Kertesi therefore argues that although actors that were tailoring the socialist policies did in fact strive to include Roma on several levels, they did not consider the quality of such an 'integration' or, more precisely, forced assimilation. A similar argument has been presented by Júlia Szalai (2003) in her article *Clashing Interest of Gender and Ethnicity*:

[38] Ibid. 77.
[39] Gabor Kertesi, "The Employment of the Roma," 45.

"Now that Roma were *inside* the system, the same expectations and rules came to apply to them as to everyone else. In order that these rules could be implemented, it was necessary to configure ideologies: *race-based social exclusion* became, without any particular warning, classified as *disadvantageous social situation,* and "Gypsy policy" became "Social policy". Bearing in mind that socialism did not recognize communal rights – and particularly the most important ones, namely, minority rights – this could not have happened otherwise. The system's own logic necessitated a procedure for molding socialist citizenship that rested upon political subjugation, and the only possible route to this was the forced assimilation of Roma, framed in the terms of social policy. To surmount their "disadvantages", it was necessary to integrate them into those institutions in which everyone else was integrated: that is, in compulsory education, council-estate living, the socialist health care system, and the state-run administration of child protection. Naturally, the services intended for "them" were a little "different", generally lower in quality, but nevertheless they were part of the same institutional system – and this was what mattered." [40]

In addition, Júlia Szalai also argues that although all of these different measures of assimilation towards Roma took place in socialist Hungary, they did not abolish poverty that targeted Roma in particular. However, as it can be derived from the above quotation, great efforts of tabooization have been employed to mask the link between ethnicity and poverty. Furthermore, if one takes that into consideration, one can also question whether assimilation policies were in fact designated to integrate Roma into the allegedly neutral socialist citizenship or whether, perhaps, it was their hidden motivation to assimilate Roma into a majority (ethnic) group. Furthermore, in the above-mentioned essay, Michael Stewart argues against the belief of most scholars from 'western' countries that Roma were somehow 'better off' in the communist period: "Many believe that because their position has worsened since 1989, Communism was for them 'a good thing'. In reality this is no more true for them than the other poor of Eastern Europe. Indeed, crucial aspects of official policy towards Gypsies have left a damaging legacy of forty years of social mistreatment," [41]

Although most socialist countries did have a clear attempt to forcedly assimilate Roma into the majority society, this attempt was specific from country to country and mainly rooted in history that predated the socialist period, as argued by Marushiakova and Popov:

"Tradition inherited from an earlier period resulted in subtle nuances in the policy of 'enforced assimilation' in each region and subsequently affected the present-day status of Roma in these countries. In the countries of former Austro-Hungary, Gypsies were regarded first and foremost as a social problem and state policy assumed

[40] Júlia Szalai, "Conficting Struggles for Recognition," 197.
[41] Michael Stewart, "Communist Roma policy," 86.

mainly paternalistic nature, while in other countries Gypsy-related problems were seen as primarily ethnic in character, with an added touch of religion." [42]

The implication of such considerations brings us to major and general topics, such as whether we can undoubtedly say that socialist policies did indeed try to abolish all forms of ethnic nationalism, which supposedly returned after the fall of the iron curtain. One of the most important scholars opposing this view, seen as one of the *Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism* (that is also the title of his article), is Rogers Brubaker. Brubaker's observation about such a fundamentally mistaken view is relevant for our further discussion about the position of Roma in Yugoslavia: "Obviously, communist regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union did repress nationalism. But the "return of the oppressed view" mistakes the manner in which they did so. It suggests that these regimes repressed not only nationalism but nationhood; that they were not only *antinationalist,* but also *antinational.* […] The regime repressed *nationalism*, of course; but at the same time, it went further than any other state before or since in institutionalizing territorial *nationhood* and *ethnic nationality* as fundamental social categories. In doing so, it inadvertently created a political field supremely conducive to nationalism."[43]

Brubaker's consideration can easily be proven as correct if we consider the case of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Although in Yugoslavia, especially after the split with the Soviet Union in 1948, different politicians were emphasizing its antinationalist rudiments as one of the most important parts of anti-fascist partisan ideologies, which was considered to be the Yugoslavian main driving force, it did not avoid the employment of ethnic nationality as one of the building blocks of its system. This is also the reason why most scholars, David Crowe being among them, distinguish the position of Roma

[42] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, "Historical and ethnographic background," 47.
[43] Rogers Brubaker, *National Self-Determination and Secession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16.

in Yugoslavia from other socialistically driven state systems.[44] Although in the 1950s, Crowe argues, similar social experimentation going into the direction of assimilation of Roma took place, a debate about Roma soon afterwards shifted towards what some would perceive as the recognition of Roma as a specific ethnic group. Zoltán Barany even argues that Yugoslavia was more ahead in granting minority rights to Roma than many post-socialist countries: "For instance, the minority policies of a liberal, like Yugoslavia in the 1970s, might actually be very similar to or even more progressive than that of a conservative democratizing a state like the Czech Republic.[45] Furthermore, Zoltán Barany categorizes the Yugoslav approach towards Roma as *Constructive interference*: "The cornerstone of Yugoslav nationality and minority policy was to establish and, if necessary, enforce ethnic harmony in the multinational state. […]. In contrast to other East European States, the government and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) clearly preferred integration to assimilation. In general, the Roma enjoyed a more secure social status and benefited from a more tolerant state, particularly in the last decade of Tito's rule, than anywhere else in Eastern Europe."[46] According to Barany, Yugoslavia can be viewed as a country with exemplary treatment towards Roma in comparison with other socialist states.[47] As Donald Kendrick argues, it was believed that Tito even made a promise to the Yugoslav Roma, who were very actively involved in the partisan movement, that they would be able get a state of their own as a part of federal Yugoslavia. This alleged 'promise' never came to a realization.[48] However, Kendrick states that the political participation of Roma in Yugoslavia was the highest among all socialist states. There were approximately 2000 Roma in the Yugoslavian league of communists. Although Yugoslavia was a single party system, it allowed and even encouraged

[44] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies,* 224.
[45] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 24.
[46] Ibid., 122.
[47] Ibid., 116.
[48] Ibid. 122.

Roma to develop Roma cultural organizations on ethnic grounds.[49] In addition, it is a very important fact that at the first Romani Congress in 1971 in London, a Roma poet from Belgrade, Slobodan Berberski, was elected the first president of the International Roma Union. Two follow-up presidents (Balić, Djurić) were also from Yugoslavia.[50]

However, the conclusion that Yugoslavia was some kind of a Roma paradise in comparison to other state-socialism regimes, is still overhasty. If we analyze the position of Roma in Yugoslavia more thoroughly, we can make at least two conclusions. Firstly, with different constitutions of socialist republics in Yugoslavia, different policies took place in different areas of Yugoslavia, e.g. full cultural autonomy in Macedonia and policies of territorial segregation.[51] Secondly, although Roma were (at least to a certain extent) considered as an ethnic group in Yugoslavia (which largely contributed to their cultural development) and granted equal rights, especially by the so-called Kardeljian Constitution of SFRY, which came to power in 1974[52], they could still be perceived as second-class citizens. A complex federal system of Yugoslavia was based on a hierarchization of rights giving highest level of rights to its six constitutive nations, but also recognizing nationalities (Hungarian and Albanian minority). The last set of groups in this hierarchy consisted of other nationalities and ethnic groups, such as Jews and Roma.[53] According to both Barany and Crowe, a debate in the 1970s emerged in Yugoslavia about whether Roma should be granted a status of nationality. Although this suggestion was seen as a possible positive development in the integration of Roma, only the socialist republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro recognized Roma as a nationality in their republic constitutions. The remaining republics

[49] Donald Kendrick, "Former Yugoslavia: a patchwork of destinies," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Will Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), 406.
[50] Ibid., 406.
[51] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 123.
[52] Ibid., 122.
[53] Ibid., 116.

sustained the previous classification.[54] In my thesis, I will depart from this point to examine whether such a hierarchized categorization, which can to a certain extent be perceived as multicultural, employed an approach of cultural racism towards Roma. I will especially focus on the position of Roma in the socialist republics of Croatia and Slovenia, since most of the literature that discussed the overall position of Roma in Yugoslavia barely reflected on their position in these two socialist republics[55]. I have decided to analyze in depth the position of Roma in these two countries because most ethnographic (Vukanovich) and historical research studies (Crowe, Kendrick) did not particularly dwell on it. The most common reasoning for that was that the position of Roma was far more intriguing in other parts of Yugoslavia, such as Macedonia and Serbia, where Roma were far more numerous, while, according to the population census in 1971, there were only 977 Roma in Slovenia and 1257 in Croatia.[56] Of course, for many different reasons these figures were misleading, since, according to Crowe, it was estimated that Roma population in Yugoslavia presented a larger portion of citizens in Yugoslavia. The second reason why, perhaps, the significance of the position of Roma in Yugoslavia was downplayed lies in the very divergent approaches taken by different Yugoslavian socialist republics. While in Macedonia and Serbia Roma enjoyed cultural autonomy, Roma in Slovenia and Croatia did not enjoy similar rights. Therefore, it was not in accordance with a general description of Yugoslavia, which supposedly took the most benevolent politics towards Roma.[57]

[54] Ibid., 116.
[55] Although Tatomir Vukanovich presents a very large ethnographic monograph on the position of Roma in Yugoslavia, he adresses position of Roma in Slovenia and Croatia only in two paragraphs.
[56] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*,226
[57] Judith Latham, "Roma of the Former Yugoslavia," *Nationalities Papers* 27, no.2 (1999): 205 -226.

2.2. Rethinking the Position of Roma as a Minority after the Collapse of Socialist Regimes with Special Reference to Independent Slovenia and Croatia

As many different studies have concluded, the position of Roma in the period of democratic and capitalist transitions has profoundly changed to the worse in terms of their social exclusion and increasing level of poverty. In accordance with these and many other studies, Roma have been positioned not only as inferior, but also as an ultimate *Other* in states where ethnic nationalism of the dominant ethnic group was reaching its peak after gaining independence or being partitioned from larger (state) structures. Will Guy describes the impact of the communist collapse on Roma as follows: "The initial promise of democratic freedoms and the satisfaction of long-awaited recognition of their ethnic identity soon turned sour. Instead, they were exposed – to the ruthless logic of fledging market economy in which they were made redundant, to the moral vacuum of the legal interregnum in which they were left defenseless against an upsurge of murderous racism and to democratically-elected governments which were uninterested in a constituency without electoral power." [58] Similarly, in the World Bank report on the position of Roma in Eastern Europe, Dena Ringold and many others argue: "While living conditions have deteriorated for many across the region, perhaps no single ethnic group has been so consistently excluded from the opportunities brought about by the transition than the Roma"[59]

When it comes to the implementation of some normative standards of multicultural protection, Roma have been proven to be one of the *hard cases* in the region of Eastern and Central Europe, according to Will Kymlicka.[60] One of the reasons for such an ambiguous position of Roma was prescribed by Kymlicka to the fact that there were no adequate western

[58] Will Guy, introducton, xv.
[59] Dena Ringold, *Roma and the Transition*, 1.
[60] Will Kymlicka, "Western Political Theory," 73.

models developed for the protection of Roma minority.[61] Leading sociologist, who is dealing with the position of Roma in Western Europe, Jean Pierre Liégeois would agree with such a conclusion.[62] However, this can, according to both Liegeois[63] and Kymlicka[64], be perceived as quite paradoxical, since there are at least 2 million Roma in old European Union member states living in similar harsh conditions as the Roma in the Eastern and Central Europe. Perhaps we can speculate that the failure of "western" policy makers to produce adequate norms for Roma minority protection also produced a "fear" of inability to deal with potential new Roma migrants from Eastern Europe once the borders there opened. According to Kymlicka, the reason why the European Union introduced very strict rules on improving the position of Roma as an accession criterion to candidate countries was not solely from genuine humanitarian considerations, but due to reasons mentioned above.[65] In post-socialist countries two major approaches have been developed for granting rights to the Roma. One was the "civil-rights oriented approach", the other is the "ethnocultural oriented approach."[66]

In my thesis, I will consider the construction of the position of Roma in two post-socialist countries, i.e. Slovenia and Croatia. These two countries more or less successfully underwent the post-socialist transition and built their nation-state mostly on the ideology of ethnic nationalism and the integration of some forms of what can be perceived as multicultural politics (in the form of certain minority protection). The main contemporary difference between the two chosen countries is that one of them (Slovenia) has been a member of the European Union for several years, while Croatia is a candidate country. It is still an open question debated by the international community whether Croatia's democratic standards

[61] Ibid., 75.
[62] Jean-Pierre Liégois, *Roma in Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2007), 27.
[63] Ibid., 27.
[64] Will Kymlicka, "Western Political Theory," 220.
[65] Ibid., 220.
[66] Ibid., 220.

(also for minority protection) are high enough.[67] According to the population census of 2002 in Slovenia, 3246 citizens identified themselves as being Roma. However, according to estimates of different NGOs and governmental offices, there are as many as 15,000 Roma living in Slovenia.[68] In the Croatian population census of 2001, 9463 people identified themselves as Roma. Again, according to many different sources, it is estimated that among 30,000 and 40,000 Roma live in Croatia. However, they decided not to identify themselves as Roma.[69]

Slovenia has frequently been portrayed as a success story considering its democratic transition. Will Kymlicka (2007) agrees with this description and categorizes Slovenia as a state that has easily shifted to a liberal democratic regime taking into account the protection of its ethnic minorities[70]. According to the first paragraph of Article 3 of the Constitution of Slovenia, all of its citizens enjoy the same rights despite the fact that the state was formed on the basis of self-determination of a Slovenian [ethnic] nation[71]. The Constitution recognizes special rights for the Hungarian and Italian national minorities in Slovenia in Article 64. In Article 65, it gives acknowledgement to the existence of the Romani community in Slovenia, but it does not give any constitutionally recognized minority rights.

[67] At the moment, only Croatia is under supervision to monitor whether its policies comply with the standards of minority protection. It must not in any sense be taken for granted that Slovenia is automatically in compliance with high standards of minority protection.

[68] "Roma Community," Office for National Minorities of the Republic of Slovenia, http://www.uvn.gov.si/en/minorities/roma_community/, accessed on April 27, 2011.

[69] "Nacionalni Program za Rome" Government of the Republic of Croatia, http://www.umrh.hr/Nacionalni%20program%20za%20Rome.pdf, accessed on April 27, 2011.

[70] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*, 174.

[71] The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia paraphrased and cited from the following source: http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=351&docid=25&showdoc=1

On the basis of such an understanding of citizenship in the Constitution of Slovenia, sociologist Gorazd Kovačič[72] argues that Slovenia was formed as a state on the basis of an open type of ethnic nationalism. As seen in the constitution, although the primacy is given to the Slovenian [ethnic] nation and its right to self-determination, the Slovenian state is perceived as an equal union among all of its citizens regardless of their ethnic origin. However, Kovačič[73] argues that, in reality, the predisposition for the formation of the Slovenian state was rather an illiberal one that gave a primacy of rights to the Slovenian [ethnic] nation as a collective rather than to individuals that lived on its territory [74].

On the basis of the above paragraph, it cannot be simply concluded that the debate about the position of Roma in the newly established state of Slovenia was simply omitted. On the contrary, Roma were also a subject of discussion at least in different circles of social sciences. One of the first books discussing the position of Roma in Slovenia from different perspectives was published in September 1991 and edited by Vera Klopčič[75]. What was very indicative in this publication was the approach according to which Roma were not only subjected to discussion by 'Roma experts', but were also given a space to express their own opinions concerning how they wanted to be treated in the newly established Slovenian state. Both Rajko Šajnovič and Vlado Rozman were not satisfied with Roma being simply defined as an

[72] Gorazd Kovačič, "Zagate z nacijo," in *Nacionalizem* by Anthony D. Smith (Ljubljana: Krtina, 2005).
[73] Ibid., 226.
[74] Prior to his election in 2004, former Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša stated the following in a newspaper interview: »Slovenia is a state of Slovenian [ethnic] nation that has formed this state and invited all others, who were living in this area, to join the community of equal citizens […]. However, the Slovenian [ethnic] nation has remained the most integral part of the state because Slovenians have only one kin-state and all other minorities living in Slovenia have their own kin-state protecting them"[74]. Janez Janša is even more explicit about justifying hegemony (in Gramsci's term) of the ethnic majority. In his interview, he points out that the Slovenian ethnic nation is an integral part of state-building and it has the right to invite (but also refuse to invite) all ethnic minorities to join this common project.
[75] Vera Klopčič, ed., *Romi na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 1991).

ethnic group, but demanded to be treated as a national minority. In words of Vlado Rozman: "We want to become sovereign and recognized as a part of the Slovenian state as a national minority."[76] However, due to constellations of power these voices have been ignored until the present day.

Aother ongoing debate on the position of Roma was emerging in the ethnological circle. Ethnographies describing the position of Roma in Slovenia had a long tradition reaching back to the time of Yugoslavia[77]. Different ethnographies were written on the position of Roma by the camp of so-called romologists, such as Pavla Štrukelj and Vanek Šiftar. These ethnological texts are criticized from the point of view of modern social anthropology. Alenka Janko Spreizer argues that such ethnologies are very problematic, since they essentialize Roma and treat them as if they were living isolated from the majority population. Furthermore, Alenka Janko Spreizer criticizes these works, since, according to her analysis, such work does not unmask relations of power, but merely reproduce them. She also argues that these studies have in some instances also proven to take a racist point of view towards Roma[78].

From the year 2000, a large number of studies was devoted to media discourse on Roma in Slovenia. In opposition to previously mentioned ethnological studies, these analyses do not treat Roma as a group in isolation, but actively focus on intergroup dynamics. For example, two studies, i.e. *We about Roma*[79] and *Minorities in Media*[80], show how the Slovenian

[76] Vlado Rozman, "Romi – tisočletja živimo tu in tu bomo tudi ostali" in *Romi na Slovenskem,* ed. Vera Klopčič (Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 1991),135.
[77] Although many of the mentioned ethnographies were published in the time of Yugoslavia, their scope was limited to the discussion of Roma in Slovenia. Furthermore, the reception of these ethnographies was mostly limited to the space of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.
[78] Alenka Janko Spreizer, *Vedel sem, da sem cigan.*
[79] Karmen Erjavec and Sandra B. Hrvatin and Barbara Kelbl *We about the Roma* (Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2000).
[80] Roman Kuhar, "Minorities in Media" in *Media for Citizens,* ed. Brankica Petković (Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2006).

national media are ethnocentrically oriented on the one hand, since they give voice only to the hegemonic majority. On the other hand, they describe how discrimination of Roma and employment of cultural racism are employed through media discourse.

While extensive literature on the position of Roma in Slovenia was written in 1990s, in Croatia there is practically no literature on Roma that would predate the year 2000. Such a lack of resources can, to a certain extent, be understood. Roma were not a part of a major discussion in the 1990s, since their minority nationalism did not pose a threat to Croatian security and stability. Croatia at that time had to deal with issues of violent ethnic nationalism.[81] of the largest Serbian minority, especially in Krajina. However, some international literature does mention that Roma claimed for a status of national minority in 1991.[82]

The position of Roma became a topic when Croatia started negotiations to joining the European Union. For example, one such study was written by Maja Štambuk[83] and her colleagues in 1995. This study included data that was collected on the basis of quantitative survey in Roma settlements. However, Alenka Janko Spreizer would also criticize such an approach, since it also treats Roma as a community living in (self-isolation)[84]. Some studies have been devoted to questions of segregation in education and intersectional discrimination of Romany women in Croatia (Bogdanić).[85] Croatia has been a member of the Roma decade and has implemented the National Program on the Roma. It has also shown certain efforts for the commemoration of Roma victims of the Jasenovac concentration camp. Most of the

[81] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odisseys,* 207.
[82] Hugh Poulton, *The Balkans: minorities and states in conflict* (London: Minority Rights Publication, 1991), 90.
[83] Maja Štambuk, ed., *How do Croatian Roma live.*
[84] Alenka Janko Spreizer, *Vedel sem, da sem Cigan*.
[85] Ana Bogdanić, "Multikulturalno građanstvo i Romkinje u Hrvatskoj" *Migracijske I etničke teme* 20, no.4(2004) : 339 -365.

efforts to improve the situation of Roma went hand in hand with the European integration process, where one of the most important points that Croatia had to fulfill in this process was appropriate minority protection (Crowe, 2002: 254). In opposition to Slovenia, where Roma have been perceived as the Balkan *Other*, Croatia, while being a candidate country to the European Union, is trying to prove its sufficiency of European standards with special attention to Roma. However, in this process Croatia has been frequently put under investigation and recognized to have failed to abide under the strict standards of anti-discrimination policies and minority protection. In this sense, most attention has been given to the decision of the European Court of Human Rights concerning the case *Oršuš and Others vs. Croatia.* Croatia was guilty of segregation of Romani school children in separate classes according to language and hence guilty of cultural racism towards the children in question[86]. In comparison to Slovenia, there were practically no studies in Croatia that would analyze the portrayal of Roma in the media.

By describing the position of Roma in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia, it seems that cultural racism did in fact arise in the post-transition period. However, in opposition to the views that the position of Roma has deteriorated with the collapse of socialism, I will try to examine the indicators most relevant for labeling this as deterioration (e.g. access to the labor market, no discrimination on ethnic grounds, media representation, minority's self-perception etc.). Furthermore, I will question whether such a huge gap was produced by a coherent comparison or by the fact that the position of Roma had not been sufficiently addressed in socialism due to certain mechanisms of tabooization (Szalai). I will also try to show that although the contemporary position of Roma in Slovenia, and even more in Croatia, is being under constant investigation, it does not necessarily mean that

[86] "Europe's Highest Court Rules Roma School Segregation by Language Illegal," European Roma Rights Center, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3569

discrimination of Roma and the employment of cultural racism towards them was not present in previous constellations.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1. Understanding Cultural Racism

As indicated in the introduction, in this paper I will not describe the position of Roma in an essentialist manner of pre-Barthian anthropology. Rather, I will discuss how Roma are being constructed within a relation to hegemonic majority, which d*e facto* indicates a relation of power, as argued by Foucault.[87] I will especially focus on whether these power relations were marked by epistemic violence in construction of the Other, as argued by Spivak[88], and whether they employed approaches of cultural racism. In order to start an analysis, which focuses on the construction of the Other with approaches of cultural racism, we first have to define what this term signifies and the nature of the theoretical background that we use for its definition.

Throughout the 20th century there have been many definitions given of race and racism. One of the most powerful definitions of race in social sciences was presented by Paul Gilroy in his book *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack* (1987): "'Race' must be retained as an analytic category not because it corresponds to any biological or epistemological absolutes, but because it refers investigation to the power that collective identities acquire by means of their roots in tradition."[89] A similar conclusion about the definition of race was made by Thomas

[87] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowlege.*
[88] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak , "Can Subaltern speak?".
[89] Paul Gilroy, *There ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, 247.

H. Eriksen, who concluded that "race exists only as a cultural construct"[90] and it does not rely on biological reality.

From Gilroy and Eriksen's definition we can derive the kind of relation that cultural or new racism represent, as formulated by philosopher Ettiene Balibar. Balibar follows Anderson's argumentation on imagined communities and concludes that although all (national) communities are imagined, "only imaginary communities are real."[91]. According to Balibar, there is a strong connection between racism and nationalism, although it seems that one ideology is universalistic and the other particularistic. Balibar understands racism as a tool for the reproduction of one's own community.[92] Furthermore, Balibar argues (similarly to Gilroy's understanding of race) that contemporary racism cannot be understood in terms of biology, but it is in a sense a racism without races, and can be named cultural racism or differentialist racism, since it is based on reification and essentializing cultural difference: "[I]t is racism, whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural difference, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of a certain group but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions."[93] According to Balibar, such cultural racism tends to present culture as uniform and unchangeable in order to make division between different communities more transparent[94]. Although such considerations on cultural racism have to be acknowledged, it is also important to mark that it is questionable whether we can a priori mark all perceptions of difference as ethnocentric or even racist. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (2005) argue that

[90] Thomas H. Eriksen, "Ethnicity Race, Class and Nation," in ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 29.
[91] Étienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 17-29.
[92] Étienne Balibar, "Is there a Neo-Racism?," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 21.
[93] Ibid. 21.
[94] Ibid. 25.

ethnocentrism, i.e. a perception from the point of view of one's own culture, is not necessarily also racist. According to Shohat and Stam, the mere perceiving of difference cannot by itself be understood as racist, but "what is racist is the stigmatizing of difference in order to justify unfair advantage or the abuse of power, whether this advantage or abuse be economic, political, cultural or psychological. Although people of all groups can entertain racist opinions – there is no genetic immunity to racism – not every group enjoys the power to practice racism; that is to translate racial attitude into social oppression.[95] Furthermore, Stam and Shohat perceive as racist approaches (especially focusing on the media) that use the following strategies: "(1) *Positing of lack*: that is, the projection of the racially stigmatized as deficient in terms of European norms, as lacking in order, intelligence, sexual modesty, material civilization, even history. […] Racism also involves (2) *the mania for hierarchy*, for ranking not only peoples […], but also artifacts of cultural practices (farming over nomadism, brick over thatch, melody over percussion).[96] Finaly, Teun van Dijk, whose approach to critical discourse analysis we will employ in the analysis of media, equates contemporary racism with ethnicism that he defines as "a system of ethnic group dominance, based on cultural criteria of categorization, differentiation, and exclusion, such as those of language, religion, customs, or worldview [97]. Stigmatized cultural difference that divides and categorizes people to "WE" and "THEY" and ensures domination of "WE", are, according to Van Dijk (similarly as Stam and Shohat), the most important generators of what he perceives as racism.[98].

Such an understanding of cultural racism will be followed throughout the thesis , where I will firstly analyze how Roma were represented through media discourse and whether cultural racism was employed in this representation. As I predict, the analysis will show that media

[95] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 2005), 23.
[96] Ibid., 23.
[97] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite Discoure and racism,* 5.
[98] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Discoure, Racism and Ideology* (La Laguna: RCEI Ediciones, 1996), 17.

discourse is, in both analyzed periods, mostly in the domain of majority group and mostly represents the voice of majority, while minority voices are being marginalized. However, that is the reason why the most extensive chapter of this thesis will be dedicated to *voices within* of the self-referential discourse of members of the Roma communities in Kamenci and Orehovica. I will focus on how they perceive their ethnicity as being constructed, on the one hand. On the other hand, I will investigate whether they perceive the present and past treatments towards them in a sense of cultural racism. The first chapter will however be dedicated to the analysis of the legal approach, which can be perceived as a synthesis of relations of power as described in next chapters, which will more in detail reveal this through analysis. Although all these sections are interconnected, they need an application of different methodological approaches, which will be described in the following section.

3.2. Methodological Approaches

3.2.1. Methodology for the Analysis of the Legal Approach

As the legal approach towards minorities can be perceived as a synthesis of the relations of power between a minority and a majority, I will especially be considering what weight the minority voice had in creating legal norms that define their position. Furthermore, following Kymlicka's argumentation, I will analyze whether a certain legal approach has taken the path of specialized, i.e. *targeted,* approach towards minority protection or a more generic one.[99] I will also analyze whether the targeted approach towards Roma addressed the claims and needs of the Roma minority and whether it avoided hierarchization among the rights of different minorities. Although the legal approach, in fact, employs some categorization, it does not necessarily mean that it employs a differentialist approach in the sense of cultural racism. This is to be confirmed or disputed through the analysis.

[99] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys, 217-231.*

3.2.2. Critical Discoure Analysis – A Sociocognitive Approach to the Media

For the analysis of media discourse on the Roma minority in former Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia, I selected the perspective offered by *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth CDA) or Van Dijk's *Socio-cognitive approach* to CDA as it was presented in two of his books: *Elite Discourse* (1993) and *Racism and Discourse, Racism and Ideology* (1996). According to Van Dijk, we cannot understand it simply as a method, but rather as a *critical perspective*.[100] Fairclough and Wodak argue that CDA belongs to the academic sphere, but it neither hides under a mask as an objective social study nor addresses in its engagement social inequalities.[101] There are certain predispositions that are common to all divisions in CDA, according to Fairclough and Wodak. Firstly, they all consider the works of Foucault, Althusser and the Frankfurt School as their theoretical foundations. Secondly, they all address social problems, understand relations of power as discoursive, and argue on the connection of discourse with society and culture. Also, they understand discourse as historical. Furthermore, the main characteristic of CDA is that it is interpretative and represents social action.[102]

To be more specific, the socio-cognitive approach to CDA has been selected for various reasons. Firstly, due to the importance that it gives to the study of contemporary racism in the media: "When power over the most influential form of public discourse, that is, media discourse, is combined with a lack of alternative sources, when there is a near consensus, and opponents and dissident groups are weak, then the media are able to abuse such power and establish the discoursive and cognitive hegemony that is necessary for the reproduction of the

[100] Teun Van Dijk, "Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, e.d. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2009), 62.
[101] Norman Fairclouch and Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis" in Teun A. Van Dijk, *Discourse Studies* (London: Sage, 1997), 258-259.
[102] Ibid. 259.

new racism."[103] Furthermore, the socio-cognitive approach focuses both on media production as well as the reception of addressees[104]. The main argument of the socio-cognitive approach is that the research "of racism, sexism or classism need to relate properties of discourse with this underlying, socially shared, representation, which group members use as a resource to talk about (members) of other groups. *Outgroup derogation* and *ingroup celebration* are the social-psychological strategies typically defining this kind of chauvinist discourse."[105] In addition, a very important reason for the choice of the socio-cognitive approach is the fact that practically all media discourse analyses of reporting on the Roma minority have taken this approach.

3.2.3. The Methodological Approach for Constructing a Case Study and Field Interview

For this part of the research, the methodology was constructed in accordance with W. Lawrence Neuman's guide to *Social Research Methods* (2006).[106] Since the main focus of the thesis lies within this part, more elaborate methodology needs to be developed. Firstly, in order to precisely understand the perception of the past and present positions of members of two Romany communities in two politically separated as well as historically and geographically intertwined areas, the *case study* seemed to be the most appropriate form of research. According to Neuman, the definition of a case study is a

> "Research that is depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time. […] In a case study, a researcher may intensively compare two or more cases or compare a limited set of cases, focusing on several factors. Case study

[103] Van Dijk, Elite discourse and racism, 241.
[104] Ibid. 243.
[105] Teun Van Dijk, "Critical discourse Studies", 78.
[106] W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods* (Boston: Pearson 2006).

> uses the logic of *analytic* instead of the enumerative induction. In it, the researcher carefully selects one or a few cases to illustrate an issue and analytically studies it (or them) in details." [107]

My study was affiliated with the premises of the *Chicago School of Sociology*. It also followed its basic principles, which are:

> "1. Study of people in their natural settings, or in situ. 2. Study people by directly interacting with them. 3. Gain understanding of the social world and make theoretical statements based on member's perspective."[108]

In other words, "field researchers directly observe and interact with members in their natural settings to get inside their perspective. They embrace an activist or social constructionist perspective on social life.[109]" On the basis of these foundations, I analyzed two case studies based on the field research.

For every field research it is initially important to approach the site where the research will take place and take into account the g*atekeepers*, who have the power to refuse or allow access to the site.[110] According to the study *How do Croatian Roma Live* (2005), "the Romany way of life is based on the unique (self)-isolation from non-Romani population, which results in distrust towards encroachment into their family and social life".[111]. On the other hand, Michael Stewart sees the self-isolation of the Roma community as a stereotype: "As non-Gypsies we tend to have an idea of the Gypsy social world as being supremely closed to outsiders. In Harangos I initially accepted this stereotypical view".[112] However, in the process of the research, Stewart showed that this closeness was a myth, since for "the Roma the idea of reproduction was not so much rooted in an ideology of descent and

[107] Ibid., 40.
[108] Ibid., 380-381.
[109] Ibid., 381.
[110] Ibid., 381.
[111] Maja Štambuk, *How do Croatian Roma live,* 31.
[112] Michael Steward, *The Time of the Gypsies,* 59.

inheritance of character as in an ideology of nurture and shared social activity."[113] Similarly, at the same site in Orehovica, which was also researched by the above mentioned Croatian researchers, I ascertained that the community was not living in self-isolation, but in fact welcomed contact.

Although field research is usually based on a qualitative approach, the research also included a quantitative survey for gathering basic information on the community as well as the community members' *characteristics* and self-categorization.[114] Research findings will show that many of the questions included in the survey can be considered to have a sensitive nature, therefore researchers have to find ways to avoid the *social desirability bias*[115], for example making the social norm more fluid.[116] For these purposes, our team of researchers introduced other important features to reduce the *social desirability bias*. Firstly, we presented ourselves in a manner that would not make us a perception of threat. Secondly, in accordance with ethic standards of research, we assured complete anonymity of respondents. I gave a similar assurance while conducting qualitative field interview. For these purposes, all names have been changed in the following chapters. In addition, I do not specify the exact age of respondents, but state only their approximate age group. Quantitative data served solely for the purposes of orientation and were not the most important research finding in this study.

The aim of the research was to gather data on the maximum possible percentage of the population in the Roma community. For that aim, we have selected the *purposive* and *theoretical* sampling methods.[117] According to Neuman, *purposive* sampling is used to "get

[113] Ibid,. 59.
[114] W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods,* 273.
[115] Ibid. 285.
[116] Ibid. 285.
[117] Ibid, 220.

all possible cases for particular criteria, using various method."[118], whereas *theoretical* sampling is used in order to "get cases that will reveal features that are theoretically important about a particular topic/setting."[119] In our case, we have decided to interview respondents who recognize themselves as household representatives in two Roma communities. This was also the best possible solution to get as much data as possible on all family members and to determine the actual number of people living there. What we tried to avoid was the *snowball* sampling because we did not want to include only the representatives of the community.

Although quantitative surveys belong to the positivist paradigm of social sciences, quantitative data in this thesis merely serve for the purposes of orientation and are not the most important research findings in the part of this thesis. The positivist approach[120] is also not the major approach used in this study. For the purposes of this study the best approach is interpretative social science, according to which *Verstehen, i.e."empathetic understanding"*[121] is the most important goal of interpretative social science. The basic postulate of this approach is the constructivist orientation, which is "orientation toward social reality that assumes the belief and meaning people create and use fundamentally shape what reality is for them"[122] According to this approach, social meaning is contextual in socially created reality and knowledge is relativistic.[123] This study includes some features of Critical Social Science, whose goal is, according to Bourdieu, "to uncover and demystify ordinary events."[124] It takes Bourdieu's basic predisposition that science is never

[118] Ibid, 220.
[119] Ibid.,220.
[120] Ibid., 81.
[121] Ibid, 86.
[122] Ibid., 89.
[123] Ibid.95.
[124] Ibid., 95.

depoliticized, especially when it comes to the study of inequality and power relations[125]. The research also included the women's perspective and differentiated voices, therefore the feminist approach was also used (Neuman, 2006: 103). Differentiated voices were also important to show that we cannot understand a certain community as a culturally homogeneous unit represented by one collectivized voice. This is also important to avoid an essentialist trap, which is, according to Nira Yuval Davis, that minority cultures are usually portrayed only from the representatives' point of view, while the minorities – within – are being held aside.[126]

The most important part of this research is therefore field interviews with members of two Roma communities in order to see how they socially construct their reality of the present and past. Although the statements given in these interviews are generated from a certain perspective and therefore subjective, they are not any less relevant than the analysis from the first part of the thesis. Here, I take Ivan Szelenyi's presumption, which is as follows:

> "It would be misleading to be however relativistic about memories. While memories about earlier times are selective (and their selectivity is shaped by the social condition and motivations of respondents at the time of data collection), they are created from real 'stuff'. Memories are not lies; they are interpretation or reconstruction of real events." (Szelenyi, 2001: 17)[127]

[125] Ibid., 85.
[126] Nira Yuval Davis, *Gender and Nation,* 57.
[127] Ivan Szelenyi, *Poverty under post-communist capitalism – the effects of ethnicity in a cross national comparison*, Paper presented at workshop "Culture and Poverty", Central European University, November 30 – December 2, 2001.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE LEGAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE ROMA COMMUNITY

4.1. Yugoslavia: unified federal policy towards Roma or dispersed approaches across the socialist republics?

Following the argument of Zoltan Barany from his book *The East European Gypsies*, Tito's Yugoslavia was the most 'generous' of the socialist states towards the Roma, considering the scope of their minority rights[128] and possibilities of their cultural organization under the communist regime. According to Barany, those socialist countries that tended to be more liberal (e.g. Yugoslavia, Hungary) had better minority policies towards Roma as well as encouraged the development of Roma culture.[129] However, as both Michael Stewart and Júlia Szalai claim, the politics and the legislations towards the Roma in Hungary tended to be more assimilationist. According to Barany, Yugoslavia took the approach of *Constructive Interference*, which was based on recognizing the Roma as an ethnic group and, subsequently, even as a national minority.[130] However, some analyses do not agree with the designation of Yugoslavia as having been a Roma paradise. In her paper *Roma of Former Yugoslavia*, Judith Latham presents an interview with several Romani activists, who originated from former Yugoslavia. She argues that Yugoslavia was merely a place "where Roma could survive".[131] According to Latham's informers, "Yugoslavia had a much better reputation where the Roma

[128] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 105.
[129] Ibid., 146.
[130] Ibid., 116.
[131] Judith Latham, "Roma of Former Yugoslavia", 207.

are concerned than it deserves."[132] In this chapter I will examine the legal (and, consequently, the political) framework for Roma minority protection in former Yugoslavia[133].

According to Mark Mazover, "Tito's regime had been based upon a highly elaborate system of official national groups, and even created several 'new' ones. […] Yugoslavia was one of the last countries where the old Habsburg distinction between "nation" and "nationalities" was preserved."[134] As Tibor Várady argues, since the First World War Yugoslavia has tended to avoid the usage of the term minority, since it had a negatively charged meaning of subordination[135]. Várady states that the distinction between *nations (narodi)* and *nationalities (narodnosti)* was the following: "A terminological distinction was made between nations (narodi) and nationalities (narodnosti). 'Nations' were the Slavic nations founding the Yugoslav (South Slav) state, which included Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Moslem. The other ethnic groups, Slavic and non-Slavic alike, were called "nationalities". According to a frequently used and stressed criterion, 'nationalities' were those ethnic groups that had a state outside of Yugoslavia – such as Albanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians or Italians – while 'nations' had Yugoslavia as their only form of statehood."[136] However, this distinction, Várady writes, already had some flaws, since it provided terms for hierarchization among rights. Várady mentions in the footnote, for example, that Roma and Ruthenians did not have any other 'state of their own' where they would form a majority. However, that was not a reason to consider them as a 'nation' in

[132] Ibid., 207
[133] When I discuss the legislation system in Yugoslavia, I mean the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). If not stated otherwise the term Yugoslavia in this paper always refers to SFRY.
[134] Mark Mazover , *The Balkans* (New York: Random House, 2002).
[135] Tibor Várady, "Minorities, Majorities, Law and Ethnicity: Reflection of the Yugoslav Case," *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol.19. no. 1 (1997), 10.
[136] Ibid., 10.

Yugoslavia[137]. In reality, Yugoslavian legislative system was mainly based on tri-folded system of ethnic hierarchization: constitutive nations with the constitutionally granted right to self-determination, nationalities with instances of territorial and cultural autonomy and last on this ladder were ethnic groups with limited scope of cultural autonomy.[138] Roma were in most cases perceived as non-territorial ethnic group, which resulted in minimization of the collective rights (in comparison with those who were recognized as nations and nationalities[139]), where they had any.

Following the most important legal document, such as the text of constitution, we cannot uniformly say that throughout the period of Tito's Yugoslavia (from the Second World War to the collapse in 1991) Roma were recognized and protected as an ethnic or minority group. The constitution of 1946 modeled after the Soviet constitution of 1936 did in some articles include the guarantee of "the right to and protection of their own cultural development and the free use of their language"[140] to the national minorities. This constitution also included the emphasis "that all citizens of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia are equal before the law and enjoy equal rights regardless of nationality, race and creed"[141]. Although Roma were not mentioned in this constitution, Crowe, Barany and Kendrick state that Tito had a brief consideration (that was even publicly announced) to give Roma an autonomous region in Macedonia, since they had been one of the most devoted members to the partisan anti-fascist

[137] Ibid., 10
[138] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 122.
[139] However, it is rightly by different authors, that in most other socialist countries Roma did not have any collective rights since they were perceived as a social group that needs to be assimilased. Although Roma in some contexts and areas of Yugoslavia did eventually acquire ethnic group and nationality status, it is overhasty to conclude that their overall position was better.
[140] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 222.
[141] Ibid., 222.

front in the Second World War. [142] Although Tito's mythical promise never materialized, it de facto did have an effect of cultural development of Roma minority in Yugoslavia, particularly considering Macedonia, as both Crowe and Barany argue[143].

However, after the breakup with the Stalinist Soviet regime, there was a period in the 1950s when the Fundamental Law was incorporated into Yugoslavia, which tried to de-emphasize ethnic differences. Hence, the policies that were employed towards the Roma were going more in the direction of assimilation. The result of such policies, according to Crowe, was that while most Roma identified the Romani language as their mother tongue in the 1961 population census, they did not identify themselves as Roma by ethnic affiliation[144].

Assimilationist policies changed in the 1970s[145]. The newly reformed constitution of SFRY of 1974 (popularly called Kardeljan constitution) gave more autonomy and the right to self-determination to the constitutive nations.[146] On the other hand, this constitution pronounced all nationalities as equal, although the Roma were not particularly mentioned[147]. However, even before the famous SFRY constitution of 1974, Roma were recognized as an ethnic group in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in 1971. Although this did not give them the same rights as it did to Turkish or Albanian nationalities in SR Macedonia, due to the status of 'ethnic group" they gained a very important set of cultural rights, such as usage of their national flag, the right to publications in the Romani language, and media broadcast[148]. There are several interpretations of why Macedonia adopted such a discourse in its constitution of

[142] Ibid., 222. Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 122. Donald Kendrick, "Former Yugoslavia," 409.
[143] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 222. Zoltan Barany,*The East European Gypsies*, 122.
[144] This can also be confirmed by the census in the SR Slovenia, where only several hundred people identified themselves as Roma in the population census of 1961 (Komac, 2005: 521)
[145] David M. Crowe, A History of the Gypsies, 226.
[146] Miran Komac, *Priseljenci* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 2007), 38.
[147] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 116.
[148] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 226.

1971, while other republics did not. One interpretation is connected to the fact that the first Romani World Congress was held in 1971. However, another interpretation goes toward a different direction. According to Poulton's work *"Who are the Macedonians"* (1995), Roma were recognized as an ethnic group in order to neutralize the more direct threat to SR Macedonia perceived in the Albanian nationality.[149].Zoltan Barany agrees with such analysis by stating that "Macedonian governments and prime ministers have been consistent in their attention to the Roma, partly because they realized that they better be able to point to positive steps in minority policy given their at times questionable treatment of the much larger and 'troublesome' Albanian minority."[150] Therefore, following these two arguments, the effect of the perceived threat in the Albanian minority was the employment of more policies to emphasize the multicultural foundation of Macedonia (and not only bi-cultural of Albanians and Macedonians).

Although the recognition of Roma as an ethnic group in the SR of Macedonia can be perceived as a way forward in minority recognition, other republics of Yugoslavia would not follow suit for several years to come. In fact, some socialist republics never recognized Roma, neither as an ethnic group nor as a nationality until the very end of Yugoslavia.[151] In the late 1970s and in the very early 1980s, a huge debate began in Yugoslavia on whether Roma should be recognized as a nationality, which was also a claim of very prominent Romani politicians and activists from Yugoslavia[152]. In the beginning of 1981, Slovenian ethnologist Vanek Šiftar argued that in order to improve the position of Roma, who were still living on the margins of the society, they should be granted the same status as other nationalities. He

[149] Hugh Poulton, *Who are the Macedonians?* (London: Hurst & Co., 1995), 141.
[150] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 291.
[151] Ibid. 122.
[152] David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 227.

blamed the problematic position of Roma on the hierarchy according to which Roma were considered to be lower than nationalities.[153]

Following these debates, certain constitutional amendments to the Constitution of SFRY were finally accepted in 1981, which granted Roma the same status of nationality as it had been given to Albanians, Hungarians, Italians etc.[154] Although this overwhelming change happened in the perception of Roma, David Crowe is still careful in understanding this as an improvement of the position of Roma in Yugoslavia: "The Rom achievements, which culminated with the acquisition of nationality status in 1981, were not enough to mask some of the deeper problems of the Yugoslav Gypsies, which the *Report of the Yugoslav Federal Presidency* of the same year called 'a serious basic social problem."[155]. Furthermore, although the constitutional amendments of the federal state gave recognition to the Roma as a nationality, this did not mean direct implementation of this kind of understanding in constitutions of socialist republics. Only the socialist republics of Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina recognized the Roma as a nationality, while others (e.g. Macedonia) continued to understand Roma as an ethnic group. [156] Therefore, Yugoslavia can still be understood as a tri-folded system of ethnic hierarchy, which distinguishes among nations, nationalities and other ethnic groups.[157] Furthermore, some constitutions of the socialist republics did not mention Roma at all (e.g. Slovenia and Croatia). By the end of the 1980s, no drastic changes had happened considering the legal position of the Roma. However, the features of cultural autonomy that were given to the Roma minority had drastically diminished in practice, especially under the rise of the Milošević regime when the most prominent Romani leaders

[153] Vanek Šiftar, "Problem narodnosti Roma," in *Nacionalno pitanje u jugoslovenskoj teoriji I praksi –doprinos Edvarda Kardelja,* ed. Drago Čubrilović et. al. (Sarajevo: Marksistički studijski centar, 1980): 456.
[154] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 116.
[155] David. M Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 227.
[156] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* 116
[157] Ibid., 166.

found themselves in a very difficult position. For example, the president of the World Roma Congress, Rajko Djurić, had to flee out of the country for openly criticizing Milošević and requested that Roma should be recognized as an nationality all over Yugoslavia[158], so lived in exile for more than a decade.

Finally, it is not possible to characterize measures homogeneously that were taken to recognize and, to some extent, even protect the Roma minority in the legal sense. It certainly cannot be uniformly concluded that the Yugoslav policy towards the Roma was based merely on ethnic recognition in all the stages of its existence. However, it was also far for employing strict assimilation policies that could be witnessed in other communist (or rather socialist) states. Furthermore, legal policies towards Roma were not unified throughout Yugoslavia, but depended on local policies of different Yugoslav republics. Although Yugoslavia can be perceived as one of the most liberally oriented states under socialist rule, especially when we consider the policies employed towards minorities such as Roma[159], it is highly questionable to mark Yugoslavia as a liberal democracy in the contemporary meaning of the term. Furthermore, although we can perceive some multicultural features in managing ethnic diversity, it would be hasty to conclude that such features can be equated with liberal multiculturalism as understood by Kymlicka.[160]

4.2. Slovenia after independence: towards the Roma community act – targeted approach?

According to many different studies, the more or less unproblematic post-socialist transition of Slovenia to liberal democracy is attributed to its relatively high ethnic homogeneity. While

[158]David. M Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies,* 231.
[159] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 125.
[160] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*, 48.

it was visible that in other former Yugoslav republics, socialist regimes were not simply replaced by liberal democracies, but ended up in brutality of (what is perceived as ethnic) war[161], Slovenia seem to have avoided such atrocities since it did not have such a strong claims of minority nationalism.[162] One of the major causes of why Slovenia was identified as a 'success story' was the fact that it was economically the most prosperous republic in Yugoslavia.[163] According to Sabrina Petra Ramet, the smoothest shift to democratization in Slovenia did not occur only due to its ethnic homogeneity and economic prosperity, but also because of its diverse civil society in the 1980s, which was striving for a regime of human rights.[164] Meanwhile, Kovačič argues that although this diverse civil society was present, a part of it did not strive for liberal values and human rights, but had different goals that confirm the supremacy of the core ethnic group.[165] As seen in the Slovenian constitution, although primacy is given to the Slovenian [ethnic] nation based on its right to self-determination, the Slovenian state is still portrayed as an equal union among all of its citizens regardless of their ethnic origin. However, Kovačič argues that, in reality, the predisposition for the formation of the Slovenian state was a rather illiberal one that gave the primacy of rights to the Slovenian [ethnic] nation as a collective rather than to individuals that lived on its territory.[166] However, the question that arises is about how the newly-established state of Slovenia deals with ethnic diversity. In this chapter, we will be particularly focused on the way in which minority protection was developed regarding the Roma minority.

[161] Ibid., 49.
[162] Ibid., 194.
[163] Dejan Jović, "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches" *European Journal of Social Theory,* Vol 4 No.1 (2001), 101 -120.
[164] Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević* (Boulder CO.: Westview Press, 2002).
[165] Gorazd Kovačič, "Zagate z Nacijo", 226.
[166] Ibid., 226.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia neither included the recognition of Roma as a nationality nor as an ethnic group in its 1974 Constitution. Only the Italian and Hungarian minorities were recognized as nationalities.[167] The position of Roma in Slovenia was firstly addressed in 1989 in the sense of constitutional recognition, when the constitutional amendment dictated that the legal position of Roma in Slovenia had to be regulated by law.[168] Afterwards, Roma were recognized as a distinct community in Article 65 of the Constitution of 1991, when Slovenia was established as an independent state. The article goes as follows:

»Article 65

(Status and Special Rights of the Romany Community in Slovenia)

The status and special rights of the Romany community living in Slovenia shall be regulated by law.«[169]

Reading this article of the Slovenian Constitution of 1991 with the Article 64 entitled *Special Rights of the Autochthonous Italian and Hungarian National Communities in Slovenia*[170], we

[167] Miran Komac, *Priseljenci*, 38.

[168] Alenka Janko Spreizer, "'Avtohtoni' in 'Neautohtoni' Roma v Sloveniji: Socialna konstrukcija teritorialnega razmejevanja identitet," *Razprave in Gradivo* no. 45 (2004), 196.

[169] Source of the Slovenian Constitution of 1991: http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=351&docid=25&showdoc=1

[170] For the purpose of a better understanding of my argument I quote the entire Article 64 in this footnote:
"The autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to use their national symbols freely and, in order to preserve their national identity, the right to establish organisations and develop economic, cultural, scientific and research activities, as well as activities in the field of public media and publishing. In accordance with laws, these two national communities and their members have the right to education and schooling in their own languages, as well as the right to establish and develop such education and schooling. The geographic areas in which bilingual schools are compulsory shall be established by law. These national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to foster relations with their nations of origin and their respective countries. The state shall provide material and moral support for the exercise of these rights.
In order to exercise their rights, the members of these communities shall establish their own self-governing communities in the geographic areas where they live. On the proposal of these self-governing national communities, the state may authorise them to perform certain functions under national jurisdiction, and shall provide funds for the performing of such functions. The two national communities shall be directly represented in representative bodies

can conclude that the makers of the Slovenian constitution chose 'target minority rights', which are, according Kymlicka's definition, »intended to apply to particular types of minorities such as indigenous people, national minorities, immigrants, the Roma/gypsies, and so on."[171] According to the Slovenian constitution, the Hungarian and Italian minorities are constitutionally protected on the basis of being autochthonous and a national community. The Roma minority is only recognized as a community following the Constitution. However, the Governmental Office for National Minorities of the Republic of Slovenia states this should be interpreted as Roma being a distinct ethnic community: "In the Republic of Slovenia, the Roma Community does not enjoy the status of a national minority, but is recognised as a special community or a minority with special ethnic characteristics (its own language, culture and other ethnic specificities).«[172] According to Spreizer, minority rights were constitutionally granted to the Hungarian and Italian communities because they were defined as an autochthonous and national community, whereas the Roma were only granted a lower status of [ethnic] community.[173] Comparing Article 64 and Article 65 of the Slovenian constitution, we can see that the Hungarian and Italian [autochthonous and national] communities were granted constitutionally recognized rights, while the Roma community was only recognized in the constitution, whereas the Romani Community Act was introduced several years later in 2007. Although the approach towards minority rights was supposed to be targeted, it also

---

of local self-government and in the National Assembly. The position of the Italian and Hungarian national communities and the manner in which their rights are exercised in the geographic areas where they live, the obligations of the self-governing local communities for the exercise of these rights, and those rights which the members of these national communities exercise also outside these areas, shall all be regulated by law. The rights of both national communities and their members shall be guaranteed irrespective of the number of members of these communities.
Laws, regulations and other general acts that concern the exercise of the constitutionally provided rights and the position of the national communities exclusively, may not be adopted without the consent of representatives of these national communities."

[171] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys,*199.

[172] Source: http://www.uvn.gov.si/en/minorities/roma_community/ accessed on April 26, 2011.

[173] Alenka Janko Spreizer, "Avtohtoni in 'Neavtohtoni' Romi", 197.

produced a certain hierarchy among groups who did not get different sets of protection. Also, there was a debate on the question of who would get more and less protection.

This hierarchy became even more transparent when Slovenian policy makers made a step back in targeted minority rights and prescribed some attributes of national minorities to the Roma. In 1995 the government of the Republic of Slovenia decided that Roma community in Slovenia was too diverse, therefore they concluded it was not possible to have a single act to regulate their position as it was anticipated by the constitution.[174] Due to this reason 11 sector-specific acts were introduced that presented a guarantee for the protection of the Roma community in Slovenia. These acts were as follows:

1. Local Government Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 72/93, ..., 100/05),

2. Local Elections Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 72/93, ..., 22/06),

3. Voting Rights Register Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 52/02, ..., 73/03),

4. Exercising Public Interest in Culture Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 96/02).

5. Organisation and Financing of Education and Training Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 12/96, ..., 98/05),

6. Kindergarten Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 12/96, ..., 100/05),

7. Elementary School Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 12/96, ..., 70/05),

8. Public Media Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 35/01, ..., 96/05),

9. Librarianship Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 87/01, ..., 96/02),

10. Promotion of Balanced Regional Development Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 93/05),

11. Radiotelevizija Slovenija Act (Official Gazette RS, No. 96/05).[175]

These acts were not specifically focusing on Roma, but gave several rights to the Roma community, such as representation in the municipal councils, cultural media, cultural development and broadcast on the national television. However, their laws soon became addressed by different critiques. According to Spreizer, although the Constitution itself did

[174] Ibid. 198.
[175] Source: http://www.uvn.gov.si/en/minorities/roma_community/ accessed on April 29, 2011.

not presuppose the criterion of autochthony for granting minority rights for the Roma community, it was introduced as a criterion in these sector-specific acts (Spreizer, 2004: 197).[176] Defining Roma and their special rights in terms of autochthony it seems that Slovenia shifted toward defining Roma in similar terms as the other two national communities. The source for the protection of Roma community now became based on them being defined as a community and autochthonous. The question that arises here is whether we can in reality address all the needs, while defining Roma similarly as national minorities with traditional settlements. As Kymlicka argues, "Gaining this status of 'national minority' has provided certain benefits. For example, the Roma now have official recognition as a 'minority', and even parliamentary representation, either on nationwide party lists in Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Hungary, or from their own party list in Romania. But this approach may not help the many Romani communities which are composed of recent asylum seekers, refugees, or stateless persons, and who cannot therefore claim to be a historic minority rooted in that country. More generally, since they lack a territory, the Roma cannot benefit from many of the provisions that are typically demanded by national minorities."[177] In Slovenia the question of autochthony goes even further. According to Spreizer, this criterion was chosen completely arbitrarily when the issue of the Roma community emerged. Considering the Hungarian and Italian national communities, there can be a century-long tie with the territory proven, where they have specific rights. When the Roma were debated on, some municipalities labelled them as autochthonous, although they had been living there only for several decades. Other municipalities labeled them as non-autochthonous, although they could prove they had been living in those municipalities for more than a century.[178]

[176] Alenka Janko Spreize, "Avtohtony in 'Neavtohtoni' Romi", 197.
[177] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*, 75.
[178] Alenka Janko Spreize, "Avtohtony in 'Neavtohtoni' Romi", 197.

In 2007, due to different international pressures, the (rightist) government decided to introduce and implement the Roma Community Act[179]. At first glance, the act did not include the distinction between autochthonous and non-autochthonous Roma. However, in several articles (especially Article 10 referring to political representation) this act refers to the sector-specific acts and hence keeps the distinction between autochthonous and non-autochthonous Roma. These articles have also been disputed by the Slovenian ombudsman and the constitutional court of Slovenia[180].

Milan Zver, who was at the time the Minister of education and president of the Commission for Roma Questions, interview introduced Slovenia as having the best legal framework for the protection of Roma minority in an interview for the newspaper Delo (2.11.2010): "I can say that no state in Europe has such a well-ordered normative environment for solving the **Roma problematic** [Stressed by J.S.]. In Slovenia, we have 11 sector-specific acts for Roma and now we are preparing an umbrella act on the position of Roma, which will be a precedent in Europe". The act can indeed be understood as a shift back to the more targeted approach to minority protection, which distinguishes between national minorities and Roma. However, what were the specifics that granted a different set of rights to the Roma community? For example, in article 5 regulates "the spatial problematic of Roma settlements and improvement of housing conditions of Roma"[181], which is considered to be one of the typical issues that needs to be address, when it comes to the Roma community. On the other hand the article 4 which regulates education, employment and cultural development are very vague in comparison with the Article 64 of the Slovenian constitution that gives special rights to the Hungarian and Italian autochthonous national community. In this article we can for example read that "Republic of Slovenia ensures the conditions

[179] Roma Community act http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

[180] http://zakonodaja.gov.si/rpsi/r00/predpis_ODLU1370.html

[181] http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

for the inclusion of members of the Roma community in the educational system"[182]. While Article 64 defines such conditions for the Hungarian and Italian minority in terms of bilingual education, article 4 does not give any suggestions how these conditions could be met for the Roma community. Similar can be concluded for the next paragraph of the same article, which regulates the improvement of position of Roma on the labor market. Again, no specifics are given for the means to achieve this goal.

We can also compare what such vague formulations of minority can mean in practice. If we take, for example the administrative unit and municipality of Lendava/Lendva. Lendava or in Hungarian Lendva has been considered as a traditional (or authchothonous) settling area for the Hungarian community. However in the same area, also a Roma community is living, which is according to the Local Self-government act (and hence the Roma Community Act) considered to be autochthonous in this area. However, when a six-year old Hungarian and Roma child enter the primary school, the minority legislation has completely different impact to each of them. While bilingual primary school ensures the Hungarian child the education it his/hers own language, while also learning the majority language (as the language of environment), the Romany child enters the world of two foreign languages. This child has to become acquainted with both Slovenian and Hungarian language and culture, while his/her language are not recognized in the curriculum. From this example, a conclusion can be made that the government of Slovenia was more concerned with hierarchy of minority right then targeted approach. While the rights of Hungarian and Italian minority are clearly defined in the constitution, rights brought by the Roma community act are to great extend vague and do not effect the everyday life of the Roma community at all.

Hierarchy of minority rights between Hungarian and Italian communities on one side and Roma community on the other side, becomes even more obvious when we compare the last

[182] http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

paragraph of the Constitution article 64 and Article 12 of the Roma community act. On one hand, the Constitution article 64 states

> "Laws, regulations, and other general legal acts that concern the exercise of the constitutionally provided rights and the position of the national communities exclusively, may not be adopted without the consent of representatives of these national communities."

On the other hand, according to the Article 12 of Roma Community act Roma council "can suggest initiatives and give opinions on issues concerning their community", however the government according to the second paragraph of this article does not need a consent of the representatives of the community to implement legal acts and regulations concerning the Roma community. While the opinion of the Hungarian and Italian communities is binding for the government since it needs their representatives consent, the opinion and proposals of the Roma community are non-biding.

4.3. Croatia after independence: Roma as a national minority and EU accession criteria?

While Slovenia has taken a targeted approach (to a certain extent) towards different minorities, the analysis of different Croatian constitutions and acts show that it seems to be more generic, since there are no differentiated acts in the constitution that would refer to different minorities, as we can see in the Slovenian case. However, as I will show in the analysis, the Croatian constitution refers to a wider range of different minorities than the Slovenian constitution.

Before delving into the analysis of the Croatian legal approach towards (national) minorities, it has to be pointed out that Croatian nation building is very much different in comparison with the Slovenian case, therefore the approach toward the minorities ended up being

different. I will also try to show in what way this was important when we focus on the position of Roma in Yugoslavia. As pointed out in the previous chapter, one of the reasons why the Slovenian democratization process was perceived as unproblematic was the fact that Slovenia did not have to deal with major conflicts due to minority nationalisms (Kymlicka, 2007: 196)[183]. However, Slovenia was rather an exception when it came to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Croatia had to deal with different historical constellations than Slovenia, which can be perceived as one of the reasons why minority approaches were different. First of all, while in Slovenia there was only one nation recognized as constituent, according to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia of 1974 there were two nations understood as constituent, i.e. Croats and Serbs, who represented 12 % of the population.[184] However, Serbs were not considered as a constituent nation according to the first constitution of Croatia after its independence. In the *historical provisions* of the Croatian Constitution in 1990, Serbs were, according to many social scientists, 'degraded' to the status of minority:

"the Republic of Croatia is hereby established as the national state of the Croatian people[185] and a state of members of other nations and minorities who are its citizens: Serbs, Muslims, Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews and others, who are guaranteed equality with citizens of Croatian nationality and the realization of ethnic rights in accordance with the democratic norms of the United Nations and countries of free world[186]«.

According to Robert Hayden, such a shift can be understood as *Constitutional Nationalism* giving a form of superiority to the Croatian nation.[187] Hayden defines *Constitutional Nationalism* as follows: "The solution found in the various Yugoslav republics was the creations of systems of *constitutional nationalisms*, by which I mean constitutional and legal

[183] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys*, 75.
[184]Stef Jansen, "Against Cultural Anaesthesia: Identity, Nationalism and Modernity in Former Yugoslavia" In *Nationalism and Ethnicity in East-Central Europe and the Balkans*, ed. Sfikas, T. Williams, C..Ashgate Publishing, 1999), 275.
[185] *Croatian people* is a very inadequate translation, since in the Croatian original it is not written *ljudi* (meaning people), but *hrvatski narod*, which literally means Croatian [ethnic] nation.
[186] Source: http://www.constitution.org/cons/croatia.htm
[187] Robert Hayden, "Constitutional Nationalism in Formerly Yugoslav Republics," *Slavic Review* Vol.51. no. 4 (1992), 657.

structure that privileges the members of the ethnically defined nation over residents in a particular state."[188] Such constitutional nationalism was most prominent in Croatia according to Hayden. For the people belonging to the Serbian nation (or, according to the 1990 Croatian constitution, to Serbian minority) in Croatia, such a formulation was carrying a deeper symbolic meaning that connected the newly constituted Croatian state to NDH or *Independent Democratic Croatia* that was a Nazi puppet state during the Second World War. One of its main agencies was ethnic cleansing of Serb populations through the Jasenovac concentration camp.[189] Although many historians indicated that also Jews and Roma were one of the major victims of the Jasenovac camp, there were no major 'incidents' detected in relationship with their minority nationalism in the 90s. On the other hand, what can be perceived as Serbian minority nationalism in Croatia and its requests for territorial autonomy (since they were a constituent nation in the Socialist republic of Croatia) were in fact one of the major reasons why the international community started formulating different declarations (e.g. the OSCE Copenhagen declaration) and conventions (e.g. the Framework Conventions for the Protection of National Minorities of Council of Europe) for minimal standards of minority protection.[190]

Over the 1990s it seems that Roma were not the main concern of Croatian politics, since their treatment was not a question of national security.[191] However, Milovan Djilas, a former Yugoslav dissident, rightly predicted already in 1992 that the position of Roma would be a major issue in the years to come:

> "Those minorities, who have scattered throughout the Balkans, such as Roma or Vlachs, have no states of their own, and have only rarely been the cause of disputes among Balkan states. So have their concerns: the time of awakening and of political and cultural constitution of these discriminated nations is still to come."[192]

[188] Ibid. , 655.
[189] Robert Hayden, "Constitutional Nationalism," 657.
[190] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys,* 215.
[191] Ibid., 187.
[192] Milovan Djilas, "Introduction" in Hugh Poulton, *The Balkans,* ix.

As I will show in the further analysis, Roma have been recognized as a national minority according to the Croatian Constitution in 2010[193], while their political activity started as early as 20 years before demanding such recognition.[194]

Following the changes of the Croatian constitution in the 1990s, it can be confirmed that the main preoccupation of Croatian politics was how to solve the violent conflict between the state and ethnic Serbs. The Croatian constitution was written in late 1990 and was later changed in 1997, 2000, 2001 and finally in 2010[195]. Through these changes we can also see the dynamics in state-minorities relations as well as the majority-minorities relations. The first change concerning minorities in Croatia happened in 1997[196]. According to the *Founding principles* of the changed Croatian Constitution in 1997, the Croatian state was not a nation state of the Croatian nation and its minorities anymore. The diction changed and these minorities were renamed into autochthonous national minorities. In addition, the list of their minorities changed too, since not all of the minorities from the constitution 1990 were considered to be autochthonous or national. Therefore, in the Constitution of 1997 there is no more special reference to the Muslim of Slovenian minority that was simply deleted from the constitution with the changes in 1999. The interpretation thereof may be that the Muslim minority was deleted from the constitution in 1997 due to a major influx of Muslim refugees from Bosnia during the war. However, Croatia was not ready to give them special rights from Article 15 of its constitution. According to Article 15 "In the Republic of Croatia all the members of national minorities are granted to be equal. Members of national minorities are granted freedom of expression of their national belonging, freedom to use their language and

[193] Source: http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske
[194] Hugh Poulton, *The Balkans,* 89.
[195] Source: http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/indexurh.htm
[196] Source: http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh8-98.htm

script and cultural autonomy"[197] This article was changed as well, since in the 1990 Constitution it granted equal rights to all nations and minorities: "Members of all nations and minorities shall have equal rights in the Republic of Croatia." While in the 1990 Constitution there is a recognized equality between all nations and minorities (which gives the potential for minorities that are not mentioned in the constitution), the Constitution of the 1997 equality is assured only among national minorities. The Croatian majority nation is left out here, which can imply they are being unequal or having more rights than national minorities. What is also indicative is the fact that the term autochthonous for granting minority rights was introduced. This was not an invention of the Croatian policy makers, but they 'copied' the Slovenian constitutional solution. However, this was also the reason why Slovenians were deleted from the Croatian constitution, since they were not considered to be an autochthonous group. This seemed to be a wider political interplay in international relations between Slovenia and Croatia (Komac, 2007: 31), since the argument that was given for deleting the Slovenian minority from the Croatian constitution was the fact that Slovenia never recognized the Croatian minority in its constitution. Both reasons as to why the Muslim and Slovenian minorities were deleted from the Croatian constitution can be also understood as a reason for why the Roma minority was not 'kept out' of the constitution. According to most social scientists dealing with the position of Roma in Croatia, a large proportion of Roma living in Croatia immigrated to Croatia from Bosnia as refugees in the war. However, this kind of

[197] Source: http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh8-98.htm Translated by Julija Sardelic; Croatian original: Članak 15. U Republici Hrvatskoj jamči se ravnopravnost pripadnicima svih nacionalnih manjina. Pripadnicima svih nacionalnih manjina jamči se sloboda izražavanja narodnosne pripadnosti, slobodno služenje svojim jezikom i pismom i kulturna autonomija.

argumentation neglects, for example, the large Roma – Bajash community in the Međimurje County.[198]

In 2000 the Croatian constitution was changed again. This time Article 15 was changed so that it requested a special act concerning the rights of national minorities. An additional change of this article in the constitution also gave a guarantee for the national minorities to be represented in the Croatian parliament[199]. However, what remained unchanged was the list of autochthonous minorities in Croatia. This list was also considered to be problematic by the Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), since it did not include Slovenian and Roma minorities: […] the seats guaranteed for representatives of the Serb minority were reduced from three to one. Furthermore, the Advisory Committee notes that guarantees for representation in the House of Representatives contained in Article 15 do not extend, for example, to the Roma or Slovenian minorities, despite the fact that persons belonging to these minorities are more numerous than the number of other national minorities covered by the said provision. This state of affairs reflects the fact that these national minorities are not explicitly mentioned in the preamble of the Constitution[200]« What is also noted by the first opinion of the Advisory Committee is that there is a discrepancy between the Croatian Constitution and the Constitutional act on Human Rights, Freedom and the Rights of National and Ethnic Communities, which was firstly drafted in 1991 and then changed in 2000[201]. According to this article, there are 22 minorities recognized as national minorities (including Roma and Slovenians), while in the 2000 constitution there were only 10 minorities recognized as

[198] Neven Hrvatić, "Romi u Hrvatskoj: Od Migracija do interkulturalnih odnosa," *Migracijske I etničke teme* no.20 (2004), 367 -385.
[199] Source: http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh124-00.htm
[200] Source: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_1st_OP_Croatia_en.pdf
[201] http://vlada.hr/hr/preuzimanja/zakoni_i_uredbe/ustav_i_ustavni_sud/ustavni_zakon_o_ljudskim_pravima_i_slobodama_i_o_pravima_etnickih_i_nacionalnih_zajednica_ili_manjina_narodne_novine_105_00

autochthonous national minorities. The Advisory committee recommended the following: "Despite these normative improvements, there remain a number of shortcomings in the field of legislation, which will need to be addressed in the context of the on-going legislative reform, including in the drafting of a new constitutional law on national minorities[202]«.

At the end of 2002, Croatian policy makers introduced the Constitutional act on the rights of national minorities. In comparison with the Constitutional act of human rights and freedoms and the rights of ethnic and national communities, it did not contain the list of national minorities. However, the Constitution remained unchanged (until 2010), therefore the minority rights were again only applicable for the 10 autochthonous national minorities that were mentioned in the Constitution of 2001[203].

Finally, the Constitutional act on the Rights of National Minorities became applicable for Roma with the last change of the Croatian constitution in 2010[204]. One of the changes made in this constitution was that all of the 22 national minorities mentioned in the former Constitutional Act on Human Rights and Freedoms and Rights of Ethnic and National Minorities were included into the preamble. This included also the Slovenian and Bosniak minorities that had been previously deleted from the constitution, as well as Roma that had never before been mentioned in the Croatian constitution. According to the governmental news on the changes of the constitution, the inclusion of 22 national minorities into the constitution was one of the 'European changes'[205]. This change was made in accordance with all three opinions of the Advisory Committee on FNCM, which concluded that it is problematic that not all 22 national minorities are included in

[202] Source: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_1st_OP_Croatia_en.pdf
[203] Source: http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske
[204] Source: http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske
[205] http://www.vlada.hr/hr/naslovnica/novosti_i_najave/2010/lipanj/hrvatski_sabor_izmijenio_ustav_rh

the preamble[206] and that, consequently, the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities did not apply to the minorities that were left out. However, what was the most important to Croatia is that it meets the Copenhagen Criteria, which include, among other things, minority protection.[207] According to the Copenhagen Criteria, "the candidate country must have achieved … stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities".[208] It is clearly visible that the principal legal act concerning minorities in Croatia was tailored to meet these criteria. In the first article of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities, it is specifically mentioned that this act was introduced in accordance with the Copenhagen Criteria as well as with the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, and also with many other conventions and declarations of the EU, UN and also CoE.

In Article 5 of the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities[209], a national minority is defined as "a group of Croatian citizens whose members are traditionally settled on the territory of the Republic of Croatia; its members have ethnic, linguistic, cultural and/or religious characteristics, which are different from those of other citizens; and they are guided by the desire to preserve them." The clause that refers to traditional settlement is more or less in accordance with Kymlicka's understanding of 'old' minorities "who were settled on their territory prior to it becoming part of a larger independent country."[210] However, the reference to autochthony does not appear in the constitution of 2010, nor in the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities. Therefore, according to the 2010 constitution and the constitutional act, no minority is retroactively defined as an immigrant group (since they did not immigrate to Croatia, but simply

206 http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_3rd_OP_Croatia_en.pdf

207 Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Odysseys, 196.

208 http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/enlargement_process/accession_process/criteria/index_en.htm

209 http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/310287.html

210 Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys,* 77.

moved within Yugoslavia) as it was seen in the previous constitutions as well as in the case of the Slovenian Constitution (which still does not recognize Croatian or Serbian minorities that are much larger than the Hungarian or the Italian ones). Furthermore, through the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities, Croatia did comply with some of Kymlicka and Banting's criteria for multicultural policies on national minorities.[211] For example, it did, to a certain extent, provide an "official language status" to minority languages in Article 7, public funding of minority language educational programs and media in articles 11 and 18, and seats in the Croatian Parliament for minority representatives in Article 19. According to Article 19(3), minorities that represent more than 1.5 % of the total population get one to three seats in the parliament, while those who represent less that 1.5 % of the total population of the Republic of Croatia, get 4 representatives in total, who represent several national minorities at once. In the 2007 Croatian election, Nazif Memedi, a candidate from the Union of Roma Associations was elected to the parliament as a national minority representative. Although Memedi identifies himself as being of Roma origin, he represents not only the Roma minority, but also Austrian, Bulgarian, German, Polish, Romanian, Russinian, Russian, Turkish, Vlach and Jewish minorities.[212] The mere fact of having a Roma representative in the parliament is very rare in most European countries. However, this was not the first time that Roma organized themselves politically in the Republic of Croatia. In contrast to the situation in Slovenia, the Roma minority in Croatia organized itself politically very quickly. In Slovenia, 1990 marked the establishment of the Romani Union of Slovenia, whose primary goals were not political, but rather cultural. Meanwhile, in the same year, the Romani Party was established in Croatia. It had a clear political agenda: the recognition or the Roma community as a national minority.

[211] Ibid., 71.
[212] Source: http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2080

Unfortunately, the Romani Party was not successful either in local, or in parliamentary elections.[213] However, as can be seen from the above analysis, due to various reasons, the main agenda of the Romani Party was realized: Roma were recognized as a national minority, and they also got a representative in the parliament.

It seems that most of the changes concerning the Roma minority in Croatia were connected to EU conditionality, which was also the case with Bulgaria and Romania before they became members of the European Union as shown by Maria Spirova and Darlene Budd. According to Spirova and Budd,

> "Not only has the EU pushed for the adoption of the legislation and policies providing for minority rights by linking such legislation and policies to entry into the EU, but it also has used specific programs to promote the implementation and enforcement of non-discrimination policies. The low socio-economic status of the Roma in the candidate states has been a major focus of concern for the EU and funding has been specifically directed to projects in the areas of education, housing and healthcare."[214]

However, as far as legislation is concerned, although Croatia did recognize Roma as a national minority, it did take more of a generic approach.[215] towards minority protection. Namely, it is questionable, whether the needs and also the claims of e.g. the Serbian minority can be equated with those of the Roma minority. While the Serbian minority can be considered to be one of the most clear examples of a sub-state nation[216], the same cannot be concluded with regard to Roma. However, when the lowest common denominator is applied to these two minorities, which the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities can be understood to be doing, they both cannot get some of their specific needs recognized (e.g. territorial autonomy for the Serbian minority).

[213] Hugh Poulton, *The Balkans*, 90.
[214] Maria Spirova and Darlene Budd, "The EU Accession Process and the Roma Minorities in New and Soon-to-be Member States," *Comparative European Politics,* no.6 (2006), 84.
[215] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys,* 217.
[216] Ibid. 71.

Although Croatian legislation mostly used a generic approach towards minority rights (in the sense of equating the claims and needs of all its minorities), there is one document that specifically targets the Roma. This is the *Roma National Program*, which was adopted because Croatia, being a member of the Roma Decade 2005-2015, was obliged to do so. Although it is not legally as binding as the Constitution and the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities it does address the position of Roma more clearly and adequately since it targets specific needs of the minority in question (e.g. housing, education, discrimination, etc.). However, there were several critiques of this governmental document. For example, Ana Bogdanic critizises the final version of the document since it does describe Roma as being autochthonous minority. In addition, she claims that the act is an example of 'fake multiculturalism' since it does not address the gender issues.[217] Although these two critiques are to certain extent relevant, it is more questionable, why the basic points of the National Program were not introduced as an legally binding act. The second consideration is, whether the Roma National Program is actually achieving its goals, which needs further examination. For Romania and Bulgaria, that were in the similar EU accession process as Croatia, Spirova and Budd concluded that although the position of Roma did improve due to these processes. However, "while countries may have satisfied the Copenhagen criteria and introduced and implemented policies that provide for protection of minorities, our data indicate that the Roma are still substantially worse off than the majority in all four countries."[218]

[217] Ana Bogdanić, "Multikulturno građanstvo," 45.
[218] Maria Spirova and Darlene Budd, "The EU Accession Process," 98.

4.4. Research findings on the basis of legal approach analysis

The clearest conclusion that can be derived from the legal approach analysis is that legal acts and constitutions are not simply given for all eternity. A legal approach towards minorities can be perceived as a process dependent on different historical and spatial constellations, on the one hand. On the other hand, it is a typical manifestation of the relations of power, to use Foucaultian terms. Categorizations are not simply out there, but are constructed throughout different moments of history. We can thus arrive at a similar conclusion when we speak about the legal approach towards Roma in Yugoslavia and its two successor states, Slovenia and Croatia.

It is not easy to give a homogeneous answer on what kind of legal approach was used towards Roma in Yugoslavia. Firstly, it cannot be simply concluded that Yugoslavia, from its very foundations and later, defined Roma as an ethnic group. Secondly, when it did finally recognize Roma as an ethnic group, this recognition did not take place in entire Yugoslavia, but only in certain parts (e.g. Macedonia), where Roma were given certain cultural rights. However, rights were not reserved for Roma in other parts of the Yugoslavian state, such as Croatia and Slovenia. Therefore, it is not clear whether Roma were in general considered to be an ethnic group or a social category. Part of the answer to why such differences appeared in different socialist republics of Yugoslavia can be found in approaches towards Roma that predated the state of Yugoslavia itself. As mentioned before, Marushiakova and Popov argue that the Austro-Hungarian empire took a more paternalistic and assimilationist approach towards Roma defining them as a social category, while the Balkan countries, which were mostly under the Ottoman Empire, did give Roma some rights that were enjoyed by distinct ethnic groups.[219]. This can partly explain why Croatia and Slovenia recognized Roma as an

[219] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, ”Historic and ethnographic background,” 44.

ethnic group, while, for example, Macedonia did not. However, this can be perceived only as part of the reason.

Furthermore, although Yugoslavia is mostly perceived as a country that had the best treatment towards Roma in the socialist period, the fact that the treatment towards Roma was differentialist, must not be left out of discussion at all. This differentiation cannot simply be viewed as a targeted approach towards Roma, but must also provide a further analysis that reveals that even when Roma were recognized as an ethnic group, they did not enjoy the same quality of rights as nationalities. Furthermore, although they were given a nationality status in 1981 in Yugoslavia, the scope of their rights was never comparable to extensive rights that were given to other nationalities, since they were given additional protection from the republic's constitution, while Roma were only recognized as a nationality *pro forma*. This can be shown both for Yugoslavia as well as for two republics that gave nationality status to Roma in their respective constitutions. In addition, most claims of Roma to be recognized as a nationality were silenced in other socialist republics of Yugoslavia. Therefore, we can conclude that Yugoslavia employed a hierarchical treatment towards Roma, positioning them as the inferior *Other*. In most cases, they were still positioned as legally unequal to nations and other nationalities with territorial rights, which can lead to the conclusion that Yugoslavia did, to some extent, employ cultural racism towards them. This cultural racism was, in fact, the reason why Roma never enjoyed similar rights as other groups in Yugoslavia.

Although the newly established state of Slovenia underwent a democratic transition, it cannot be deduced that the legal approach towards Roma had changed significantly since the period when Slovenia was a part of Yugoslavia as one of its socialist republics. These changes were gradual, while the basic legal approach towards minorities was taken from the Yugoslavian period. It seems that Slovenia took a targeted approach towards Roma eventually in order to address their needs. However, all the voices raised by Roma representatives to be recognized

as a national minority with the same or a similar scope of rights, as given to two 'autochthonous minorities', were simply ignored. Therefore, Roma in Slovenia were defined as an ethnic community, but not as a national minority. This leads us to a more general question: When can a certain minority be understood as a nation and when as an ethnic group? According to the previously given definitions, Roma can neither be perceived as a national minority nor as an ethnic group, if we take a definition of ethnic groups as immigrants.[220]. However, due to the fact that Roma wanted a similar scope of rights, as two constitutionally recognized minorities, the decision of the Slovenian state to ignore their claims and give them not only different, but also minimal minority protection, shows how Roma were not really equal partners in this dialog. They were viewed as a 'problem' (according to Minister Zver) that needs to be resolved. Reducing minorities (in the case Roma) to problems is definitely one of the most typical signs of cultural racism, according to Paul Gilroy.[221]

While Slovenia never recognized Roma as a national minority nor did it give them a similar scope of rights, Croatia changed its constitution in 2010, so that Roma too were recognized as a national minority alongside 22 other communities. This does *de iure* mean that Croatia recognized the same scope of rights for example, for the Serbian minority as well as for the Roma minority. However, this generic approach did not constitutionally address different needs and positions of these minorities. For example, it did not address claims for territorial autonomy by the Serbian minority, on the one hand. On the other hand, it did not address

[220] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 11.
There was no real debate about how broad a scope of rights should be given to immigrants in Slovenia. The only debate about 'immigrants' was dedicated to communities from former Yugoslavia, who were not immigrants in the classic meaning, since they did not, in most cases, migrate to the state under its legislation, but within a Yugoslavian context. Immigrants that migrated after the Slovenian independence were simply expected to assimilate into the majority.
[221] Paul Gilroy, *There Aint no Black,* 72.

social and economic disadvantages of the Roma minority. It seems that this generic approach towards minority protection was taken by the Croatian state not due to its benevolence towards all the minorities, but simply to show how a Croatian [ethnic] nation has more rights than all other minorities. This was especially targeted towards the Serb minority, which was defined as a constitutive nation in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, needs of the Roma were not addressed. . We can follow the analysis of Alenka Janko Spreizer who claims that many post-socialist countries did recognize Roma as a national minority without addressing their socio-economic position. Due to the fact that the difference was marked legally, Roma became subjected to a racist discourse of the majority. Whether this can be concluded both for Slovenia and Croatia will be analyzed in the next section, where I will focus on media discourse on Roma.

5. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPORTING ON ROMA

5.1. Importance of media representation

As we have seen in the previous chapter, i.e. the analysis of the legal approach towards the Roma minority in former Yugoslavia as well as in its two chosen successor states, there was neither a unified approach of minority protection nor a consensus on whether the Roma minority should be treated as a national minority or an ethnic group. However, this does not mean that the position of Roma was not a topic of debate and that the decisions about their minority protection were final at a certain point of time. As we could see in the analysis of the legal approach, the minority protection towards the Roma did change in different periods, but mostly in disaccordance with their claims. It was, however, a part of larger processes of change, both in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia and Croatia as well. Although a legal analysis and the perception of legal minority protection are in fact very important, it has to be pointed out that they give us only a partial overview of what the position of Roma is in the society as a whole. From the legal analysis we can arrive at an understanding about how the minorities are perceived *de iure*. To get a fuller comprehension of the position of Roma we also have to ascertain what their *de facto* position is in relations to the majority population. Therefore, in addition to legal approach analysis, I have also conducted a media discourse analysis.

One major importance of media discourse is the mere differentiation of de facto and de iure positions of a certain minority. As argued by Erjavec, Hrvatin and Kelbl, in their work *We about the Roma* (2000) they state that "social norms as well as laws forbid public (open) display of prejudices and discrimination."[222] However, though different in their approaches, journalists use different tools to mask *de facto* prejudice and discrimination (including

[222] Karmen Erjavec, Sandra B.Hrvatin, Barbara Kelbl, *We about the Roma*, 38.

cultural racism), so that they are not not recognized as *de uire* prejudice and stereotype (Erjavec et al., 2000: 38)[223]. The importance of media can also be justified from different sources. According to Louis Althusser, the media are an instance of the *ideological state apparatus* (1970)[224] which not only has the power to reproduce hegemonic ideologies, but also positions individuals (and collectives) in accordance with such ideologies. Furthermore, . According to Teun Van Dijk, the mass media can be understood as the most important mediators in conveying certain meanings and therefore have a power to reproduce (but also diminish) racial and ethnic inequalities in the society.[225] In this chapter, I will show what media representation and discourse on Roma were present in the chosen periods and analyze whether cultural racism was employed in this representation. Before conducting this analysis, working definitions of representation, discourse and cultural racism have to be given.

According to Stuart Hall, "representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged by members of a culture."[226] For the purposes of this thesis, discourse can be understood as it was defined by Michel Foucault. Foucault argues that we cannot simply understand discourse as a system of sign, but as practices which systematically form the objects they are representing.[227]. Furthermore, Foucault states that "nothing has any meaning outside the discourse."[228] We can interpret Foucault's quotation with reference to his major research topic that it is an interplay of knowledge and power through discourse. Following Foucault's line of understanding, it is important that all the knowledge that we

[223] Ibid., 38.
[224] Louis Althusser, *Ideological State Apparatus, http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm*
[225] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite discourse and Racism, 241.*
[226] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (London: Sag, 2003), 15.
[227] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 55.
[228] Ibid., 32.

possess is produced through discourse, which is defined by relation of power.[229] Reality is not simply 'out there', but is discoursively produced through enunciative modalities of power[230]. In this manner we can also understand how ethnic relations are produced as relations of power (which also includes cultural racism) through media discourse. In our media analysis we will be especially focused on whether media discourse of the Roma minority includes cultural racism as its basic rhetoric.

5.2. Justification for the choice of newspapers and periodical samples

Since it is not possible to make an overall analysis of media reporting and discourse on the Roma minority, periodicals and newspapers samples have to be chosen for the analysis. In order to understand the dynamics of media reporting on Roma, I have chosen a moment that can be considered as crucial for the position of Roma and have brought changes that affected the state macrostructure as a whole. In the period of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia I have chosen the year 1971. This was a very important year for the Roma minority, since the first Romani congress took place in London. Also, a population census was being conducted in SFRY and the federal constitution was undergoing major changes. My first intention was to conduct an analysis of the national newspapers. However, a preliminary analysis of the Slovenian national newspaper *Delo* showed that there were practically no newspaper articles on the position of Roma in the chosen year. Therefore, I have selected the local medium *Vestnik* of the Slovenian region of Pomurje (which is also the region of the Roma settlement Kamenci) and the *Međimurje* newspaper, which is considered to be the main newspaper in the Croatian border region of Međimurje. Since these are regional media published in regions with the highest percentage of the Roma population, it cannot be simply deduced that the majority population (as well as journalists) has minimal contact and experience with the

[229] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*.
[230] Ibid., 134.

minority population, as Van Dijk suggested[231]. Prior to the analysis it has to be taken into account that such contact also shapes social cognitions as well as media discourse. The second year of analysis will be 1991. This year has been selected. Tectonic changes happened that year because Yugoslavia was disintegrated. That year also marks the transition period from the socialist to the capitalist system. Furthermore, media discourse on Roma will also be analyzed in the period marked by European integration processes for both Slovenia (year 2006)[232] and Croatia (year 2010)[233].

5.3. Yugoslavia: reporting on the Roma in the year 1971

There has been practically no academic debate or even a critical discourse analysis done on media representation of the Roma minority in Yugoslavia. However, David Crowe in his historical description on the position of Roma mentioned that there has been a change in reporting on the Roma minority in Yugoslavia in 1971: "The Yugoslav press also seemed more sensitive to the Gypsies and began to honor their request to use Roma instead of *Cigan* [Gypsy]."[234] In the following analysis, I will also pay attention to the issue about whether this was a case for the regional newspaper *Vestnik* (in the Slovenian region of Pomurje) and *Međimurje* (in the Croatian cross-border region of *Međimurje)*. With Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA, I will also critically analyze the kind of media discourse that was employed in reporting on the Roma minority in the two regions. My particular interest will be

[231] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, 244.
[232] This year was chosen in Slovenia since the debate on the position of Roma in Slovenia got more prominent. Also most of the media discourse analysis of Reporting on Roma were published in this year.
[233] This year has been chosen for Croatia since the debate about the position of Roma minority got more prominent due to European Union integration processes.
[234] Davis M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies*, 226.

focused on whether the discourse employed included the approach of cultural/differentialist racism.

5.3.1. Vestnik

The main regional newspaper in the north-eastern Slovenian region of Pomurje is called *Vestnik.* It has existed in the region from 1949 until the present day. This regional newspaper has been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, a preliminary analysis of the Slovenian national newspaper *Delo* showed that in the sample (April 1971) there were practically no articles on Roma. There were only two very short and non-representative articles. In the first article[235], dated 6th April, there were fewer than 30 words about Roma representatives, who were invited to the reception of a Yugoslavian politician, Beno Župančič. The other article was a part of the crime section page, dated 24th April 1971. This very short article, which was about a fight with a knife-stabbing incident in the bar, used the signifier "Roma" or "Gypsy". However, it mentions the main actors, who are perceived as both criminals and victims of the fight, by their last names, Oršuš and Horvat, as well as their place of permanent residence in the settlement in Croatia, called Sitnice. Local residents share the common sense knowledge about Oršuš as being a 'Roma' last name. What is even more obvious is the mentioning of the settlement Sitnice, which is also known as a Roma settlement. However, if we compare it to other articles in the crime section page, we can see that it was a common practice to use last names and place of residence of those involved in a certain event. Therefore, we cannot simply jump to the conclusion that such usage of last names and place of residence means a demarcation of difference and thus being racist.

What is more significant is that both in the analysis of the national newspaper *Delo* and the regional newspaper *Vestnik* as well as the Croatian media*,* following Van Dijk's work, we can

[235] In those cases, where I do not specify the format of the article, it means that the article was a news paper report. When an article will be for example a commentary, I will explicitly specify its format.

see who is involved in the news production. As we can find in all the articles, the journalists who were writing the newspaper articles can be mainly identified as belonging to the majority group. Although it might seem that this information is only essentializing the majority as well as the minority group, according to Van Dijk, this is a very important piece of information, since "social aspects are related to cognitive or ideological aspects, such as the knowledge, beliefs, and social cognition of journalists regarding the social, cultural and political issues they write about.[236] In the selected newspapers throughout the period there was no journalist who would identified as belonging to the Roma minority. Van Dijk argues that most journalists belonging to the majority usually do not have a full insight into the life of the minority, so they will depend on their 'previous' knowledge that is usually based on stereotypes which divide the outgroup (minority) from the ingroup.[237] This type of reporting was lucidly named by Erjavec and her colleagues (in their analysis of media reporting on Roma in 1997) as *We about the Roma* (2000). In my analysis I will pay attention to the question about whether journalists from the majority always use such cognitive schemata when they report on (stigmatized) minorities. I will also consider other contexts that affect the way Roma are presented in the media.

In the Slovenian national newspaper *Delo*, there were only two very short articles, without any visualization, in the month of April in 1971. On the other hand, in the regional newspaper *Vestnik* (which is a weekly, therefore approximately 52 editions were published during the year) 14 articles, referencing Roma, were published. Most of these articles, eleven to be exact, were found on the crime section page. However, there were still 3 articles that were classified as other events.

[236] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, 224.
[237] Ibid. 244.

The first article that includes the discourse on Roma in its centrality was published on 21st January 1971. This article was not positioned in the crime section of the newspaper. However, the topic of the article was very similar to those in the crime section. The title of the article is *About the Gypsies Again* (see Appendix 1). The article itself basically fits all the postulations of Van Dijk's analysis on media discourse on minorities. The contents of the article basically comprise a news report on the local community meeting in the village of Gomilice (which belongs to the administrative unit of Lendava; the Roma settlement belonging to this community is the closest one to the Roma settlement of Kamenci). This report includes sentences such as "the Gypsy question has not been solved adequately" and "Gypsy problems have to be solved more quickly". Although the author of the article was probably not aware of this fact, the formulation 'the Gypsy question that needs to be solved' is practically the same as the formulation that can be found in different Nazi documents, according to the analysis of Michael Zimmerman (1996)[238]. Similarly, the Roma in this article were discussed about as a collective and the differences between THEM are completely ignored, which also corresponds to Van Dijk analysis[239]. Furthermore, with phrases like "Gypsy problems" Roma are reified and hence treated as neither full human beings nor equal citizens.

The main problem that the author presents is that the Roma settlement is growing. 'Gypsy houses', as the author names them, are being built without any permits, while the 'farmers' have to go through long procedures. Such a strong opposition between 'Gypsies' and 'farmers' also corresponds to Van Dijk's analysis, according to which "differences between 'us' and 'them' are exaggerated."[240] Furthermore, 'the farmers' (WE) are presented as a target of discrimination, which is according to Van Dijk a typical strategy of racist discourse that

[238]Michael Zimmerman, "*Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die Nationalsocialistische Lösung der Zigeunerfrage"* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996).
[239]Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism*, 27.
[240] Ibid. 27.

can be named as a *Strategy of Reversal*.[241] The article does not, for example, include an analysis and it poses a question about whether the Roma were not able to get permits for their houses as a possible reason for the illegal building of houses. However, we can see the sharp distinction between the 'Farmer' representing the sedentary culture, while the Roma are seen as a nomadic culture, who all of a sudden want to settle on the land that does not belong to them, which corresponds to Stam and Shohat's hierarchial mania of racism.[242] We can observe how the 'traditionally settled' people practice the discoursive power to define who does or does not belong to the community. What is stated as an additional problem of the enlargement of the Roma settlement is a direct threat to the farmers in the form of epidemic deseases. Following Van Dijk, the discourse on Roma in this article completely corresponds to the outgroup categorization in the form of *Difference* (Gypsies vs. Farmers), *Deviance* (Gypsy illegal housing) and *Threat* (epidemic deseases)[243] All these are, according to Van Dijk, *social and mental constructs* which are produced to represent the distance between the ingroup (majority) and outgruop (minority).[244] It is, however, not clear whether 'Gypsies' in this article can be defined as a social or ethnic group. The only hint we can get comes from the opposition 'gypsies' vs 'farmer'. We can deduce that they are perceived rather as a 'problematic' social group which does not correspond to previous findings that Roma in Yugoslavia were exclusively understood as an ethnic group.

We can conclude about the article analyzed above that it does include at least *differentialist racism* if not cultural racism.[245] However, we cannot simply conclude that this is typical of the whole period of reporting on Roma in the newspaper Vestnik, since we can see in the article that it does not at all correspond to Van Dijk's analysis of discourse on minorities. For

[241]Ibid., 47.
[242] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism*,
[243] Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism*, 16
[244] Ibid.
[245] Etinne Balibar, "Is the Neo-Racism?", 21.

example, one more article that was not included in the crime section was published in *Vestnik* on 25th February 1971 and has a completely overall tone on the Roma community. The title of the article is *Fire Brigade Organization in Pušča* (See Appendix 2). This article speaks very positively about the initiative from the Roma settlement Pušča (the biggest Roma settlement in the region; it belongs to the administrative unit of Murska Sobota) to form a fire brigade. Here, Roma are still marked as Gypsies. However, this word is capitalized, which indicates that it is a name of an ethnic group. It seems as though the article wants to oppose the most common stereotypes about the Roma, since it describes the Roma settlement of Pušča as a developing settlement (there is no talk about illegal housing) and presents the 'Gypsy' firemen as young and very willing to work. The article also includes a form of request to the majority population and firefighters to help this association to become more developed, since such an association can mean a connection between Roma and other members of the same community. Although the Roma are still in the phase of being called Gypsies, we can see in this article that the author is defending his position and tries to break the stereotypes about lazy and inactive Roma. This corresponds to Barany's understanding of Yugoslavia's approach toward the Roma, which he calls *Constructive interference*.[246]

However, although the above analyzed article is going against stereotypical reporting, most articles on Roma in this period were still part of the crime section page. But it has to be pointed out that Roma are not over-represented in this section, since it still mostly focuses on crimes committed by the majority population. In four of these articles, Roma were called 'Gypsies', in one as Roma and six did not include any 'ethnic' categorization, but they indicated the Roma minority including Romani last names (Baranja, Šarkezi, Cener. etc.). Until April 1971, Roma had been strictly called Gypsies and usually stereotypically described as thieves as well as criminals. In some articles they are described as half-mythical creatures

[246] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 122.

who can be blamed for problems in the village as in the following part of an article headlined *Watch Theft* (28th January 1971, See Appendix 3): "It is assumed that the theft was committed by a Gypsy woman, who was wandering around the village on that day". In this article we can see that the Roma woman mentioned is stigmatized by her belonging to a certain ethnic group to which negative stereotypes are attributed. This woman is only a scheme and is not treated as a full person, but only as a problem. The allusion made in this article is that it is very problematic when Roma are just able to wander around, since it is presupposed that they will commit crimes, which is the reason they are unwanted. Again, most articles describing the 'Gypsy criminality' come from the administrative unit of Lendava and not from Murska Sobota. What is very indicative of the crime section is that it confirms Crowe's assumption mentioned in the previous section. After April 1971, Roma are not labeled as Gypsies anymore, but as Roma or, in most cases (6 articles), by their last names and origin that are stated as in the case of all other citizens. What is more, from that moment on Roma were not treated only as criminals but also as victims of crime (e.g. car accidents, fire, etc.).

All articles on the Roma mentioned so far mostly occupied very marginal spaces of the newspaper. However, in the edition of *Vestnik* from 30th December, a whole page report on Roma in Prekmurje is included (see Appendix 4). This is also the first article that includes the visualization of Roma and Roma settlements in Prekmurje. The title of the article *Fresh Wind is Blowing among the Roma* is positively charged when describing the Roma in the region. However, it is still full of contradictions. For example, in the beginning of the article the author makes an almost racist remark, for it describes Roma as "dark-eyed bunch of boys and girls wandering on the streets of Murska Sobota". However, the article continues with describing the efforts of Roma to modernize and look more like the rest of the population. That is the reason why they wear modern clothes, not 'old-style Gypsy clothes", and why they have abandoned their nomadic way of life with tents and wagons, started building houses an

showed willingness to work in factories. However, the article still mentions Roma's alleged connection to and talent for music. When the article begins describing the Roma past, it refers to them as Gypsies, but when it describes Roma in the present and future it refers to them as Roma. It is interesting how, for the first time, the statements from the Roma themselves are included and they can even describe their point of view. It is not clear from the article whether the Roma are considered to be an ethnic group or a social group, since there are indications of both. For example, the article discusses how the old 'Gypsy habits' have to be completely abandoned. At the very end the article includes a very harsh condemnation of those employees who did not want to employ Roma and describes them as a sigh of Nazi racist ideology. Furthermore, the article also describes the claim of the Yugoslav Roma to gain a status not only as an ethnic group, but also, according to the article, as a "Gypsy nationality". The last part of the article therefore corresponds to the debates which were taking place throughout 1970 when Roma in Yugoslavia had a claim to be recognized as a separate nationality. This article is also a very early indicator of similar claims that were made in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

5.3.2. Međimurje

Vestnik was the only regional newspaper in a north-eastern Slovenian region near the Mura river. The river represented the border between the socialist republics of Croatia and Slovenia. On the other side of the river there the northernmost region in Croatia, called Međimurje, can be found. The main regional newspaper bears the name of the region. Since there were no articles in the national newspapers (such as Vjesnik) in that year, I have decided to do an

analysis of the regional newspaper and the media discourse it used for representing Roma in the year 1971.

Firstly, there were fewer articles in *Međimurje* which would include discourse on Roma. Seven out of nine articles were in the crime section again, but six of them did not include specific ethnic labeling as we have seen in the case of *Vestnik.* Most articles include last names, such as Balog and Oršuš, that are recognized as Roma last names by the locals. However, in one of the articles, where ethnic labeling did occur, it was very explicit. There was an article on the crime section page headlined "Gypsy women are breaking records in cheating" (see Appendix 5). The word 'Gypsy' is not capitalized in this article, therefore it can be assumed that they were considered to be a different social group by the author of the article. Furthermore, the article includes a description of how 'three gypsy women' broke into the house of 'Anton Horvat' and cheated a woman named 'Frančiška Golubović' for a big amount of money. In the beginning of the article, Roma women are not personalized by their own names, but are labeled as Gypsy women. Their names are mentioned in the final passage of the articles. We can see that in the article Roma (especially Roma women) are treated as a *different* and *deviant* social group that pose a *threat* by their actions[247]. We can see how criminality is ascribed to Roma, which is also one of the approaches of differentialist contemporary racism.

The other article that mentions Roma is not included in the crime section and its main topic is not about Roma. This article covers the whole page and is headlined "People of Orehovica about Orehovica". An article is basically a collection of statements (see Appendix 6) from people living in the village of Orehovica. One of the statements is given by a certain Mr Franjo Levak, a social worker, who mentions that there is a Roma settlement which is a part of the village, but separate from it. His statement about the Roma settlement is as follows:

[247] Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism,* 16.

"Next to the village of Orehovica, there exists a separate gypsy settlement, but with a large number of inhabitants, and nobody is especially concerned about them. Their birth rate is not decreasing, but their number is constantly increasing and, consequently, their needs as well. As a social worker, I think that the municipality should pay more attention to that problem and seriously consider it." In this article we can see a discourse on Roma similar to the article headlined "About the Gypsies Again". Here, Roma are considered to be a more indirect problem. However, as seen from the quotation from the article, the discourse on Roma includes differentialist racism, since it reproduces stereotypes about 'their' high birth rate, which is causing problems. It also emphasizes the difference between Roma and other villagers, who live separately from 'them'. However, it is not visible that Roma are treated as an ethnic group at all. Furthermore, this article was published after April 1971, but the labeling stays the same. Roma are still considered to be 'gypsies'. Therefore, Crowe's assumption about a general change in the Yugoslav press does not apply to all the media in Yugoslavia. Here, we can also see that the discourse on Roma does not point at them as an ethnic group, which means that there was no general consensus in Yugoslavia on whether Roma were an ethnic and not a social group.

Although articles that include groupist labeling are written in accordance with stereotypes about the Roma, the *Međimurje* also included an article about Yugoslav army recruits. The article was very positively charged and included a photography of two men with their last names, Bogdan and Ignac (see Appendix 7), who became best friends in the army. Both Bogdan and Ignac are considered to be Roma last names by the locals. However, this article neither categorizes these two men collectively as Roma or gypsies nor thematizes them as an important issue.

5.4. The transition period: 1991

5.4.1. Vestnik

The year 1991 was selected because in that year Slovenia and Croatia claimed their independence, which meant the start of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In comparison with the year 1971 we can see several changes in reporting and media discourse on Roma. The first change is the increase of number and average size of articles[248]. In 1991 there were 21 articles published that included Roma as major actors of the news. What still remains the same is that people who identify themselves as Roma are still not the authors of these articles, but most of them are written by journalists belonging to the majority group. However, this does not automatically mean that the reporting and media discourse on Roma is going to be stereotypical, so Van Dijk's claim needs to be examined. One of the major differences, when compared to 1971, is that reports on Roma are not centralized around crime section any longer. In this year there were only three articles that included Roma as being involved in acts of crime (mostly as victims). However, there is no reference or ethnic labeling in the crime section. Most articles that specifically deal with Roma can be found in other sections of the newspaper (e.g. Local News, Pulse of Life, Culture, Last Page, etc.). What is more, Roma are not identified with a derogative term like Gypsies anymore, but as Roma.

The first article (published on 14th March 1991, see Appendix 8) that included a discussion on the position of Roma was actually written by a person belonging to the Roma minority (as he identifies himself in the article). However, this article was published in the section called *Letters, Opinions, Standpoints*, which is a page reserved for readers' comments. Therefore, Vlado Rozman, the person who wrote an article, was not a minority journalist, but a reader

[248] Again this happened only at the regional level. According to the checked sample of the Slovenian national newspaper *Delo,* the number of articles on Roma remains low.

expressing his opinion. Although we cannot equate his position to journalists, it has to be noted that at least from 1991, Vestnik did give an opportunity to the Roma to express their views opinion and claims. The article headlined *Roma in the New Slovenian State* is important from several different perspectives. Firstly, it gives us a very eloquent minority perspective on the position of Roma in times of transition. It also expresses a claim about how their status should be accommodated in the new emerging state. The author of the article describes how the position of Roma was changing throughout decades in the region and what they have accomplished as a minority group. However, the author expresses disappointment about the formation of Romani Union, since he saw this as a consultation prize for the Roma, the reason being that the new constitution did not give Roma a status of national minority as it did to the Hungarian and Italian communities.

Most of the other articles focus on the events that include the Roma minority. For example, there are three articles about activities of the kindergarten in the Roma settlement of Pušča. Furthermore, there is also a report on the celebration of the International Roma Day. Although this article includes parts which exoticise the Roma and draws a distinction between 'Civilians' and the 'Roma', it cannot simply be concluded that it uses approaches of cultural or differentialist racism. This article also presents a report on the discrimination of Roma on the collapsing labor market. Furthermore, it also includes statements from the Roma themselves as well as their claim to be recognized as a national community in the new Slovenian constitution.

Although Roma are being presented as a distinct minority community, it seems that the discoursive distance separating the out-group and in-group is diminishing. Furthermore, it forms the critical discoursive analysis from this period. To some extent Roma are not discoursively shown as an outgroup, but as a part of a multicultural society. Although in some instances Roma are portrayed as distinct and even different, they are not portrayed as deviant

or a threat.[249] There are no prototypical stories on Roma in this period, neither are they portrayed as a collective. Rather, they are individualized and personalized. This is also seen in the interview (published on 12th September 1991 see Appendix 9) with Mihaela Han, who was selected to be the first Miss Roma in Slovenia. Furthermore, there is not even one article that would have phrases like "Roma problems" or "Roma question. What is more, there is no visible change in media discourse on Roma in the *Vestnik* after Slovenia had seceded from Yugoslavia. At least in this period there is no portrayal of conflicts on 'ethnic' grounds. However, discrimination is openly discussed and not legitimized by media discourse.

5.4.2. Međimurje

Media discourse on the other side of the Mura river in the Međimurje county was in many ways different in that period. First of all, we can observe that in the case of the newspaper *Međimurje* the number of articles on Roma decreases in 1991 in comparison with 1971. There are only seven articles that include discourse on Roma. Almost half of them (three) were included in the crime section. In comparison with 1991 in the crime section, Roma are ethnically labeled and even stigmatized. The first article, which includes Roma as actors, appears in the *Međimurje* on 22th February 1991. The article is a part of the crime section and is headlined *Physical Fight in Kotoriba* (see Appendix 10). The article starts with the sentence: "Ethnic conflicts in Kotoriba continue". The sides involved in this physical conflict are described as "traditional settlers[250] from Kotoriba" and "Roma from the nearby Roma settlement". While the "traditional settlers" are described as acting in self-defense, the

[249] Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism,* 26.
[250] The exact word used by the journalist is "starosjedioci" that literally means indigenous people. However, the connotation is that Croatians are traditional settlers, while the Roma are nomads.

individuals, who are labeled as Roma, are described as fully armed. While all 'traditional settlers' are named, only two Roma are named as individuals, the others are simply collectivized as Roma. Here, we can again see the cognitive scheme suggested by Van Dijk, according to which differences within outgroups are minimized and described as negative, while the differences between US and THEM are maximized).[251] Furthermore, the behavior of Roma individuals is considered to be problematic, while the acts of violence from Croatians (who are labeled as traditional settlers) are legitimized as self-defense.

One of the other articles published on 1st March 1991 is headlined *Roma Settlement of Kotoriba: "We Beg on the other Side of the Drava River, in Croatia"*(See appendix 11). This article is different from the articles from 1971. Statements from Roma were completely excluded. In this article the main space is devoted to confessions of people living in the Roma settlement in the form of direct statements. However, the statements are not equipped with names of the people who gave them to the journalist, but are simply listed and seemingly prescribed to the "Roma collective" as if all the people in the settlement shared the same opinion. On the other hand, there is a statement about how crime should be individualized and not ethnically collectivized. One of the statements explains that most Roma are beggars and live in poor conditions, since they are being discriminated against on the labor market: "We even apply for the most difficult jobs, but they never take Roma". On the one hand, Roma in this article are presented as problems as well as the victims of those problems through their statements. According to Gilroy, this is a typical strategy of cultural racism, since the members belonging to the outgroup are described either as criminals or as victims.

Similarly to the 1971 article, there is also a section in the newspaper headlined "Word to Members of the Community", which includes statements from people in different towns. On 12th June 1991 there was a presentation of a village called Trnovec (see Appendix 12). While

[251] Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism*, 26.

in 1971 Roma were not interviewed in any town, this time the statements from the Roma were included. However, in opposition to other villagers, the Roma voice is again being collectivized as a unified voice. [252]

However, at the very end of the year the voice of the Roma minority becomes individualized. On 27th December 1991, in a special section of the newspaper, New Year's wishes from different politicians are included. Here, the president of the Romani party Željko Balog too was given space to express his best wishes for the year to come (see Appendix 13). Furthermore, in his statement, Balog explicitly uses a discourse on Roma as being a "Roma nation".

5.5. The European integration period

As Slovenia and Croatia were approaching the time of so called European integration process, the number of articles including Roma rise. For example in the year 2004, when Slovenia joined the EU, Roma became a topic of national newspapers as well. However, the greatest increase of articles, where Roma were included as actors happened in 2006. In November and December of 2006 only there were 163 articles with media discourse on Roma in the national newspaper of *Večer.* The reason for such a drastic increase in interest on Roma can be found in the events happening this year, which put the Roma minority in major attention as I will describe in further analysis. In addition, from the year 2000 (but mostly concentrated in the year 2006 as well) there were many different publications pubished. , which focused on the media discourse analysis and reporting on Roma.

[252] Ibid., 26.

In this section I will maily focus on on the critical discourse analysis of the events around the eviction of the Roma settlement near Ambrus in Slovenia in the end of the year of 2006. I will analyze media reporting of the newspaper *Delo*[253]. Since similar analysis had not been made in the case of Croatia, I will analyze articles that were published in Croatian regional newspaper Međimurje national newspaper *Vječerni list* in the year 2010.

5.5.1. Media discourse on the eviction on the Roma settlement near Ambrus or the so called "Ambrus Drama"

In the interview for the newspaper *Delo*, Janez Janša categorized Romani citizens of Slovenia as not only belonging to a different culture, but also as a different civilization in a Huntingtonian tone: "If you visit a Roma settlement near the village of Ambrus and then the village itself, you will be able to witness different cultures or civilizations, which does not necessarily mean that oppositions and conflicts are inevitable. Different cultures can co-exist as long as the law is respected by all citizens."[254] It was overtly symptomatic that Janša mentioned the Roma settlement near the village of Ambrus since it has become a scene of the worst pogrom in the state's short history.[255]

[253] I will not analyse the newspaper *Vestnik* since analysis of this newspaper has already been done and it showed similar discoursibe pattern and process of developent.

[254] Source: http://www.delo.si/index.php?sv_path=43,49&so=Sobotna+priloga&da=20040731&ed=&pa=4&ar=01d9ae2f1f3b048b20b39f54f527f73e04&fromsearch=1 (last accessed on 5th April 2011)

[255] Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, Julija Sardelić, Miro Samardžija, "Balancing the Roma Voice: The Ambrus Drama and Media Construction of Intercultural Dialogue in Slovenia", in *The Future of Intercultural Dialogue in Europe: Views From the In-Between* (Ljubljana: ZIFF, 2008), 153.

The trigger that started "the Ambrus drama"[256] was a physical fight (on 22nd October, 2006) between a member of the Roma community and an "ethnic Slovenian" (or, more precisely, a non-Roma) from the village of Ambrus, who was hospitalised. Since he was recognized as an important figure in the Ambrus community, villagers had a meeting soon after the incident and decided to ostracize the Romani villagers from their municipality. Due to fears of retaliation, all of the approximately 50 inhabitants of the Roma settlement fled into the woods, where they remained for several days, while their settlement was partly destroyed by the villagers and had to be protected by the special units of the Slovenian police force. On the sixth day, soon after the Romani community had returned to their homes, an Ambrus mob approached the settlement chanting slogans like 'Kill the Gypsy!' and threatening to take justice into their own hands by burning the settlement in front of cameras of the Slovenian national television. The police formed a blockade between the mob and the settlement when the Minister of the Interior, Dragutin Mate, arrived to the scene to negotiate peace between both sides (in reality, one side attacking the other). He convinced the 'Roma' to 'voluntarily' leave their settlement telling them they would otherwise be killed by the mob, while making a promise to the mob into a megaphone that they would never return. With the help of state authorities, they were evicted from their settlement and put into a refugee centre, thus becoming "refugees in their homeland."[257]

[256] Ibid. 154.
[257] Ibid. 154.
After the eviction, when the inhabitants expressed the wish to return to their settlement, their houses had already been demolished by state authorities (claiming that although the land was theirs, houses had been illegally built) in front of their eyes – symbolically one day before Christmas Eve. Slovenian ombudsman Matjaž Hanžek protested against the eviction, categorizing it as the "death of the rule of law", and the Council of Europe's high commissioner of human rights, Thomas Hammarberg, stated (while on visit in Slovenia because of this particular case) that state authorities had roughly violated human rights of their citizens. Meanwhile, the Slovenian authorities were putting efforts into a permanent reallocation of their people from the Roma settlement near Ambrus. In every village, where the Romani community was to be settled, a mob formed disallowing 'the Roma' to become

Vidmar Horvat and her colleagues (2008) argue that the eviction of the Roma settlement near the village of Ambrus was represented as a media spectacle since it was breaking news for at least two weeks in all major national media around the time of eviction. In my analysis, I will focus on the media portrayal of "the Ambrus Drama" in the national newspaper *Delo*.

Media reports in the newspaper on the events before the eviction began on 23th October, 2006, with a very short article in the 'crime' section of the newspaper. The article was headlined "Roma have brutally beaten up a villager of Ambrus". It is evident that already in the headline 'Roma' are presented as a category distinct from the Ambrus villager. Furthermore, the Ambrus villager is portrayed as an individual (even as a respected villager and retired manager). In opposition to such individualization and positive characterization of the villagers of Ambrus, 'the Roma' are presented as a faceless and homogeneous collective. This corresponds to Yuval Davis' argumentation that stigmatized minorities are usually represented as a homogeneous and unified collective, and when their voices and portrayal appears in the media there is a tendency to depict them as distinct and culturally different as possible.[258] Furthermore, 'the Roma collective' in the article is connected to crime in a similar way as Blacks are, as Gilroy discussed.[259] What is even more apparent is that this 'Roma collective' is signified with an ethnic demarcation. While the member of the ethnic majority is localized and marked geographically as a villager and a member of community, 'the Roma' are de-territorialized (also because this community was not defined as autochthonous) and perceived as not belonging to the same village as members of the majority, although in reality they were also a part of it. This can also be derived from the stereotypical image of Roma as

---

their new neighbours. After approximately six months, they were permanently resettled to the Ljubljana suburb of Roje, far away from any 'ethnic Slovenian' settlements. So far, no one has been held responsible for the eviction.

[258] Nira Yuval Davis, *Gender and Nation,* 57.
[259] Paul Gilroy, *There ain't no Black,*

unsettled nomads, which was, according to Spreizer, reproduced by Romologists such as Pavla Štrukelj, whose book carries the title *Thousand Years of Images of Restless Nomads.*[260] Such a discourse of nomads versus the autochthonous population can be used as a solid justification for cultural racism and practices such as pogroms and evictions. Even on the first day of reporting in an article that did not have more than 200 words, we can observe how different collective signifiers are employed to make a distinction between Roma and the majority. Roma are categorized as a distinct ethnicity, culture, community of crime and as de-territorialized nomads.

While on the first two days there was no visual material, the photographic material became important before the eviction (25.10.2006 - 29.10.2006), when the conflict escalated and the non-Roma villagers of Ambrus were looking for justification as to why the Roma of their community had to be evicted. During this phase the whole narrative moved from the crime section to the first page of the newspaper, where usually the visualization of the non-Romani mob was present. The article on the front page gave an explanation as to why the non-Romani mob (this time the majority group was collectivised) wanted to evict the inhabitants of the Roma settlement. The eviction of the inhabitants of the Roma settlement was justified by such descriptions as: "large Roma family", "aggression of Roma with pistols", "unregistered cars", "illegally built houses". All these attributes were ascribed to the Roma culture in a much different manner. It is interesting to observe how the newspaper *Delo* never emphasised that the whole settlement was first evicted and then demolished, but instead labelled the inhabitants of the settlement as "the Roma family Strojan". On the one hand, such phrasing is trying to minimize the eviction (i.e. only one extended family was evicted, not the whole settlement). On the other hand, this was done to emphasize the importance of kinship for the 'distinctive' Roma culture. While the non-Romani villagers of Ambrus were portrayed on the

[260] Alenka Janko Spreizer, "Neavtohtoni in avtohtoni Romi", 211.

cover page of the newspaper, photographs of inhabitants of the Roma settlement appeared on the third page of *Delo* headlined "Events of the Day". Here the readers could see a visualisation of the untidy Roma settlement.

However, there was a slight change in the reporting, as Vidmar Horvat et al. noted in their work.[261] While on the first days of reporting, Roma were only portrayed as a collective, in this phase we can see some distinct voices coming to the forefront giving 'a voice to the collective' and balancing narratives.[262] The most distinct voice in *Delo* (and similarly also in other newspapers) was the voice of the 'head' of the family that was introduced as "Mother Jelka". In the visual portrayal of "Mother Jelka" there is a stunning resemblance to Dorothea Lange's photograph of a migrant mother. The journalist writing for *Delo* never presented that person with her full name "Elka Strojan" (that was in fact not even Jelka), nor acknowledging her full personality, but always reduced her to a mere type naming her as "Mother Jelka". Therefore, she was always connected to the collective – her 'Roma' family.

Furthermore, looking at this phase of reporting, we can observe a similar phrasing to the one found in warlike discourse: "Situation still tense in the region of Suha Krajina", "Policemen in uniforms and plain clothes all around", etc. The warlike discourse was accompanied by journalist's commentaries headlined "We, Roma" (29th October 2006 – right before the eviction), quoted as follows[263]:

"On the one hand, we have the Roma living in their world, who are different, who do not always respect private property. At least not in the way the majority does. On the other hand, there are people who live their 'ordinary lives', pay taxes and live with Roma. Roma occasionally stole from them, threatened them. And if someone had no luck while running, also beat them.

This is what was happening. The state should solve this conflict for the region, but – in the conflict of two cultures- was not able to do so."(Delo, 29.10.2006).

[261] Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, Julija Sardelić, Miro Samardžija, "Balancing the Roma Voice,", 154.
[262] Ibid., 155.
[263] Ibid. 162.

After the eviction on 29th October, the visualisation of the people who used to live in the Roma settlement in the village of Ambrus was moved to the cover page of the newpaper *Delo*. Suddenly, the shift happened and the Roma were no longer depicted as criminals, but as victims. However, we can draw a parallel with Gilroy's writing again, who in his book explains how Blacks (and in our case Roma) are either portrayed as criminals or victims.[264] After the eviction we can find newspaper headings such as "In Europe persecution of Roma not the dark past" and "Unsettled night for Roma refugees" (*Delo*, 2.11.2006). Ironically, as argued by Vidmar Horvat et al., they became "refugees in their own country."[265].

In the third phase of media reporting, after the eviction happened, we were able to witness some of the so-called critical voices getting some space in the media. For example, Slovenian Ombudsman Matjaž Hanžek labelled the eviction as "the end of the rule of law". In addition, some of the representatives of the Roma community had an opportunity to comment on the event, such as the secretary of the Roma Union in Slovenia, Janja Rošker. However, according to Ksenija Vidmar Horvat and her colleagues, her voice was used as a typical portrayal of the colonized subject that gives legitimisation to the racist discourse of the majority. That was seen in the statement following statement by her: "Our Roma [autochthonous Roma from Prekmurje] come from Hungary, while the Roma from the Dolenjska region come from the Balkans" (*Delo*, 3.11.2006). This statement should be also perceived with reference to the context of European integration. According to Mitja Velikonja (2005), the process of European integration in Slovenia can be characterised as *Eurosis*. In his analysis, during the process of European integration, Slovenian political discourse was preoccupied with the invention of 'new' tradition for Slovenia. According to this newly invented tradition, the Slovenian state geographically and even more culturally belonged to

[264] Paul Gilroy, *There ain't no Black,* 110.
[265] Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, Julija Sardelić, Miro Samardžija, "Balancing the Roma Voice,"

the "mittel-Europa" and no longer to the Balkans as other former Yugoslavian republics. This was the point of distinction of Slovenia. However, for this distinction to be possible, Slovenia had to be symbolically cleansed of Balkan elements.[266] According to the public narratives of the extreme rightist politician Zmago Jelinčič (leader of the Slovenian Nationalist Party – SNS), Slovenia not only belonged to the "Mittel Europa", but also all the Roma living in Slovenia came there not before the end of World War II with the Yugoslav Army.[267]. Furthermore, Todorova argues that labelling something as 'Balkan' corresponds to the demarcation of the *Other* within or the savage alter ego without developed civilization as in the case of the Orient.[268] Analysing Balkanist discourse can be useful in this case for interpreting the way in which the Roma were perceived by the majority population. Rošker's emphasis that "Our" Roma also come from the Central European space (i.e. Hungary) must be read in the context of Jelinčič's narratives.

Although after the eviction some media space was given to critical voices, they were always somehow balanced by explanations and justifications from voices of the majority population that were giving the justification for the eviction. One such justification was given in an article on 17th November in the newspaper *Delo* headlined "He is not afraid of the bear, but of Roma" that gave different reasons as to why the majority population was afraid of the Roma, who were by nature deviant and inclined to criminality, according to their understanding. Naturalization of the Roma criminal character is best seen in this article in the visualization of the children that were evicted from the Roma settlement. The caption under the photograph read: "From cute kids grow uncontrollable villains" (*Delo* 17.11.2006, see Appendix 14). Therefore, reading this caption critically, Roma children have a genetic predisposition to

[266] Mitja Velikonja, *Eurosis: A Critique of the New Eurocentrism* (Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2005).
[267] Mladina, http://www.mladina.si/tednik/200512/clanek/nar-kdo_je_kdaj--ursa_matos/
[268] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

become villains, which is a clear sign of employment of cultural racism towards Roma through categories of ethnic distinction.

5.5.2. Croatia in the process of European integration and media discourse on Roma

Unlike in Slovenia, no similar media discourse analysis has been conducted in Croatia, but I will nevertheless include both in my research – how regional and selected national media reported on the Roma minority. Firstly, I will show the main characteristics of the regional media and then compare them with the national media. The year 2010 was selected for two different reasons. Firstly, because this was the year in which the European Court of Human Rights in the case *Oršuš and Others vs. Croatia*[269] decided that the Croatian state was violating the European Convention on Human Rights with class segregation of Romani children[270]. This decision was very important for the Croatian process of integration to EU, since it opened several questions about whether Croatia complied with the already mentioned Copenhagen Criteria from 1993, especially in the context of the protection of human rights and minorities. Therefore, the second reason is the huge importance of that year for Croatia as far as European integration process is concerned.

[269] Source: http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3569

[270] The European Roma Rights Center reports on the case as follows: "The Oršuš case involved 14 children attending mainstream primary schools in three different Croatian villages who were placed in segregated Roma-only classes due to alleged language difficulties. The applicants argued that the placement in these Roma-only classes stemmed from blatant discrimination based on ethnicity. The schools' policies were reinforced by the local majority population's anti-Romani sentiments represented by the European Roma Rights Center (ERRC), the Croatian Helsinki Committee and local attorney Lovorka Kusan. The case went to the European Court in 2004. After a negative judgment in 2008, it reached the Grand Chamber upon appeal. "The Grand Chamber's decision is of great importance to the applicants and other Romani children in Croatia, as it acknowledges that they have suffered unlawful discrimination," said Ms Kusan. "It is now up to the government to ensure that these illegal practices stop and remedies are offered to affected Romani children." The Court awarded the applicants 4,500 euros each in non-pecuniary damages, plus a total of 10,000 euros for costs and expenses."

Since the segregation of Roma children was established for two elementary schools (Macinec and Podturen), which belong to the Međimurje county, the event was reported in the regional newspaper. However, the report of the event itself was not very prominent in the newspaper as a whole, as we were able to observe in the case of the Ambrus drama in Slovenia. What gained more media attention was the aftermath of this event in the forms of journalist commentaries and political discussions as well as emphasizing good practices from the region.

What we can notice in the period during the year 2010 is that the number of articles that included discourse on Roma drastically increased in comparison with the year 1991. The number of articles dealing directly or indirectly with the position of Roma increased to 56. That means that there was practically no edition of the newspaper Međimurje in which the Roma would not be included. Furthermore, the visualization (80 photographs) and size of the articles increased too, which decreased the representation of Roma in the crime section. Only 7% of all articles describing Roma as actors could be found on the crime section page. Most of these articles portrayed Roma se victims. Articles that identified individual members of the Roma community as criminals did not include ethnic labeling. However, for example, in the article headlined *Sitnice: They Have Beaten up the Police Again* (see Appendix 15) the reader was quite easily able to decode that *"They"* referred to Roma. What this analysis showed is that ethnic labeling is not necessary for approaches of cultural racism to be employed. On the other hand, ethnic demarcation does not necessarily mean cultural racism. Furthermore, articles that were not about education, in a general review, did not use terms as "Roma question" or "Roma problem", as it was typical of the Slovenian media discourse on Roma. However, most of the topics that were included in the newspaper in different ways connected the Roma minority with the problems of the region. For example, there were 14% of articles that were dealing with the living conditions of Roma. While journalists themselves avoided

using stereotypical discourse on Roma, they chose statements such as, e.g. local politicians, to confirm stereotypes of Roma. For example, one such statement, which was also a headline of the article, was: "Roma should earn every penny they get". This article also represents Roma as a collective living on social support and not being willing to work. Again, we can see a confirmation of Van Dijk's scheme, where outgroups are being collectivized and negatively presented.[271] Furthermore, the newspaper also published letters from the readers, which included typical *strategies of denial*: "I don't have anything against the Roma, BUT they should learn to behave." One of the strategies used in media portrayal of the Roma minority was the phrase "Roma voice". However, in some cases this Roma voice was not unified, but the difference was made between good and bad Roma. An article was headlined *"I am sorry that I voted for the legalization of this settlement"*. It presents us with the story of one of the families that had to leave the Roma settlement due to threats of other Roma villagers. Similarly as Ayan Hirsi Ali's voice is used for the negative portrayal of the problematic (and unified) 'Muslim' culture, here one of the Roma voices is used to negatively portray the Roma community in general. On the other hand, it has to be also pointed out, that in the year 2010 also critical Roma voices were given a space in the newpaper. However, not as journalists, but as writers of reader's letters. But these letters are more of an exception that a rule.

14% of the articles focused on different EU projects that were conducted in order to improve the position of Roma. Discourse in these articles mainly focused on efforts of the majority population to improve the position of Roma. This article falls under Van Dijk's principle of *intergroup relation schemata,*[272] where 'taking care of the Roma' can be perceived as a positive representation of the ingroups. Since the treatment of minorities is a very important

[271] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Discoure, Racism,* 26.
[272] Ibid. 45.

criterium of *EU-Conditionality*, it was also important to present examples of good practices as well.

More than 50% of articles in this period focused on questions of Roma education. Several articles were dealing with the question about how to implement the decision of the European Court of Human Rights. Furthermore, on 22th April 2010 the newspaper included one of the commentaries by the journalist, who denied that discrimination had even happened and used the *strategy of reversal,* according to which the majority group is being discriminated against.[273] The title of this commentary was "*Not Segregation but Roma Terror"*(see Appendix 16). The basic point of this article is that the public should not be focused on how Roma children are being allegedly segregated in elementary schools. Media discourse should focus more on the so-called *Roma terror* which the Roma minority (seemingly collectively, according to the article) are carrying out in the form of criminal deeds, such as beating and stealing. Furthermore, some of the articles portray outstanding individuals in the Roma community that have not chosen "the Romani way of life", but decided to finish secondary schooling and even university.

While in previous years there was practically no media reporting on the Roma minority in the national newspaper, this changed in 2010. For this analysis I have selected the Croatian national newspaper *Večernji list.* In the year 2010 there were 46 articles that were dedicated to the position of Roma directly or indirectly. 11 articles focused on the position of Roma in education (in connection with the European Court of Human Rights decision), while 18 articles focused on crime. However, in most of the articles Roma were perceived both as victims and as criminals. For example, an article published on 8th March 2010 was headlined

[273] Ibid. 50.

"We Are Afraid That Our Neighbors Roma Will Steal Our Kids"[274]. The article describes how a group of 'good' Roma are attacked by a group of 'bad' Roma. The article from 22nd December 2010[275] is headlined "Six Roma Families Evicted from Krnjak, No More Thefts and Violence". The article published on 27th April[276] gives an argumentation about why that settlement has to be 'removed', since the formerly peaceful village, "where most of the people were farmers", turned into a "lawless Texas with the arrival of Roma families". In all these articles Roma are not only presented as different, deviant and a threat[277], but also as foreigners and barbarians against the civilized traditional settlers.[278] Such articles include statements of denial in form of direct quotations, such as "We have nothing against the Roma, BUT" or "We are not racists, BUT". Although Roma are mostly presented as a problem, there were also articles which presented Roma as victims (e.g. an article on a Roma boy, who was raped in one of the student residences), as well articles, in which the Roma community was seeking vengeance.

While crime was a predominant topic in the reporting on Roma, the second most widely discussed topic in this newspaper was the question of segregation of Romani children. Here, we can find articles which use the "Roma voice" to deny discrimination. One of the articles, published on 14th May 2010[279], is headlined "Roma from Paraga Are Collecting Signatures to Support Parents of Croatian Children". Other articles are emphasizing the 'backwardness' of Roma children, with which teachers have to deal with: "Most of the kids from Roma

[274]http://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/bojimo-se-da-ce-nam-susjedi-romi-ukrasti-djecu-pobjeci-clanak-107290

[275] http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/sest-romskih-obitelji-iseljeno-krnjaka-nema-ni-krada-ni-nasilja-clanak-231395

[276] http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/prijetili-su-mi-bejzbol-palicom-kada-sam-im-rekao-da-se-smire-clanak-132243

[277] Teun Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism,* 18.

[278] Ibid.48.

[279] http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/romi-paraga-potpisuju-peticiju-potpore-roditeljima-hrvatske-djece-clanak-140795

settlements saw the toilet seat for the first time" (19th September 2010)[280]. Some of the articles even included open racist comments of extreme politicians comparing members of the Roma minority to black ravens who violated the peaceful life of "white beautiful boys from Međimurje". While others draw up the attention to discrimination of Roma, as for example the article entitled "When they enter school, their first foreign language is Croatian" (12th October)[281] As a parallel to the topic of education discrimination we are able to observe several articles on how countries of the European Union, e.g. France and Hungary, violate the rights of Roma on a daily basis more severely than Croatia, but since they are in the European Union, they are not being punished for that. However, the exception is perhaps an article on Hungary's treatment of Roma headlined "Hungary Gets a Visa Regime from Canada due to Racism" (1st February 2010)[282]. Such a strategy is used to regain the positive, or at least a better image, of an ingroup with comparison to other group treatment of a certain minority.

5.6. Research Findings Based on Media Discourse Analysis

Media discourse analysis showed how Roma were treated and perceived from the majority's point of view. In all periods analyzed, we were able to witness that no journalists reporting on Roma were Roma. However, we were able to witness a certain change. For example, while in 1971 no statements from Roma were included in newspaper articles at all, this started changing in the period when in 2010 most the newspapers do include statements from Roma.

Similarly as for the legal discourse analysis we cannot conclude that Yugoslavia had a unified approach towards Roma. This is also seen in the first part of media discourse analysis of the period of 1971. Crowe states that reporting on Roma changes significantly after the first

[280] http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/vecina-malisana-romskih-naselja-prvi-put-vidjela-wc-skoljku-clanak-192895

[281] http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/kad-sjednu-klupe-prvi-strani-jezik-im-je-hrvatski-clanak-202364

[282] http://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/madarskoj-vizni-rezim-kanadu-zbog-rasizma-clanak-90314

Romani Congress in April of 1971. One of the changes was also supposed to be that newspapers in Yugoslavia would abandon the usage of what was perceived as a derogative term for Roma, i.e. *the Gypsies*.[283] This change was in fact visible in the case of the Slovenian regional newspaper *Vestnik.* After April 1971, the term Gypsy completely disappeared from the newspaper and was replaced by the term Roma. Furthermore, the crime section almost never used ethnic labeling for criminals. While some articles (especially reporting on events from the administrative unit of Lendava) were openly racist towards Roma, this racism seemed to have mostly vanished after April 1971 or at least had a distinctively different tone. However, the last article on Roma in *Vestnik* from 1971 gives us a mixed image of how Roma were treated. On the one hand, it seems to employ a loose tone of cultural supremacy towards Roma, who should lose their backward traditions for the purpose of becoming a national minority. It seems that this article is suggesting that Roma are not yet fully a national group, but can become one in further development. Of course, this approach of viewing Roma culture as inferior does have certain notes of cultural racism. On the other hand, the article also includes awareness of how Roma had been discriminated earlier. Therefore, what exactly this article is trying to say about Roma cannot uniformly be interpreted. However, the first article includes the Roma voice claiming the status of a national minority.

While we were able to witness a change in discourse on Roma in the Slovenian regional newspaper *Vestnik,* as stated by Crowe, a similar change in the shift from the discourse on Gypsies to the discourse on Roma did not happen in the Croatian newspaper *Međimurje.* When Roma were categorized collectively, they were labeled as gypsies throughout the year. However, it has to be noted that the Croatian newspaper did, in fact, try to avoid collective (ethnic) labeling in most articles. While it is not absolutely clear whether Roma in the

[283] David M. Crowe, *The History of the Gypsies,* 226.

Slovenian newspaper are perceived as an ethnic group or social category throughout the year, they were more strictly portrayed as a problematic social group in the Croatian case.

The discourse on Roma as problems or having problems stayed persistent also in 1991 in the case of the Croatian newspaper, but instead of social labeling, ethnic labeling began. However, in the case of Vestnik this ethnic labeling did not employ cultural racism, as in the case of the Croatian newspaper. Although in most articles Roma were specifically marked ethnically, it would be overhasty to say that there is a differentialist treatment in the sense of cultural racism. For example, no ethnic labels were present in the crime section. Here, Roma were portrayed as equal members of the community, interviewed as individuals and their opinion about their own position was also published. Such a portrayal of Roma in the newspaper still seems more of an exception than a rule. In the Croatian media, ethnic labeling was present in the crime section and the Roma voice was collectivized in most cases. However, there was also a place for Roma representatives to state their opinion, which they were not able to do in 1971. Although the position of Roma was discussed in both newspapers, no major changes could be perceived when both countries became independent. Roma were mostly a marginal media topic, especially in Croatia.

A major shift has happened in the representation of Roma in the period of European integration for both countries. Suddenly, events including Roma are not a marginal topic in regional newspapers, but of national importance. In an instant, there is more visualization of Roma in the newspaper and more articles not only in the regional newspaper, but also as headlines and top stories in national newspapers. Although we were able to witness some positive changes regarding reporting on Roma in the *Vestnik*, it seems that national newspapers stayed with old cognitive schemata of cultural racism. Roma became overrepresented as criminals in the crime section and most reports focused on alleged 'ethnic' conflicts between the minority and majority, which was based on supposed differences in

cultures or, in some cases, even civilizations. Now, the frame of the debate was integration to the European Union, since Roma found themselves in a position perceived as threatening to Europeans of both countries. While in Slovenia, they were portrayed as backwards and not Europeans as Slovenians were. In Croatia, they were perceived as a threat for Croatians and still eager to prove their 'Europeanness'. In both cases, however, Roma were portrayed as the Other. It is interesting to observe that a similar argumentation of Roma being the Other can be perceived in articles from the Yugoslav period. For example, one of the most common portrayals of Roma was in opposition to 'traditional settlers', who were the unnamed majority group. Most newspaper reports simply assumed that settlers had a right to decide whether Roma could live on 'their' land or not.

Bearing in mind the above observations, media analysis showed that Roma were not constructed as the *Other* in post-socialist states, but were only repositioned as such to serve a new hegemonic ideology. However, the argumentation about Roma being *the Other* remained unchanged practically throughout the whole analyzed period (again, with a slight exception of the regional newspaper *Vestnik*).

6. VOICES WITHIN: A CASE STUDY IN ROMA COMMUNITIES OF KAMENCI AND OREHOVICA

From the analysis of the legal approach towards the Roma minority in different historical constellations (socialist Yugoslavia vs. post-socialist Slovenia and Croatia) as well as from media discourse analysis on the portrayal of the Roma minority we can make some general observations. Firstly, although the SFRY was perceived as the most progressive among the socialist states before 1991 considering the position of the Roma minority[284], we can see that is has not avoided a certain hierarchy based on a tri-dimensional classification[285]. Although many analysts researching the position of Roma claim that at a certain point all socialist republics of Yugoslavia recognized Roma as an ethnic group after having analyzed the constitutions of socialist republics of Slovenia and Croatia, it can be concluded that that was not the case in these two republics. The socialist republics of Slovenia and Croatia did not define Roma as a constitutionally separate group or a community until the collapse of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, media discourse analysis showed that none of the countries in the Yugoslav period avoided the usage of racist media discourse towards the Roma, who were being presented as deviant and as a threat.[286] Also, after analyzing media discourse in Croatia in the Yugoslav period, we can conclude that Roma were constructed merely as a social group that needed to be assimilated, which is similar to the findings made by Michael Stewart about the community's period in Hungary.[287] On the other hand, Slovenian local media, in an analyzed period of the year 1971, included the 'Roma voice', whose claim was present already in Yugoslavia to be recognized as a nationality. However, in the particular relations of power this voice did not present the priority in management of Yugoslavian diversity. As

[284] Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 122.
[285] Ibid., 116.
[286] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Discourse, Racism*, 47.
[287] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies*, 97.

argued by Foucault, knowledge and different categorization are not mere representatives of reality, but more of relations of power.[288]

Different studies have shown that although the voices of the Roma minority are included in media portrayal, they have also been usually marginalized in the post-socialist constellation.[289] Furthermore, although there were clear claims made by the representatives of the Roma community in order to be recognized as a national minority, they were frequently overheard. In addition, when claims were recognized to a certain extent, e.g. in Slovenia, in order for the government to make decisions on the position of Roma, they did not need Roma representatives to consent (as in the case of Hungarian and Italian minorities), but were treated merely as a consultation body. Thus, eventually Roma did not end up deciding for themselves and in most cases they did not have an opportunity to present their view in the national media, while the role of minority media was marginalized.

An analysis of the legal approach and media discourse showed that Roma are being represented by non-Roma, while their voices stay on the outskirts of society. In the next phase of my research, I therefore decided to give the people who belong to the Roma minority their own voice to see how they perceive their own present and past positions in different historical constellations. As Michael Stewart has shown in his anthropological research among Roma in Hungary, Roma did not perceive themselves as marginalized, but as an inverted logic of *Othering* and perceived *Gažo* [the non-Roma] as the *Other* being of a lesser value than Roma.[290] In my study, I will focus on whether something similar can be concluded for the Roma in Slovenia and Croatia. Since it is impossible to make a complete overview of how all Roma in Croatia and Slovenia perceive their own position in society, for this part of the research it was necessary to select a sample and research it as a case study. For the purposes

[288] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge.*
[289] Karmen Erjavec, Barbara Kelbl, Sandra Bašić Hrvatin, *We about Roma.*
[290] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies,* 19.

of my research, I decided to conduct a research in two Roma communities: in the Roma settlement Kamenci in Slovenia and in the Roma settlement Orehovica in Croatia.

6.1. Justification for selecting two communities: Comparison of the socio-economic position of people from the Roma communities in Kamenci and Orehovica

Numerous research findings included in this part of the thesis were gathered during the research within the project with the acronym ROKIC: "DROM" that took place in the period between 1st January 2010 and 30th June 2010. This project was financed by the Instrument of Pre–Accession Assistance (IPA Slovenia/Croatia) of the European Commission. The main objective of the research was to understand how members of the selected Roma community understand cultural heritage. The research was conducted by a research team of the Department of Sociology from the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana: Miro Samardžija and I conducted a field research, while Professor Ksenija Vidmar Horvat was research coordinator and scientific supervisor. All quantitative data included in this part of the thesis were collected as well as quantitative field interviews were conducted in the framework of this research. In Orehovica, I included additional questions to the interviews for the purpose of the thesis[291]. However, most field interviews in the Roma settlement Kamenci for the purposes of this thesis were conducted by me in the same period of time, but independently from the research of the ROKIC: "DROM" project.

Two Roma communities from Croatia and Slovenia were selected for the purposes of this thesis for many reasons. All these reasons contributed to a fertile ground for a comparative

[291] Here I have to express my gratitude to Miro Samardžija and Dijana Čurin, who were accompaing me in this part of the research.

and contrastive analysis of the position of Roma in the selected historical and geographical constellations. These reasons are as follows:

a) Historically and geographically, these two communities belong to the same region by the Mura river. The distance between them is approximately 40 km. However, the Mura river became a socially constructed 'natural' border between the two independent states of Slovenia and Croatia, which subjected both regions and the Roma in the region to different political constellations (during the time of the research, Slovenia was a member state of the European Union, while Croatia was a candidate state).

b) Most studies that focused on the position of Roma in Yugoslavia simply omitted this region on arguing that a very small percentage of the overall Roma population of Yugoslavia lived there. However, from the regional point of view, the Roma minority is one of the largest, if not the largest (at least on the Croatian side) minority of the region.

c) Both communities have similar socio-economic indicators and are topographically separated from settlements of the majority population.

d) While policy makers and many social scientists categorize these two communities as being Roma, many other prominent scientists from the field of Romani studies argue such as Marcel Courthiade[292] that, according to linguistic and historical data, they should be categorized differently. While the community in Kamenci uses a dialect of the *Romani Čhib* (international Romani language), the community in Orehovica uses *ljimba d'Bajaš*, which is an old Romanian dialect. This community is categorized as a

[292] http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama

Bayash community on the basis of their language. To illustrate with Courthiade: "Bayash are not Roma, but their ancestors migrated from Upper Mezija, the region on the border between Serbia and Romania."[293] This reconsideration too had to be taken into consideration in the process of this research.

6.2. Features of the research

The primary objective of this research was to gain a better understanding of how people live in (what is understood as) Roma communities, and their present position in two post-socialist states in comparison with their previous or past positions in the socialist Yugoslavia. My special aim of this research was to ascertain whether and how members of these two communities perceive the differentialist treatment towards them, on the one hand. On the other hand, the aim was also to understand how and whether the members of the community evaluate the presence/non-presence of the differentialist (or even discriminatory or racist) treatment in Yugoslavia as something that was present due to their perceived ethnic background. Put simply, I posed a general question to the members of both communities: How do they evaluate their life in the contemporary political constellation in comparison with the socialist Yugoslavia?

After a description of few basic characteristics of both settlements, I will present the results of the analysis of the following features:

a) How do members of both communities categorize and perceive **ethnicity**? Since ethnicity can be understood as a trajectory and not merely a static artifact as well as,

[293] http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama

according to Hall, a historical process with an analysis of this question, we will be able to understand whether members of these two communities identify themselves as Roma or not. Furthermore, we will be able to understand whether their perception of ethnicity was shaped by the transition of two different production systems.

b) How did, according to the interpretation of community members, their position change over time? How has their **position in Yugoslavia** compared to the present changed in the two successor states?

c) Was the employment of Roma in Yugoslavia addressed in similar manners as in other socialist states (e.g. Hungary)? How is it addressed in post-socialist Slovenia and Croatia according to respondents from the communities?

d) What was the approach taken towards the education of Roma according to respondents from the communities?

e) How do respondents perceive discrimination towards Roma? Does it occur in the present time? Did it occur before?

6.3. Kamenci

6.3.1. Basic indicators of the Roma community in Kamenci

According to the research study, which a product of the already mentioned ROKIC: "DROM" project, Kamenci is the largest of the two Roma communities in the municipality of Črenšovci, which belongs to the northeastern region of Slovenia named Prekmurje (since it is close to the Mura river). Prekmurje is bordering to Hungary on the east and to Croatia on the south side of the region. The Roma settlement Kamenci does not exist on geographical maps,

since the name is still unofficial, but very widely used. Officially, Kamenci is a part of the larger village of Črenšovci, and belongs to the *Street of Partisan Brigades of Prekmurje*. However, a basic observation reveals that the settlement is topographically separated from the rest of the village of Črenšovci, where the Slovenian majority lives.

According to the findings on the basis of the quantitative survey, there were (during research) 28 households in the settlement with a total of 127 persons living in them. 21 members of the community identifying themselves as household representatives took part in the survey. Therefore, the data was gathered for 106 members of the community, which represents 83,5% of the total population of the settlement. Representatives of seven households, who did not partake in the quantitative survey, did not do so due to a variety of reasons: absence from home, rejection to cooperate in the research or incapability to take part in the research (due to illness, etc.). Moreover, the approach by means of which representatives were selected could be criticized from the feminist point of view due to a possibility that only male points of view were gathered. However, as it turned out, most of the respondents (61%) were women, although in most cases men were present as well. In the following sub-chapter I will portray how people of this community perceive themselves as far as ethnicity is concerned.

6.3.2. Understanding Ethnicity**?**

Anthropologist Fredrik Barth made a Copernican shift in the study of ethnicity with his work *Ethnic Group and Boundaries*. According to Barth, an ethnic group must be defined "as categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristics of organizing interaction between people[294]. Barth's understanding of ethnicity moved away from the essentialist research of the content of ethnic groups, but was more

[294] Fredrik Barth, *Introduction to Ethnic groups*, 10.

interested in different processes involved in "generating and maintaining ethnic group."[295] According to Hall, "ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual.[296] To be more specific, according to the work of Ahmed, Feliciano and Emigh entitled *Ethnic Classification in Eastern Europe,* "Roma ethnic identity in this geographic region, for example, was not fixed but rather historically fluid, subject to negotiation between gypsies and majority population" (Ahmed et. al, 2001: 4)[297]. In the field of Romani studies, according to Yaron Matras, two different camps have developed. The de-constructivist camp can be presented by views of Judith Okely, who claims that gypsies do not exist as a separate ethnic group, but only as a social group (peripathetic European communities). On the other hand, Ian Hancock disagrees with this view and argues that Roma are not only a distinct group according to their origin and language, but also a nation. Matras criticizes both camps: the deconstructivists because they ignore linguistic evidence, on the one hand; on the other hand, he also criticizes Hancock, who is 'inventing' traditions for the purposes of Romani political movement.[298]

Taking into account most population censuses, it would seem at first glance that Judith Okely's theory is the correct one. According to the Slovenian population census of 2002, only 63 individuals identified themselves as Roma in the municipality of Črenšovci. However, as I have indicated above, there are 127 people living in the settlement of Kamenci, which is perceived as a Roma settlement. However, the question in the census was not asking about

[295] Ibid., 10.
[296] Stuart Hall, "The new ethnicities," In *Race, Culture and Difference*, ed. Donald and A. Rattansi (London: Sage, 1992), 257.
[297] Patricia Ahmed, Cyntia Felciano, Rebecca Jean Emigh, *Ethnic classification in Eastern Europe* (2001), Unpublished paper.
[298] Yaron Matras, "The Role of Language in Mystifying and De-Mystifying Gypsy Identity," in *The Role of the Romanies,* ed. N. Saul & S. Tebbutt (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004.)

self-identification in accordance with ethnic affiliation, but in accordance with belonging to nationality. According to Slovenian legislation, Roma were not defined as a nationality (nor as a national community), but as an ethnic group. As Brubaker argues, self-identification is always dependent on external classification.[299] Furthermore, according to more obvious reasons, such as discrimination on the basis of ethnic belonging, Ahmed and her colleagues also argue that Roma in Eastern Europe became a racialised ethnicity, which is "a result of an interaction between both the classifiers and the classified."[300]

What came as a surprise to the research team of the ROKIC: "DROM" project was that, according to their findings, self-identification of members of the community in Kamenci was an opposite image in contrast to the one given in the census. In their research, only 9% of respondents identify themselves as being ethnically affiliated with the majority group. 29% identified themselves as Roma, while the same percentage of them identified themselves as Gypsies. Furthermore, 24% identified themselves as Slovenian Roma, while 9% as Croatian Roma. Therefore, their identification changed according to different contexts, depending both on the difference between the classifiers as well as the different moment of time.

Lili, a man in his early sixties, who is informally known as the chief by most of the members of the community, perceives the change in self-identification in the following way:

"There were moments in the past when some Roma thought it was dangerous to tell others that they were gypsies. It was bad to be a gypsy. But now we feel that we belong to the community, where we live, and no one will chase us away because we are gypsies. We don't have any problems here with gourdji (i.e. non-Roma) and they don't have problems with us. But there were times when we were hiding, which is why we still use our Gypsy names. In the past this was to conceal our true identity so that we would not be attacked by the police.[301]"

[299] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambrige MA:Harvard University Press, 2004), 64.
[300] Patricia Ahmed, Cyntia Felciano, Rebecca Jean Emigh, *Ethnic classification in Eastern Europe* (2001), Unpublished paper, 5.
[301] Field interview with Lili was conducted on June 3, 2010.

It is very indicative of Lili's statement that he is referring to himself as a Gypsy like the 29% of the respondents. Most of the respondents who identified themselves as Gypsies were older than 50 years. For example, at the time of the research, the oldest member of the community was Jula, a woman in her mid-seventies, who identified herself as a Gypsy and categorically refused to be named as a Roma:

"I was born as a Gypsy and I will die as a Gypsy. Gypsy is my nation! All of a sudden, they started naming me as a Roma, which means a human in our language. This is stupid. Was I not a human when they called me a gypsy?"[302]

On the other hand, younger members of the community, such as Deja, who is a young woman in her early twenties, had a different opinion:

"I am a Roma. In school one of my classmates was mocking by calling me a dirty gypsy. I felt very offended. I slapped her. I told her I am a Roma, but I am not dirty."

There was a minority of members of the community that identified themselves as Slovenians. One of them was Drejč, a man of some 40 years of age:

"I live in Slovenia, therefore I am Slovenian according to nationality. Of course, I am a Roma in my private life, but I am no less of a Slovenian because of that".

The question I posed to Lili was whether they agreed with the idea that some Roma intellectuals, as is the case with the Jewish state, should create their own state Romanisthan. Lili burst out laughing:

"Romanisthan? That sounds like some Muslim state there on the east. No, no, our country is Slovenia. My mother was born here in this village among Slovenians. We do not want another country. We want to be treated equally to Slovenians because we are also a nation. But our homeland is Slovenia, not some imaginary Romanisthan."

[302] Interview with Jula was conducted on February, 15, 2010.

According to Stuart Hall, identity is formed not in an essentialist manner, but as a demarcation of *the Othe.r*[303] I wanted to see whom the Roma of Kamenci defined as the Others. Michael Stewart showed that Roma in Harangos identified the Gažo [non–Roma as the Other] as the Others.[304] In Kamenci the relationship with their Gordja did not seem as threatening as presented by Zita[305], a woman in her late thirties:

"My oldest son has a white girlfriend. She is good, they get along well. I have no problems with that."

Zita continued defining the Others as some Roma who are not good:

"We are good Roma, but what concerns me are those Roma who live in the Dolenjska region and are acting bad. They still steal and are constantly involved in fights with guns and then the media say that we are all alike. But we are not bad, we don't have guns here in Kamenci. We try to get along with others."

What I was able to observe is that most children started giggling when somebody mentioned "trough makers" [Koritari in Slovenian and Koritaušnje in the Roma language], which is a common reference to the Bayash, who live in a neighboring village in Croatia. I asked Liza, a woman of some 70 years of age, why children laugh when somebody mentions the Bayash community. I wanted to know whether they considered the Bayash as Roma or as a separate group:

"Trough makers? They are ours, they are Roma. My son is married to a woman from Croatia. Her father was a trough maker. Their language is different so we cannot understand each other. They are Roma, but they were doing different crafts. And there was a competition between our groups about who will make more money. We were grinders and we usually came first to the village and then we made fun of them. But then again, we were sitting together by the fire in the evening as siblings, as one group.[306]"

[303] Stuart Hall, "Who needs 'identity'?," In *The Questions of Cultural Identity,* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 17.
[304] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies,* 40.
[305] Interview with Zita conducted on May 2, 2010
[306] Interview with Liza was conducted on February 26, 2010.

What is definitely confirmed by the understanding of ethnicity with Michael Stewart's finding is that Roma do not understand belonging to a certain ethnicity as primordial, based on biological ancestry, but more on the basis of social context as they built they identity from present[307]. However, it cannot be concluded that they do not perceive themselves as a separate ethnic group or, to some extent, even as a nation, which has been mostly ignored by policy makers when they defined them simply as an ethnic group. According to Alenka Janko Spreizer, in most post-socialist countries, Roma were marked as a different category by policy makers, but without coherently addressing their socio-economic position. At the time of the rise of ethnic nationalism, such politics only made Roma vulnerable to xenophobic and racist attacks in this transition period (Spreizer, 2010: PAGE)[308]. However, it has to be questioned whether Roma were not subjected to different discriminatory practices in the pre-transitional period. In our case it is the time of the socialist Yugoslavia. In the next chapter, I will therefore try to analyze how Roma perceive their present and past positions.

6.3.3. Past and Present**?**

According to Maurice Halbwachs, all personal memories are socially produced and often fragmented, while the gaps are filled by collective memory, which often serves as a milestone of ethnic identification.[309] Similarly, Marita Sturken argues that collective memory "provides cultural identity and provides a sense of the importance of the past. Yet the processes of cultural memory are bound up in complex political stakes and meanings."[310] Cultural memory cannot be equated with an officially verifiable historiography discourse, but it is indispensable

[307] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies,* 59.
[308] Alenka Janko Spreizer, "Ethničnost in Aktivno državljanstvo: primer Romov v Sloveniji" llw.acs.si/ac/09/cd/full_papers_plenary/Janko_si.pdf accessed on May 12, 2011.
[309] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[310] Marita Sturken: *Tangled Memories,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1.

in addition to it, since "one cannot say that history compromises a single narrative."[311] Following Foucault's premises[312], even historical narratives can be understood as categorization, which is based on a relation of power. According to this, the interest of the hegemonic ethnic group would be to show the history of a certain space to be as homogeneous as possible to retain their hegemony. On the other hand, the definition of the traits of minorities falls into the jurisdiction of majority.

Here lies the importance of cultural memory of Roma to make a historiographic narrative more heterogeneous as it was before.

Most Slovenian romologists describe Roma as being nomads in the past (Spreizer, 2002)[313]. However, according to Alenka Janko Spreizer, this is one of the strategies of a differentialist discourse towards Roma, which was taken up by 'experts on Roma'[314]: "This view is based on the sedentary metaphysics and on imaginaries of Roma as nomads. Sedentaristic imaginaries imply an opinion that perfect or high culture by the nomadic Roma is not possible. In order to develop such a culture they have to become sedentary."[315]

I asked several members of the Roma community whether they had ever been living as nomads and whether they remembered those times. Lili answered my question in the following way:

"I still miss those times when I was a kid and we were sleeping in the woods under the clear blue sky. I know that is not the way for our children, who have to become members of the society. We were travelling around during the summer, while in winter we settled down in different places. But with the first spring dew, we continued our travel and met different people, as our Roma anthem also says".

[311] Ibid.,5.
[312] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge,*.
[313] Alenka Janko Spreizer, *Vedel sem, da sem Cigan,*.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid., 281.

On the other hand, Liza remembers that her family was living at least a semi-nomadic life, but she does not remember it as the happy golden times. It was a time of great poverty:

"Today in Slovenia everything is easier. We can be in one place. When I was just a little child, we were going around. There were 18 children in my family. We went from one house to another. We didn't have any clothes or food. We begged to get some food and helped farmers with their daily work. We were sleeping in forests and in farmers' barns when they allowed us to do so."

Furthermore, I asked Lili about the reason for their family not having settled down. He answered:

"We were traveling because we were not allowed to stay in one place until the 1970s. They said we were strangers and had no right to be in a particular place. We did not have a right to live anywhere, although I know that my mom told me that she had been born here in Črenšovci in 1913 in one of the barns. That is why we wanted to settle here. But we had to hide from the police, who were constantly after us. I have to say that Tito did not know how bad the police was towards Roma. But what I wanted to say was that they did not let us settle here for a long time, so we did not have a permanent residence. But they always found us when some of the men had to go to the army."

The two things Liza and Lili were most proud of are that their fathers were part of the partisan movement in the Second World War and that they both glorified the image of Tito. Liza remembered the story of how her father died in the Second World War in the following way:

"My father was Tito's partisan. He was killed by the Hungarians in the vicinity, in Turnišče. He and six other gypsies from here were killed. They had to dig their own ditch. Before that they had to play music because they were musicians. They were putting hot iron pins under their fingernails so that they would say where the other partisans were. They did not betray them. That is why Hungarians killed them and put them into that ditch [pause]. I was left alone in this world. I don't remember my father. My mom did not care of her 18 children. I was put into a nursing home as an orphan."

Lili also remembers his father being a partisan. Unlike Liza's father, he survived the Second World War:

"My father was a half-Roma from Croatia. In the Second World War, he was first taken by Hungarians to their concentration camp. But he escaped from the Hungarians and joined Tito's army. As a kid, I would often ask him if he had killed anyone during the war. He never answered my question."

Both interviewed members of the community had a very positive image of Tito and they both agreed that Tito had had a special place in their Roma community. Liza's narrative about Tito was as follows:

"Tito was born as poor as all Roma. We helped him during the war. That is why he helped us after the war. Tito was like our father."

An alternative story about Tito's importance was given by Lili:

"It was during the Second World War and elections were held in Yugoslavia. My mother was born in Črenšovci and that is where she wanted to vote. But she did not have the invitation to the elections. When she came to the voting poll people there said that she did not have a permanent residence there and therefore she could not vote. But one of the members of the municipality said that she should have been allowed to vote because her husband was in Tito's army. Tito is a saint in our Roma community. Almost every house has his picture next to the Virgin Mary. After Second World War, he publicly said that Roma were equal citizens because they were partisans and that is why we all were, for the first time, allowed to vote. But I must say here that Tito often did not know how some institutions treated Roma".

The next question was posed to Jula, the oldest member of the community, about the time they had finally settled down in Kamenci:

"We settled down here in Kamenci when we were told to do so. We had to settle down because the children had to go to school."

According to Lili, that happened in the 1970s:

"In the 1970s there was a decretal stating that all children should go to school, Roma children included. That is when my mom's wish had come true. She was allowed to live in a place, where she was born."

The last question I asked Liza and Lili was whether life had been better in Yugoslavia or in Slovenia. Lili answered:

"It was better in Yugoslavia because we were traveling. But I have to say that I also like Slovenia, which is now my country".

On the other hand, Liza's answer was slightly different:

"Slovenia is much better. In Yugoslavia, Roma were poor, they begged and they had to sleep on hay. Now they get social benefit from the state. But the problem now is that none of the Roma can get work."

With Liza's last statement we move to the next section dealing with employment possibilities for Roma in Yugoslavia and in post-socialist Slovenia.

6.3.4. Employment

According to most studies conducted in Hungary (Stewart, Szalai, Kertesi, etc.) and other post-socialist countries, the main goal of socialist politics was to assimilate Roma into workers. For some time they even succeeded, since almost 80% of Roma were working as wage laborers in factories according to Kertesi[316]. During my research in the Roma community Kamenci, I wanted to learn whether a similar conclusion could be drawn for planned politics of Yugoslavia.

According to the quantitative survey of the ROKIC: "DROM" project, 80% of adult population (non-respondents included) in Kamenci were unemployed. 4% worked as public workers and another 4% had regular jobs, although only for a definite period of time. Most

[316] Gabor Kertesi, *The Employment of the Roma,* 44.

members of the community in Kamenci stated that they would take any job available for them. One of them was Keki[317], who was some 40 years of age:

"I have a nephew that I have to take care of. He is still going to school. I would take any job possible. But for the last couple of years I have been writing job applications. Most of the time I did not even get an answer from them."

Drejč, on the other hand, says that his family could not have survived if he had not been collecting scrap metal:

"Do you think I am picking those old heavy baths because I enjoy it? Do you think this is easy? I have four children and a grandchild on the way and I have to feed them. I would rather work as a garbage man if anyone employed me. This is a better and easier job."

Zita explains how most Roma do not get regular jobs, but are good for the lowest jobs:

"I went to pick strawberries last summer. We were driving there for an hour and half in one direction. And when I came there I saw that only gypsies were picking strawberries. Slovenians don't want to do that, because the sun is too strong. And then we, the Roma, are lazy?"

One of the members of the community, who had a regular job at the time of the research, was Čejč, who was then about 25 years old. Čejč[318] was serving as a professional soldier in the army:

"I am proud to be a Slovenian soldier. I wasn't able to get a job in my profession as a car repairs man, but in the end the army took me in".

[317] Keki was interviewed on May 2, 2010.
[318] Čejč was intervied on June 3, 2010.

It seems that most members of the community had a very negative experience when seeking employment opportunities in the post-socialist Slovenia. I was interested in whether the experience was different in the socialist Yugoslavia, since, according to some newspaper articles, more than 80% of Roma in the region were employed. One of the people, who gained most of the work experience in former Yugoslavia, was Majzlin[319], a man of around 55 years of age. His experience with wage labor from the Yugoslavian period was quite similar to that we can see in other post-socialist states:

"I worked in Lendava, in Primat [name of the factory] for 20 years! I was working as a forklift driver. My coworkers respected me. Then Primat went bankrupt, so we were all left without our jobs. Then a new factory was established at Primat. Some of my former coworkers got their jobs back. I wasn't one of them. After the independence of Slovenia, I started sending applications to many stores. But I didn't get a new job. I have been unemployed ever since. But occasionally I and my wife get some good deals in Austria."

Lila, Majzlin's wife, said the following about employment opportunities for Roma:

"I and my four siblings, we all worked in different nearby factories. But then the factories were closed down. In Slovenia, it is highly unlikely that you will get a job, if you are a Roma."[320]

From the statement I have quoted one could, perhaps, get an impression that most Roma were included in wage labor processes similarly to other post-socialist states. However, Lili stated that this was in fact not so. Most Roma were still not included into factory wage labor and there was no unique directive that all Roma should be employed:

"No, this is a myth that all Roma in Prekmurje worked in factories. Maybe the Roma from Pušča, who were close to Mura [textile factory] and also those who were close to Austria got their jobs there. Here most Roma were not in factories. From three of our settlements, Kamenci, Gomilice and Trnje, around nine people worked in factories. But it is true that some of them even got to pension in Yugoslavia."

I asked Lili how other Roma got resources for their every-day life:

[319] Majzlin was interviewed on February 15, 2010.
[320] Lila was interviewed on February 26, 2010.

"My father was a grinder, he did not work in a factory. Some of our people were musicians. Then later on, most of us were merchants. We bought, for example, clothes in Italy and went throughout Yugoslavia to sell them. We can't do that anymore. Now clothes in the supermarkets are so cheap that no Roma brings jeans from Trieste anymore."

Jula never worked in a factory, but had an informal profession of her own. She was known as a medicine woman in different Roma communities, since she knew how to use natural herbs to prevent and stop illnesses. She was also a major actor when it came to delivering babies:

"I have helped more than 100 people come to this world. Some of them now live in the houses around me, some of them are far. But I helped them see the light of day. Now most Roma children are born in hospitals. There they have doctors. But I knew their job as well."

From the above statements we can see that Yugoslavia did not have a clear policy according to which all Roma would have to be employed in wage labor as, for example, in Hungary.[321] However, it can also be concluded for Yugoslavia that "Representation of the Gypsies as 'people who lived without labor' was in effect an ideological elaboration, a kind of rhetorical distortion and simplification of the complex reality of Gypsy lives."[322]

6.3.5. Education

According to Gabor Kertesi, the majority of Roma that were employed in the socialist Hungary were left without their jobs after the collapse of the system. However, the fact that most Roma were 'thrown out' from the labor market was, according to Kertesi, only the result of the collapse of the system and also produced by the system itself. Namely, after the transition period the unemployment of Roma can be ascribed to the following factors: "low

[321] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypies,* 97.
[322] Ibid., 97.

schooling, regional disadvantages and discrimination."[323] According to Júlia Szalai, although state socialism was driven by policies to include Roma into the system of education and other institutions, these public services were usually of lower standard for the Roma.[324] In this subchapter, I will analyze the approach to education of Roma in Yugoslavia in comparison with Slovenia as it was perceived by members of the Roma community in Kamenci.

The first piece of strongly indicative data on the approach towards the education of Roma populations in Yugoslavia lies in data gathered by quantitative survey. According to this data, 20% of the population of Kamenci older than 18 years was completely illiterate. Most of the illiterate women were older than 50 years. Nada[325] was also one of the women who were illiterate:

"I don't know how to read or write. My grand-daughter is helping me with numbers and when I have to call someone on the telephone. I did not go to school. In my time Roma were traveling, so we did not know where to go to school."

Although on the basis of the data presented above one could conclude that only Roma women older than 50 were not able to read and write. However, Liza, the second oldest woman in the settlement, did finish primary school:

"After my father was killed, my mother did not take care of us. I was put into an institution, where I finished my school. I finished all eight grades and then my brother came and took me."

[323] Gabor Kertesi, *The Employment of Roma*, 45.
[324] Júlia Szalai, "Conflicting Struggles of Recognition", 197.
[325] Nada was interviewed on June 3, 2010.

On the other hand, the youngest among the illiterate women was Taša[326], who was around 25 years old. Paradoxically, she also finished eight grades of elementary school. When I asked her how this is possible, she replied:

"I was in school, but sometimes it seemed as if I had not been there. I had problems, but teachers did not pay special attention to me."

According to data gathered in the ROKIC: "DROM" project, 44% of adult members of Roma community in Kamenci did finish elementary school, while 36% of them attended elementary school without finishing it. 10% of adult population in Kamenci never attended school. None of the adult members attended any form of higher education except 10% of them, who finished professional vocational training.

Members of the Roma community Kamenci had, therefore, a very low level of education due to a system of exclusion in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, until now Slovenia has not designed policies that would improve the educational structure of Roma. However, according to the statements of members of the Roma community of Kamenci, all children who live in Kamenci are included into the system of education. Malicka[327], a woman in her mid-thirties, reminisces:

"I went to a special school. But all of my children are here in school in Črenšovci."

[326] Taša was interviewed on May 2, 2010.
[327] Malicka was interviewed on February 15, 2010.

The special school that Malicka mentions was, in fact, a school for mentally disabled children. I asked Tala[328], a woman around 25 years old, whether it was a practice to put Roma children into a school for mentally disabled children. She replied:

"All of my brothers and sisters were in that school. Only me and my youngest brother, Dadi [both born after 1980], were in school here in Črenšovci."

Robi, a man in his early thirties, was also one of those children who were attending the school for mentally disabled children. His response to this was the following:

"Can you see that there is nothing wrong with my head? I was put into that school only because I was Roma. My class was full of us, Roma. There were only some children that really had problems. But this is outrageous. 90% of all Roma of my age, both from Kamenci and Dolga vas, were put into that school. And when I look for work, they tell me I can't work because my education is too low. But when I want to go and finish some other school, they tell me then I can't because I was in that special elementary school. But when I want to get social benefits for mentally disabled, social workers tell me that I am not mentally disabled, so I am not entitled to that. And then again I ask why they put me into that school, the social worker replies that I should leave it alone because that was a crazy Yugoslavia and now everything is different."[329]

According to these testimonies, it can be confirmed that also members of the community in Kamenci, when they were first included into the educational system, received a lower quality of education. It was namely presumed that most Roma children were more suitable for the school for children with mental disabilities. This trend changed after Slovenian independence. However, according to those who were schoolchildren at the time of the research, differential treatment towards Roma did not stop there. Mija, girl in a higher grade of elementary school, described how she experienced treatment towards her in the 'normal' elementary school:

"Sometimes they make me feel that I am stupid because I get a test only for mark two [lowest pass grade]. I often get questions for a test in advance and the teacher says that if I learn this, I will pass. But I would also like to get a higher grade sometimes."[330]

[328] Tala was interviewed on June 3, 2010.
[329] Robi was interviewd on June 5, 2010.
[330] Mija was interviewed on June, 18, 2010.

Although differentialist treatment of Roma children in Slovenia is less systematic and institutionalized than it was in Yugoslavia, it is still present. The research showed that schoolchildren of the Roma community Kamenci finished their previous year with the lowest possible grades (the lowest possible passing grade in the Slovenian elementary school is 2). Only two of the children finished with a higher grade 3. Even more indicative is the fact, confirmed by this research, that although most of the children passed, they did not have minimum standards of knowledge. Some children in higher grades of elementary school lacked, for example, basic knowledge in multiplication.

6.3.6. Discrimination

The last item of information that I wanted to elicit from my informants was about whether they had personal experiences regarding discrimination in Yugoslavia and whether they experience discrimination now. Although some of the features of differentialist treatment towards Roma were already reported, here I wanted to focus on what they personally perceived as discrimination. According to Roman Kuhar, the most acceptable definition of discrimination is the following: "Discrimination is generally understood as 'making inappropriate distinctions' and the legal meaning of the word is 'unacceptable' differentiation.[331] The question that I posed to some of the respondents of the community was whether they had ever been treated worse than the others for being a Roma.

Lili answered that, in Yugoslavia, Roma were mostly treated as equal by all with one exception:

"I am sure that Tito did not know that, but we had to hide from the police. Police was chasing Roma away. That is why we usually went to the forest, away from the roads, so that they would not spot us."

[331] Roman Kuhar, *At the Crossroads of Disrimination: Multiple and Intersectional Discrimination* (Ljubljana: Peace Institute), 15.

On the other hand, Čejč, one of the few people from Kamenci who managed to finish vocational training and become a car repairsman, reported how discrimination is happening towards Roma in Slovenia:

"I worked very hard to get my education. Sometimes I would study Math all day and all night long. And in the end I did get my profession. But then I entered real life. They were looking for car repairwmen in the village nearby. I called them and I got a job interview. But once I stepped into the office I saw the expression on the manager's face change. All of a sudden they did not need any workers. Then they said it was about a crisis. But I think the only crisis was in his head when he saw that my skin was a little bit darker. On another occasion, I did not even get a job interview because they knew that my last name was a gypsy last name."

6.4. Orehovica

6.4.1. Basic socio-economic indicators of the 'Roma' Community in Orehovica

To establish a relevant comparison with the position of Roma in Slovenia, I have decided to compare the position of the people in the Roma settlement Kamenci with that of a similar community in the municipality of Orehovica located in the neighboring state of Croatia. The municipality of Orehovica, to which this settlement belongs, is located in the northernmost region of Croatia, called Međimurje, which is considered to be the most developed region in Croatia, while the Slovenian region of Pomurje is the least developed region. The selected community in Orehovica is larger than Kamenci, according to the number of its inhabitants. In the ROKIC: "DROM" research study, 93 respondents cooperated and thus represented 93 out of 110 households in the community of Orehovica. Thus the research included 495 out of approximately 570 members of the community, as estimated by community representatives. According to the population census of 2001, 237 identified themselves as Roma.[332] 60% of respondents were women. The community in Orehovica is separated from the rest of the village and does not have a special name. However, members of the community simply put a sign in front of their community that says Settlement of Roma Orehovica.

[332] "Nacionalni Program za Rome" Government of Republic of Croatia, http://www.umrh.hr/Nacionalni%20program%20za%20Rome.pdf

6.4.2. Understanding ethnicity: Bayash or Roma?

In this part of the analysis, I have intentionally not address the categorization of the community in Orehovica as being a Roma community. According to Michael Stewart, the Boyash community in Hungary does not name itself Rom. Stewart describes this community in Hungary in the following manner: "There were the Boyash Gypsies, who made up some 10 percent of the total, living mostly in the southern counties where their ancestors had arrived from Romania and Serbia at the end of the nineteenth century. They spoke an eighteenth-century dialect of Romanian and were traditionally renowned as foresters and woodworkers, especially trough-makers."[333]

Dari, a man of some 40 years of age, who is a member of this community, explained in one interview how the Bayash in Croatia were basically the same group as the Boyash in Hungary:

"The Boyash in Hungary are the same group as we are. We all moved together to this part of Europe. And as you can see they are also trough-makers as our ancestors were." [334]

Similarly to the Boyash Gypsies in Hungary, also the members of the researched community in Orehovica speak a Romanian dialect. Draga, a woman in her early thirties, said the following about their language:

"I like our language. I am proud of it. And I am very happy that I can speak that language. I can even understand the Romanian soap opera that is playing on the Croatian television 1".[335]

[333] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies*, 10.
[334] Interview with Dari was conducted on April 26, 2010.
[335] Interview with Draga was conducted on April 27, 2010.

From the data I have presented so far, it could be concluded that the Bayash do not, in fact, understand themselves as being Roma, but as a separate group. Marcel Courthiade, one of the most important Romani linguists, argues that the Bayash are, in fact, a separate group[336]. Furthermore, according to Courthiade, although the Bayash do not identify themselves as Roma, it was a typical mistake of political ignorance to categorize both the Bayash and Roma into one group: "They were turned into Roma by Croatian politics because of their own inertia and mental laziness, so that the ethnic diversity of the Croatian landscape would be ruined". Analyzing the *National Program for Roma*[337] prepared by the Croatian government in 2003, we can see that, to some extent, Courthiade is correct due to the fact that the categorization Roma is used throughout the program. However, although the program acknowledges cultural diversity within the Roma community as well as the existence of different groups (Kalderash, Lovar, etc.), it does not distinguish between the Roma and Bayash communities. For example, the community in Orehovica is simply identified as the *Koritari* Roma [*trough-makers*] community. The underlying principle, according to which all these groups were merged together, lies the fact that the main goal of the *National Program for Roma* was to address discrimination and marginalization of different 'Roma' groups and not so much to draw a distinction between them. Furthermore, the Bayash are not distinguished by most studies dealing with the position of Roma, but it is simply taken for granted that they are Roma.[338] Petar Radosavljević proves to be an exception by conducting a research on the specifics of Bayash language in Croatia. Radosavljević is a specialist in Romance languages, who wrote a book entitled *Bayash Roma in Croatia – Speakers of a Romanian dialect.*[339]

[336]http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama accessed on May 13, 2011.
[337] *National Program for Roma*, Government of Republic of Croatia, http://www.umrh.hr/Nacionalni%20program%20za%20Rome.pdf.
[338] Maja Štambuk *et. al.* , *How do Croatian Roma live?*.
[339] Petar Radosavljević, *Romi Bajaši u Hrvatskoj – govornici Romunjskog Dialekta* (Split: Hrvatsko Društvo za prijemejenjenu ligvistiku, 2007).

The question that arose on the basis of this debate was how the community in Orehovica, whose members speak a Romanian dialect mostly as their mother tongue, identifies itself with regard to their ethnic nationality. According to the survey, the results were the following: 83% of the respondents identified themselves as Roma, 16% as Croatian and 1% as Romanian. Kati[340], a woman in her late forties, who identified herself as Romanian, said the following:

"It is a common mistake that they take us for Roma. We are not Roma, but Romanians. We speak the Romanian language, our ancestors came from Romania and this should be respected. But most of the peasant people [referring to non-Roma] do not know the difference between Roma and Romanian."

However, most of the other people in her community do not agree with her interpretation. Kruni[341], a man in his early thirties, argued that the theory that their community is Romanian and not Roma is historically wrong:

"It is true that our ancestors came from Romania and that we speak a Romanian dialect. But we are no less Roma than those who speak Romany čhib. We also spoke Romany čhib when we were still in Romania, but because Romanians forbade our people to speak their language, and they wanted to make us Romanians. Because the pressure was too strong we started speaking Romanian. And when we moved we took this language with us, not the Romani čhib. But to say that we are not Roma because of that is just insulting. It would be the same to say that all those Roma who speak the majority language, but not Romani čhib, are not Roma anymore."

Drago, a man of some 40 years of age, expressed an opposite opinion of Marcel Couthiade:

"This is a typical political strategy of those Roma in Zagreb to discriminate against us, the Bayash Roma. Their strategy is to say that only they are Roma and we the Bayash Roma, the group which most of the Roma in Croatia belong to, we are not Roma. But they do not really mean that. They are only saying that to get more financial benefits for the Roma, and to exclude us from those benefits. It is said that they would deny their kin just to get more money."

It is not for us to judge or confirm the validity of either of the claims. However, what can be concluded from these two opposite opinions is that ethnicity is a process which is dynamic, fluid and cannot be based on identifying sets of artifacts, such as language etc. Following Brubaker's point of view, it cannot be simply concluded that this particular Bayash Roma community is forming a unified group. Furthermore, this kind of groupness cannot be ascribed to the Roma community as a whole in Croatia. We can also speculate, following the

[340] Interview with Kari was conducted on April 28, 2010.
[341] Interview with Kruni was conducted on April 27, 2010.

analysis of critical liberalism conducted by Courtney Jung, that identifications of different communities change over time and take identification which would best serve for achieving certain political goals (e.g. diminishing discrimination and marginalization). However, having said all that, it must not in any case be ignored that most of the living people in the researched community in Orehovica do identify themselves as Roma. Furthermore, the first Romani party of Croatia (as seen in the newspaper analysis) was formed by the initiative of the Bayash Roma leader Željko Balog from the same region. The basic claim of this party was not that the Bayash group should be recognized as a national minority in Croatia, but that the Roma should be recognized as such. Therefore, it would be one sided only to acknowledge the external opinion of the expert in Romani linguistic (who is, in this case, a classifier, not the classified) without also taking into account the opinion of those who are being externally classified.

6.4.3. Past and Present**?**

According to Stewart's findings, the Rom community in Harangos had a different perception of the present and the past than the Hungarian majority. While Hungarians found their affirmation as a nation in a heroic past, the Rom community in Harangos did not perceive the past as an important factor of their collective identity.[342] In opposition, according to statements given by members of the community in the Roma settlement of Kamenci, we were able to observe that people there do connect their identity to some historic events, which they do find important. One of the most important moments in the history of Yugoslavia, according to the perception of members in the Roma community of Kamenci, was definitely their connection to the Yugoslav partisan movement in the Second World War. According to

[342] Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies,* 59.

their interpretation, the basis that Tito had given them, whom many of the community members perceive as their icon, was a reason to recognize them as equal citizens. However, on the other hand, they also describe the differentialist, if not racist, treatment towards them in Yugoslavia, especially by institutions like the police. Because of the treatment by the police, which was oppressive towards them, they were not able to settle down in any particular place, but maintained their nomadic lifestyle until the beginning of 1970s. Therefore, it is a common misguided stereotype that Roma nomadism was one of the features of their culture in Slovenia. The first question that I asked my informant in the Roma community of Orehovica was whether their ancestors were travelers or had they ever maintained a nomadic way of life. Cecilia, an approximately 40 year-old woman, responded to my question in the following way[343]:

"No, we were not moving around, we had a place of our own here. It is true that sometimes my parents and my siblings, before I was even born, went to villages, to the market to sell the wooden stuff that my father was making. He was a master of wood. He produced all kinds of stuff, but among the peasants [i.e. Croatian villagers] he was mostly known and valued as a trough maker. Peasants came to him from all over Međimurje asking him to make them a trough for pork meat. So, sometimes he went somewhere for a week to make a trough but he always came back here, where his home was, where he was born before the Second World War."

My next question was for Cecilia's older sister, Štefica, who was a woman close to 50 years old. I asked her whether her parents had ever told her about what had been happening with this settlement during the Second World War. She replied:

"This settlement, as most of the other Roma settlements in Međimurje, was emptied. Only few of the elderly and infants remained. But others were gone. Most of them never returned. Hungarian soldiers from the north and Croatian soldiers from the south attacked the settlement. Most of the inhabitants were taken to concentration camps to Szarvas in Hungary, to Jasenovac in Croatia and Dachau and Auschwitz. Most of them never returned. My mother and my father were among the lucky survivors. My father survived both Jasenovac and Szarvas. My mother survived Dachau. She even gave birth to a child in the camp. He never saw that child again after birth. No-one knows what happened to the child. She survived everything. They were eating grass there, they were so hungry. And in the end even Americans bombarded the camp because they did not know what it was. Anyway, my mother was very quiet about the camp, but she always cried when she saw those documentaries on television."[344]

[343] Interview with Cecilia was conducted on April 27, 2010.
[344] Interview with Štefica was conducted on April 27, 2010.

Cecilia added to that story the treatment of Roma concentration camp survivors in Yugoslavia after the war:

"My mother had a right to a state pension because she survived those monstrosities in the camp. But she was fighting for this pension almost all of her life, after she got back from the camp. They wanted proof. And when she brought proof and documents, then again they wanted more proof. It seems to me they wanted more proof from Roma. A couple of years ago I went to a commemoration ceremony at the Jasenovac concentration camp. What struck me the most were all those names of those who had died in the Jasenovac camp written on those plates in front of the site. Balog, Ignac, Bogdan, Oršuš, all of our last names! The list of our last names was almost a kilometer long on those memorial plates. No-one pays much attention to that. This fact was not enough for my mother to get that pension. She got it by the end of her life. So she spent most of her life in misery and poverty."

According to these two statements, Yugoslavia employed differential treatment when Roma concentration camp survivors were in question. Furthermore, I was interested in whether Roma lived any better in Croatia (which was then a part of Yugoslavia) in the years after the Second World War. Marija, a woman around 60 years old, replied to this question:

"My father was a trough maker. He was very well known for his craft. But our family was big. We did not have a lot to eat. So my mother went and begged for food and clothes. It is true what they say that sometimes we were so hungry that we asked peasants to give us rotten pork to take home. And we ate hedgehogs as well. Not because we liked them so much, but because we were hungry." [345]

When I asked Kruno, a man in his mid-thirties, about his evaluation of Yugoslavia in comparison with Croatia, he replied:

"Many old Roma crafts are getting lost in Croatia. But, on the other hand, Croatia provides social security for all of its citizens, so for Roma too. So, at least we can sa that not so many are hungry nowadays as they were in Yugoslavia."

[345] Interview with Marija was conducted on March 25, 2010

While most members of the Roma community in Kamenci were proud of their kin, who were members of the partisan movement, Josip[346] himself remembered how he had served the Croatian army during the last war in Yugoslavia:

"Do you see this booklet? It shows how long I served in the Croatian army. We were fighting in Slavonija. It was very dangerous, but our unit was very brave. So we won the war. The Roma fought in this war too. But sometimes I have a feeling that the new Croatian state has forgotten about us. We are still worse off than most Croatians."

Furthermore, I wanted to know about the main problems that Roma are facing in this settlement in Croatia. Ivan, a man of around 40 years of age, replied:

"You have seen how small most of our houses are. Some of them are not bigger than 12 square meters, and families that have 7 children live in such houses. Some of our people live as if we were in the pig stall. And they cannot do anything about it. The biggest problem for most of the people here is that we are not able to get water and electricity in our houses. Yes, it's true that most of the houses are illegal here. But what were we supposed to do in the past? They didn't give us a permit to build houses because we were Roma. And what were we supposed to do? Live under the clear blue sky forever? Most of us started building. But now, we are punished because we cannot get water and electricity until our houses have been legalized. I know this law is for all those illegal weekend houses by the seaside. But can my government tell me how I should send my kid clean to school when we don't have an access to clean water? That is discrimination and segregation, if you ask me." [347]

6.4.4. Employment

As shown by many different studies in the past, one of the most important indicators of the position of Roma in general is their position on the labor market. According to ROKIC: "DROM" findings, 76% of adults in the Roma community of Orehovica are unemployed. In comparison with Kamenci, the unemployment rate is 4% lower than that of Kamenci. 1% of employed adults work in a community work scheme, 7% have a labor contract for an indefinite period of time, 3% for a definite period of time and 2 % work as contracted workers. However, although most members of the community are officially unemployed, they opined that they would not be able to survive from social benefits. Therefore, most of them

[346] Interview with Josip was conducted on March 24, 2010.
[347] Interview with Ivan was conducted on March 27, 2010.

are involved in seasonal work, such as helping at the farm, selling potatoes on the market, collecting scrap metal, etc. Interestingly, none of the respondents replied having trough makers in the family, although that was the profession, according to which the community got their name [Romi Koritari]. I asked one of the members of the community, Stjepan, a 50 year-old man, whether it was a myth that they had always been trough makers in this community. Stjepan replied:

"There are many men in this community that were trough makers in the past. And they were very famous for their handicraft because trough making was not an easy business. None of the peasants could do it. I remember my father-in-law was one of the last trough makers in this settlement. He made big troughs for pork meat and little troughs for flour. Our women used troughs for baby cradles because that was the easiest way for babies to fall asleep. Yes, this was a very valued profession among the peasants and our people didn't get rich from it. But they could provide food for the entire family."[348]

My second question was: If this was not a myth, then what is the reason that nobody in this community is a trough maker anymore? Mario, a man of some 35 years, replied:

"My grandfather was a trough maker. But then after Yugoslavia was destroyed, nobody wanted wooden troughs anymore. They were able to find the plastic ones in stores. So, most of the young people did not learn this profession because it was not worth it anymore".

I was also interested in whether some of the Roma had worked in companies or factories during the Yugoslavian period. One of my correspondents, Paul, a man close to his fifties, replied:

"There were many men who worked in different factories when Yugoslavia still existed. They were looking for young strong men mostly to work as construction workers. So, many Roma from my settlement also went t construction sites, but not all of them. I was among them. We were building roads and those big building blocks in our region, but not only in our region. I also went to Russia and Ukraine as a construction worker. I worked as a construction worker for 13 years. And then the company collapsed in the 90s. I have never been rehired and none of our boys, who wanted to continue working, have ever been hired again since. We were all left here on our own."[349]

[348] Interview with Stjepan was conducted on March 22, 2010.

[349] Interview with Paul was conducted on March 24, 2010.

As Paul said, not all members of the community worked as construction workers and as factory workers. I was also interested in the main occupation of women before the collapse of Yugoslavia. Ljubica, a 40 year-old woman replied:

"Many of our men were trough makers, some of them were well-known musicians. Then later on they worked as factory and construction site workers. But that does not mean that the women were only sitting at home, taking care of the house. Many of the women in this community used to pick different seeds and herbs in meadows and forests. Usually, a man from Slovenia came in the beginning of spring and showed us what we should pick. He paid us a good amount of money for that. Those herbs were going to a Slovenian factory and they would make tea out of it. But that man stopped coming."

I asked Cecilia, one of the women, who was still employed at the time of the research, about her opinion regarding the fact that most of the Roma in her settlement are unemployed:

"Well, Croatia is in crisis, I guess. And of course, they will try to employ one of their own first and then us. We are not the first priority. I am one of the few lucky one employed. I work in the factory in Varaždin. We sew car seat covers. But my contract is only for a short period of time. Maybe next year I won't have this job anymore. I don't know what I will do afterwards. I have a son, who is three years old."

6.4.5. Education

The Orehovica Elementary School was included in a court case, in which Croatia was prosecuted for the segregation of Romani school children. However, before the case got to the European Court of Human Rights as a case designated *Oršuš and Others vs. Croatia,* the applicant from Orehovica decided to drop charges. Therefore, all of the media reporting that the segregation of Roma children in the elementary school was also proven by the European Court of Human Rights were incorrect. Nevertheless, the question that interested me in this section was whether there is at present, and in the past, a differentialist treatment towards Roma in the educational system. As I will show in this chapter, respondents from the Roma community of Orehovica had different opinions about that topic.

First, according to the ROKIC: "DROM" research, only 19% of adult members of the Roma community in Orehovica finished elementary school. 63% of adult members attended elementary school, but did not finish it. 9% of adult members of the community never attended elementary school. 10% of adult members finished vocational training. 11% of adults were illiterate, according to the research.

Among those who did not finish elementary school was also Rudi, a man of some 35 years of age. He attended elementary school in the Yugoslav period. His reason for leaving elementary school was the following:

"Can you see this picture [showing his elementary school class picture]? Can you see any Croatian faces in this classroom? There were no Croatians in our class. Only Roma. We were hidden from the others. I did not like it how they treated me there. I felt like I was not welcome in that school. So I left." [350]

Paulina, a 40 year-old woman, also did not finish elementary school. However, she gave a different reason for that:

"I was young. And you know how young people are crazy. I was crazy too. I feel in love with my present husband. And I didn't care that much for school anymore. I was rather spending time with him than in school."[351]

The next question was: How do parents of school children today perceive their position in school? Adrijana, a woman in her late twenties, said:

"I have three of my children going to elementary school. I am very much against that, if they want to put our children in different classes with Croatian children. This is not good. I would be hurt if my children were treated like this. I would feel like they are treated as if they had some contagious disease. And this happened in the past."[352]

Nikola, father of five children, said the following:

[350] Interview with Rudi was conducted on March 26, 2010.
[351] Inteview with Paulina was conducted on March 24, 2010.
[352] Inteview with Adrijana was conducted on March 26, 2010

"I know that our kids were not segregated in school and that they are treated well. But still. I am sorry that I did not file a lawsuit. I would have got almost 5000 euros! Can you see my house? It is leaking everywhere when heavy rain comes. With this money I would be able to fix my house." [353]

Paradoxically, although the elementary school in Orehovica was under attack due to discrimination and segregation of Roma children, it seemed to have better success with Roma children regarding their grades in comparison with children of the Roma settlement in Kamenci. In Orehovica Elementary School, grades of Roma children are very similar to those that Croatian children get. Such a huge gap in grades between Roma and non-Roma children is not to be found, if compared to the Roma settlement of Kamenci. However, this data can be very misleading, since it could also mean that the grades do not correspond to the quality of knowledge Roma children have. However, another very telling piece of data showed that this school had a state champion in elementary school Math and Geography contests. Another is that the percentage of children attending high school is much higher than that of the Roma settlement of Kamenci. One of the high school children is preparing to enroll at university. His mother, Kata, said that this would not be possible, if her son did not have extra support from the school:

"My son was very talented. But we did not have any material sources to help him. But the school, especially the principle and the geography teacher, has always helped him. They saw his talent and have been nurturing his talent ever since. We did not have a bathroom or electricity at home, but they let him study at school. Now he will become the first Roma in Orehovica with a university degree."

6.4.6. Discrimination

The research I conducted in Orehovica took place at the time (in the first six months of the year 2010), there were different discussion taking place about whether Roma minority is being discriminated by Croatian state as European Court of Human Rights decision stand. These discussions did have an effect on everyday life in Orehovica. One of the questions to

[353] Interview with Nikola was conducted on March 27, 2010.

respondents of the ROKIC:"DROM" quantitative survey was, whether Roma are being discriminated against in Croatia. 51 percent of respondents replied that Roma are facing discrimination (while in Kamenci 33 percent of respondents answered in the same way).In the interviews (which were already quoted in previous sections) it became clear that some of the members of the community claim, that Bayash Roma are being discriminated against other Roma groups in Croatia, who according to their interpretation get more funding. On the other hand, one of the respondents claimed that Roma were also discriminated again in Yugoslavia since they had very difficult times to prove that were victims of the Second World War. Furthemore, in the transition period discrimination happened in the labour marker: most of the Roma lost their jobs due to companies' break-down, but were not hired ever again afterwards. Last but not least, many of the respondents felt that Roma are still being discriminated against in the school system. However, what they are as even more disturbing is the fact that most of the Roma settlements cannot get connections to the most basic infrastructure such as connection to water system supply and electricity source.

6.5. Research findings on the basis of the chosen case study

The most obvious conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that ethnicity is not perceived and constructed in a vacuum, but is always in a relation to the boundary of different ethnicities, as suggested by Fredrik Barth[354]. Furthermore, as noted before, this relationship does not simply have a symmetric form between to equal parties, but one party is always superior to the other. This was also noticed by Roma that were interviewed. They mentioned cases in which either the majority population or the state applied cultural racism towards them. They accurately noticed instances of having been excluded from the society. Although

[354] Fredrik Barth, Introduction to *Ethnic Groups,* 10.

some interviewees had bits of nostalgic memories of times in Yugoslavia, they were equally critical towards practices that the state would have employed towards them. They were able to recognize moments of injustice, an example being a case in which most Roma were put into school for children with mental disabilities. They were also able to comprehend that they had no choice but to hide from the police, which they felt as being unjust. Also, they are still able to notice practices that are based on cultural racism and discrimination. They were, for example, describing instances of discrimination towards Roma that regularly happen at job interviews and in school. They make keen observations about the living conditions under which they have to toil due to legal acts that are indirectly discriminatory towards them.

Since I have decided to include the widest possible variety of voices to show how different members of a minority group have different perceptions, I have managed to avoid representing Roma as a unified collective. However, although different voices also presented different opinions, they all showed showed, how the formation of this communities as such did not happen with a rapd change, but through long-lasting historical process.

Finally, we can also conclude that the differentialist treatment of Roma as the Other did not begin after the collapse of Yugoslavia, but was deeply rooted both in the system and in the majority population. Therefore, on the basis of this case study analysis, we can conclude that Roma were not constructed as the Other in the post-socialist period, but were only repositioned according different hegemonic ideologies in newly established states.

7. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I aimed to unravel some not yet fully addressed issues relating to how Roma were constructed as *the Other* in two different, but interconnected historical and geographical constellations. For the purposes of this thesis, I decided to research this topic in socialist Yugoslavia and its two successor states of Slovenia and Croatia. The two countries have been selected deliberately. As shown at the beginning of the analysis, most studies on the position of Roma under Socialism and after its collapse tended to omit in-depth research on these two countries due to several different reasons. Unfortunately, there is a lack of resources that could show how the position of Roma was constructed in Croatia. Furthermore, resources that were available about Roma in Yugoslavia, in many instances, contradicted each other.

Prior to the research, I formed a hypothesis that I wanted to confirm in my thesis. The hypothesis runs as follows: *Roma were not constructed as the Other in the post-socialist states of Slovenia and Croatia, but were only repositioned in accordance with new hegemonic ideologies, while the process of Othering was fueled by cognitive schemes that had already been present in socialist Yugoslavia.*

My basic argument is that Roma did not become a marginalized and discriminated group after the transition period, but rather that marginalization and discrimination were constructed based on some approaches taken towards Roma in the socialist period. I decided to analyze this argument from the perspective of whether cultural racism was targeted towards Roma in socialist Yugoslavia as well as in two post-transitional countries of Slovenia and Croatia. I based my research mostly on the understanding of cultural racism given by Paul Gilroy[355] and Etienne Balibar[356].

[355] Paul Gilroy, *There is no Black,*.
[356] Etienne Balibar, "Is there a new racism?".

However, every minority has a multilayered position in society, therefore I have taken different approaches to discuss my argument. Firstly, I analyzed the legal framework of Roma minority protection. Secondly, I conducted a research of media discourse on Roma. Finally, I performed a case study in two Roma communities: the Roma settlement of Kamenci in Slovenia and the Roma community in Orehovica in Croatia. During the field research I interviewed several members of the communities to get their perspective on their position in socialist Yugoslavia and its two successor states, Slovenia and Croatia.

On the basis of all three research patterns, I came to the first conclusion, namely that Yugoslavia did not avoid applying the differentialist treatment of Roma, which resulted in the employment of cultural racism. This is in opposition to most studies dealing with the position of Roma in Yugoslavia, which portrayed it as being mostly in a very positive light due to the fact that they were treated as an ethnic group. However, even when they were treated as an ethnic group they were on the bottom of the complex ethnic hierarchy of the nation-nationality-ethnic group system. Moreover, in the socialist republics of Slovenia and Croatia, Roma did not even enjoy the status of an ethnic group. The legal system in the newly established states of Slovenia and Croatia took the legacy of the Yugoslav system and built their new minority protections approaches on it. After a long process, Slovenia took a more targeted approach towards the protection of Roma minority and defined it as an ethnic community. However, such recognition gave a minimized scope of rights to this community in comparison with the Hungarian and Italian national minorities. This approach was not only targeted, but mostly hierarchical. Meanwhile, due to a strong minority nationalism of the Serbian community, Croatia put much effort in equating the position of all national minorities. Therefore, their approach was more generic. However, distinct claims and needs of different communities remained unaddressed. Furthermore, in both countries, legislators tended to

ignore the specific claims that were put forward by Roma representatives and members of the Roma community.

Media discourse analysis showed that there is no clear distinction drawn for cases when Roma were treated as an ethnic group or a social group. Nevertheless, in the Yugoslav media we could observe indices of both as well as a portrayal of Roma as a problem. The portrayal of Roma as a problem or having problems continued to be expressed as such throughout the analyzed period (with the exception of the newspaper *Vestnik*). However, during the period of European integration, the events that included Roma as actors suddenly shifted from pages of the local news media to the national news media. Roma were once again portrayed as the *Other* with similar stereotypical approaches, but their voices were to a certain extent included in the reporting (mostly to confirm stereotypic imaging). Stereotypic imaging, however, was not an invention of the period of European integration. Rather, images of ethnic conflicts from previous period were used.

Most media representations confirmed that Roma were positioned as *the Other* regardless of what period they occupied. This positioning was based on the argumentation drawn from cultural racism. However, exceptions to this general rule have to be noted as well in order to suggest that not all differentialist treatments of minorities are also necessarily racist. As shown in the case of the regional newspaper *Vestnik*, Roma can be portrayed outside the crime section and represented in a different light without being labeled solely as problems. Since the end of 1971, the *Vestnik* has tended to change the most typical ways of reporting on Roma. This newspaper gave more extensive space to the statements of Roma and it did not portray them as foreigners, but as a community that is an integral part of the multicultural

community of the Slovenian region of Prekmurje. Therefore, theories that simply claim that the demarcation of difference necessarily employs a certain hierarchy are incorrect.

The third approach taken in my thesis was a case study conducted in two Roma communities: in Kamenci and Orehovica. This part of my research is the most widely discussed of all other parts and, simultaneously, it is dedicated to two voices of the people living in the two mentioned communities. On the basis of the interviews, I was able to make interesting observations. Firstly, ethnic identity is not simply given but constructed through the dialectics of history and difference. Both Roma communities are not only physically separated from the rest of the village according to segregation based on ethnic lines, but, as most of the people from this communities confirmed, there are still many central issues that define their position in relation to others and to the system as a whole only through inferiority in the relations of power. Therefore, they are positioned by the majority as the Other with the approaches of cultural racism in the present time as well as in the past. Although it might seem that Roma are not aware of these approaches, this research has shown that they themselves reflect on cultural racism and are, in fact, very much able to detect differentialist treatment that leads to cultural racism.

The aim of this research was not only to confirm or disprove the initial hypothesis, but also to point out the gaps and inconsistencies in the discussion on the position of Roma in socialist Yugoslavia and its two socialist successor states, Slovenia and Croatia. Although I tried to address these issues from a variety of perspectives, there are still many issues left unresolved and await further analysis. For example, a wider comparison of the position of Roma in all post-socialist countries that once formed the Yugoslav state call for an even better perspective.

Furthermore, the largest gap that I have encountered in the literature was found in the absence of media discourse analysis on reporting on Roma in the Yugoslav period as well as in post-socialist Croatia. Therefore, there is still much left for further research from this perspective.

An analysis of the voices within the Roma community partly revealed some new topics that are related to my major argument. However, these topics need to be addressed more precisely in future studies on the position of Roma. For example, there are still no coherent historical studies of the position of Roma in the Yugoslav partisan movement as well as in the Second World War. Also, there are no clear records about what was happening to Roma during the war after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

One of the most urgent questions or, rather, challenges of contemporary Europe that need to be addressed properly seems to be to find an answer as to how to improve the position of Roma in the sense of forming policies that would significantly contribute to abolishing discrimination towards them. As shown in my thesis, not one historical constellation offered a magical formula for a project of such a magnitude of importance. However, as I tried to show in my thesis, such policies can work neither by addressing the position of Roma in isolation, nor by focusing on this position as a resultant of different historical processes and relations of power.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Academic sources

AHMED, Patricia, Cyntia Felciano and Rebecca Jean Emigh. *Ethnic classification in Eastern Europe.* Unpublished paper, 2001.

BALIBAR, Étienne. "Is there a Neo-Racism?" In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, edited by Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, 17-29. London: Verso, 1991.

BALIBAR, Étienne. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology." In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, edited by Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, 86-106. (London: Verso, 1991), 17-29.

BARANY, Zoltan. *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

BARTH, Fredrik. Introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Fredrik Barth, 10-19. London: Alvin, 1969.

BOGDANIĆ, Ana. "Multikulturalno građanstvo i Romkinje u Hrvatskoj." *Migracijske i etničke teme* 20, no.4 (2004): 339-365.

BRUBAKER, Rogers. *National Self-Determination and Secession.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

BRUBAKER, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

CROWE, David M. *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, 2nd ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

DJILAS, Milovan. Introduction to *The Balkans* by Hugh Poulton.

ERIKSEN, Thomas H. "Ethnicity Race, Class and Nation." In *Ethnicity,* edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, 28-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

ERJAVEC, Karmen, Sandra B. Hrvatin and Barbara Kelbl. *We about the Roma.* Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2000.

FAIRCLOUCH, Norman and Ruth Wodak. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *Discourse Studies,* edited by Teun A. van Dijk. London: Sage, 1997.

FOSZTÓ, László and Marian-Viorel Anăstăsoaie. "Romania: representations, public policies and political projects." In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 351-369. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

FOUCAULT, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge.* New York, NY: Pantheon, 1972.

FOUCAULT, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977.* New York: Pantheon, 1980.

GILROY, Paul. *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack.* London: Hutchinson, 1987.

GUY, Will. Introduction to *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, xiii-xvii. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

GUY, Will. "Romani identity and post-Communist policy." In *Between the Past and the Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 3-32. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

GUY, Will. "The Czech lands and Slovakia: another false dawn?" In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 285-332. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

HALBWACHS, Maurice. *On Collective Memory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

HALL, Stuart. "The new ethnicities." In *Race, Culture and Difference*, edited by Donald and A. Rattansi, 256-258. London: Sage, 1992.

HALL, Stuart. "Who needs 'identity'?" In *The Questions of Cultural Identity,* edited by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, 1-18. London: Sage, 1996.

HALL, Stuart. *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices.* London: Sage, 2003.

HAYDEN, Robert. "Constitutional Nationalism in Formerly Yugoslav Republics." *Slavic Review* 51, no. 4 (1992): 654-673.

HRVATIĆ, Neven. "Romi u Hrvatskoj: Od Migracija do interkulturalnih odnosa." *Migracijske i ethničke teme* 20, no. 4, (2004): 367-385.

JANKO SPREIZER, Alenka. *Vedel sem, da sem Cigan – rodil sem se kot Rom: znanstevni rasizem v raiskovanju Romov.* Ljubljana: Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, 2002.

JANKO SPREIZER, Alenka. "'Avtohtoni' in 'Neautohtoni' Roma v Sloveniji: Socialna konstrukcija teritorialnega razmejevanja identitet." *Razprave in Gradivo* 45 (2004): 194-217.

JANKO SPREIZER, Alenka. "Ethničnost in Aktivno državljanstvo: primer Romov v Sloveniji." llw.acs.si/ac/09/cd/full_papers_plenary/Janko_si.pdf accessed on May 12, 2011.

JANSEN, Stef. "Against Cultural Anaesthesia: Identity, Nationalism and Modernity in Former Yugoslavia." In *Nationalism and Ethnicity in East-Central Europe and the Balkans*, edited by T. Sfikas and C. Williams, 271-293. London: Ashgate, 1999.

JOVIĆ, Dejan. "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches." *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, no.1 (2001): 101 -120.

KENDRICK, Donald. "Former Yugoslavia: a patchwork of destinies." In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 405-425. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

KERTESI, Gábor. "The Employment of the Roma – Evidence from Hungary." Budapest Working Papers No. 1, Institute of Economics, HAS – Department of Human Resources, Corvinus Univeristy, Budapest, 2004.

KLOPČIČ, Vera (editor). *Romi na Slovenskem.* Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 1991.

KOCI, Tracy. "Albania: awakening from a long sleep." In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 389-404. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

KOMAC, Miran. *Priseljenci.* Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 2007.

KOVAČIČ, Gorazd. "Zagate z nacijo." In *Nacionalizem* by Anthony D. Smith, 213-233. Ljubljana: Krtina, 2005.

KUHAR, Roman. "Minorities in Media." In *Media for Citizens,* edited Brankica Petković, 119-164. Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2006.

KUHAR, Roman. *At the Crossroads of Discrimination: Multiple and Intersectional Discrimination.* Ljubljana: Peace Institute, 2009.

KYMLICKA, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of Minority Rights.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

KYMLICKA, Will. "Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe." In *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?"* edited by Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski, 13-106. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

KYMLICKA, Will. *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

LATHAM, Judith. "Roma of the Former Yugoslavia." *Nationalities Papers* 27, no.2 (1999): 205 -226.

LIÉGOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Roma in Europe.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2007.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena and Vesselin Popov. "Historical and ethnographic background: Gypsies, Roma, Sinti." In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 33-53. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena and Vesselin Popov. "Bulgaria: ethnic diversity – a common struggle for equality." In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 370-388. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

MATRAS, Yaron. "The Role of Language in Mystifying and De-Mystifying Gypsy Identity." In *The Role of the Romanies,* edited by N. Saul & S. Tebbutt, 53-78. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004.

MAZOVER, Mark. *The Balkans.* New York, NY: Random House, 2002.

MODOOD, Tariq. "Anti-Essentialism, Multiculturalism, and the 'Recognition' of Religious Groups." In *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, edited by Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, 175-198. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

NEUMAN, W. Lawrence. *Social Research Methods.* Boston, MA: Pearson 2006.

POKOS, Nenad. "Demographic Analysis of Roma on the Basis of Statistical Data." In *How Do Croatian Roma Live*, edited by Maja Štambuk, 35-52. Zagreb: Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, 2005.

POULTON, Hugh. *The Balkans: minorities and states in conflict.* London: Minority Rights Publications, 1991.

POULTON, Hugh. *Who are the Macedonians?* London: Hurst & Co., 1995.

RADOSAVLJEVIĆ, Petar. *Romi Bajaši u Hrvatskoj – govornici Romunjskog Dialekta.* Split: Hrvatsko Društvo za prijemejenjenu ligvistiku, 2007.

RAMET, Sabrina Petra. *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002.

RINGOLD, Dena. *Roma and the Transition in Central Europe: Trends and Challenges.* Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000.

ROZMAN, Vlado. "Romi – tisočletja živimo tu in tu bomo tudi ostali." In *Romi na Slovenskem,* edited by Vera Klopčič, 135-139. Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 1991.

SHOHAT, Ella and Robert Stam. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media.* London: Routledge, 2005.

ŠIFTAR, Vanek. "Problem narodnosti Roma." In *Nacionalno pitanje u jugoslovenskoj teoriji i praksi – doprinos Edvarda Kardelja,* edited by Drago Čubrilović et. al., 447-458. Sarajevo: Marksistički studijski centar, 1980.

SPIROVA, Maria and Darlene Budd. "The EU Accession Process and the Roma Minorities in New and Soon-to-be Member States." *Comparative European Politics* 6 (2006): 81-101.

SPIVAK, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-316. London: Macmillan, 1988.

STEWART, Michael. *The Time of the Gypsies.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

STEWART, Michael. "Communist Roma policy 1945-1989 as seen through the Hungarian case." In *Between the Past and the Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Guy, 71-92. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.

STRUKEN, Marita. *Tangled Memories.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

SZALAI, Júlia. "Conflicting Struggles for Recognition: Clashing Interests of Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Hungary." In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*, edited by Barbara Hobson, 188-215. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

SZELENYI, Ivan. *Poverty under post-communist capitalism – the effects of ethnicity in a cross national comparison*. Paper presented at workshop "Culture and Poverty", Central European University, November 30 – December 2, 2001.

TODOROVA, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

VAN DIJK, Teun. *Elite Discourse and Racism.* Newbury Park: Sage, 1993

VAN DIJK, Teun A. "Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach." In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed., edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 62-86. London: Sage, 2009.

VÁRADY, Tibor. "Minorities, Majorities, Law and Ethnicity: Reflection of the Yugoslav Case." *Human Rights Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1997): 9-54.

VELIKONJA, Mitja. *Eurosis: A Critique of the New Eurocentrism.* Ljubljana: The Peace Institute, 2005.

VIDMAR HORVAT, Ksenija, Julija Sardelić and Miro Samardžija, "Balancing the Roma Voice: The Ambrus Drama and Media Construction of Intercultural Dialogue in Slovenia." In *The Future of Intercultural Dialogue in Europe: Views From the In-Between*, edited by Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, 153-172. Ljubljana: ZIFF, 2008.

VUKANOVICH, Tatomir. *Romi (Tsigani) u Jugoslaviji.* Vrane: Nova Jugoslavija, 1983.

YUVAL DAVIS, Nira. *Gender and Nation.* London: Sage, 1997.

ZIMMERMAN, Michael. *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die Nationalsocialistische Lösung der Zigeunerfrage.* Hamburg: Christians, 1996.

ŽIŽEK, Slavoj. "Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multicultural Capitalism." *New Left Review* I, 225 (Sept. – Oct. 1997): 28-51.

Internet sources

http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

http://zakonodaja.gov.si/rpsi/r00/predpis_ODLU1370.html

http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200733&stevilka=1762

http://www.constitution.org/cons/croatia.htm

http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske

http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/indexurh.htm

http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh8-98.htm

http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh8-98.htm,

http://gpp.pravo.hr/propisi/urh/urh124-00.htm

http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_1st_OP_Croatia_en.pdf

http://vlada.hr/hr/preuzimanja/zakoni_i_uredbe/ustav_i_ustavni_sud/ustavni_zakon_o_ljudskim_pravima_i_slobodama_i_o_pravima_etnickih_i_nacionalnih_zajednica_ili_manjina_narodne_novine_105_00

http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_1st_OP_Croatia_en.pdf

http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske

http://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske

http://www.vlada.hr/hr/naslovnica/novosti_i_najave/2010/lipanj/hrvatski_sabor_izmijenio_ustav_rh

http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_3rd_OP_Croatia_en.pdf

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/enlargement_process/accession_process/criteria/index_en.htm

http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/310287.html

http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?sec=2080

http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm.

http://www.delo.si/index.php?sv_path=43,49&so=Sobotna+priloga&da=20040731&ed=&pa=4&ar=01d9ae2f1f3b048b20b39f54f527f73e04&fromsearch=1

http://www.mladina.si/tednik/200512/clanek/nar-kdo_je_kdaj--ursa_matos/

http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3569

http://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/bojimo-se-da-ce-nam-susjedi-romi-ukrasti-djecu-pobjeci-clanak-107290

http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/sest-romskih-obitelji-iseljeno-krnjaka-nema-ni-krada-ni-nasilja-clanak-231395

http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/prijetili-su-mi-bejzbol-palicom-kada-sam-im-rekao-da-se-smire-clanak-132243

http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/romi-paraga-potpisuju-peticiju-potpore-roditeljima-hrvatske-djece-clanak-140795

http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/vecina-malisana-romskih-naselja-prvi-put-vidjela-wc-skoljku-clanak-192895

http://www.vecernji.hr/regije/kad-sjednu-klupe-prvi-strani-jezik-im-je-hrvatski-clanak-202364

http://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/madarskoj-vizni-rezim-kanadu-zbog-rasizma-clanak-90314

http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama

http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama

http://www.umrh.hr/Nacionalni%20program%20za%20Rome.pdf

http://globus.jutarnji.hr/hrvatska/sto-se-cudite-sarkozyju-pa-vi-svoje-rome-protjerujete-vec-godinama accessed on May 13, 2011.\
http://www.umrh.hr/Nacionalni%20program%20za%20Rome.pdf.

APPENDICCES

Appendix 1

Kljub prizadevanju LUDVIK KOVAČ

PONOVNO O CIGANIH

Na pobudo občinske konference SZDL Lendava je bil v Gomilicah sestanek s predstavniki družbeno političnih organizacij v vasi. Pogovarjali so se o reševanju ciganskega vprašanja in o akciji za zbiranje pomoči, oziroma prispevkov za gradnjo bolnice v M. Soboti. Ugotovili so, da cigansko vprašanje še vedno ni zadovoljivo rešeno in zavoljo tega povzroča občasne probleme, ki mrtvijo družbeno politično delo v vasi.

V Gomilicah je čedalje več ciganskih hiš, ki jih gradijo brez vsakršnih dovoljenj, medtem ko kmetovalci morajo za vsak novi prizidek imeti kup pismenih potrdil. Nadalje so ugotovili, da so v ciganskem naselju možnosti epidemij.

S sestanka so poslali občinski skupščini zapisnik v katerem zahtevajo, da se ciganski problemi hitreje rešujejo. V naslednjih dneh bodo pristopili k akciji za zbiranje prispevkov, za gradnjo bolnišnice v M. Soboti.

JANI D.

Appendix 2

Gasilsko društvo na Püšči

Za začetek potrebujejo ročno brizgalno in nekaj uniform

V ciganskem zaselku Pušča so ustanovili gasilsko društvo. Za predsednika so postavili Vlada Šarkezija, za poveljnika pa Evgena Kokala. Gasilskega orodja za zdaj še nimajo.

Do ustanovnega občnega zbora je prišlo na pobudo nekaterih funkcionarjev v zaselku, ki so to smatrali za nujno potrebno ob požarni nevarnosti. Sicer pa se Pušča pri Murski Soboti vse bolj razvija, kar govori v prid ustanovitve društva.

Na ustanovnem zboru so sprejeli v društvo 28 bodočih gasilcev, zvečina mlajših in delavoljnih. Sprejeli pa so tudi delovni program, v katerem so postavili na prvo mesto izobraževanje in zbiranje sredstev za nakup prepotrebne opreme in zgraditev primernega orodišča. Na zboru so povedali, da želijo za začetek ročno brizgalno in nekaj rabljenih uniform, v naprej pa se bodo opremljali v mejah svojih možnosti.

To iniciativo, ki je enkratna v vrstah Ciganov, je potrebno pozdraviti, saj imajo tako organizacijo, ki jim nudi povezovanje z ostalimi občani in jih mobilizira. Zato bi bilo prav, da jim gasilci in drugi priskočijo na pomoč pri začetnem opremljanju.

—an

MOTORIST PODLEGEL POŠKODBAM

Dne 16. 2. ob 7,50 se je peljal z motorjem iz smeri Šikol proti Kidričevemu Ivan Vučej iz Draže vasi 35 pri Slovenskih Konjicah. Pri prehitevanju tovornjaka, ki ga je vozil v smeri Ptuja Janez Burjan iz Ljubljane, je privozil nasproti motoristu osebni avto ford, ki ga je vozil Josip Koler iz Virovitice. Pri trčenju motorja in osebnega avtomobila je zbilo motorista po tleh pod tovorni avto, v katerega je zadel bočno tudi osebni avto.

Težko poškodovanega motorista so prepeljali v ptujsko bolnišnico, kjer je ob 11. uri dopoldne podlegel poškodbam.

V PIJANOSTI PRETEPAL DRUŽINO

Stanko K. iz Ptuja je pretepal v noči od 14. na 15. februarja družino. Domov je prišel v opitem stanju. Ženo in otroka je morala zaščititi pred težjimi poškodbami patrola LM Ptuj, ki je vzela Stanka K. s seboj na postajo ter ga izpustila šele po iztreznitvi.

VESTNIK, 25. FEBRUARJA 1971 13

Appendix 3

kronika

TATVINA LESA

Oškodovani Jože Tivadar iz Kamovec št. 6/a je pred nedavnim prijavil, da mu je nekdo ukradel v času od lanskega novembra do 13. januarja 7 akacijskih hlodov, ki jih je imel posekane v Lendavskih goricah. Škode ima za 600 dinarjev. Za storilcem poizvedujejo.

TATVINA ŽEPNE URE

Oškodovani Štefan Graj iz Gornje Bistrice št. 104 je pred nedavnim prijavil organom milice, da mu je nekdo ukradel zlato žepno uro, vredno okoli 700 dinarjev. Uro je imel obešeno na verižici na kuhinjskem oknu. Domneva se, da je dejanje storila Ciganka, ki se je v času, ko je ura izginila, mudila v vasi.

TATVINA MOŠKEGA PLAŠČA

Iz prostora, kjer stanujejo v Vidmu ob Ščavnici delavci gradbenega podjetja Konstruktor iz Maribora, je bil ukraden moški plašč na škodo Marka Riga iz Granice na Hrvaškem. Plašč, ki so ga našli pri njegovem sodelavcu, je bil vrnjen.

Appendix 4

SVEŽI VETER VEJE MED ROMI V PREKMURJU

Romi si gradijo v Prekmurju vedno lepše hiše. Posnetek je iz Roce-jec (Foto: Franc Hochsteadter)

KAKO NAPREJ?

SO DEL NAŠE VSAKDANJOSTI

FRANČEK ŠTEFANEC

VESTNIK, 30. DECEMBRA 1971 13

Appendix 5

Ciganke--varalice u »rekordu«

Prošle srijede su u kuću Antuna Horvata iz Čakovca ušle tri ciganke i odmah su se neprimjetno uputile u gornji dio zgrade te počele pretraživati ormare. Iz jednog su ormara uzele 360.000 starih dinara, ali su ubrzo bile primijećene od Antunove desetgodišnje kćerke koja je pozvala majku. Kad je ova opazila ciganke u sobi zaključala ih je i pozvala miliciju koja je pronašla novac u drugoj sobi i to zamotan krpom.

Ciganke su predvedene u Stanicu javne sigurnosti Čakovec, gdje im je utvrđen identitet. Radi se o Ratki Radulović, staroj 28 godina, iz Bjelovara, zatim maloljetnicama D. B. (16 godina) i J. D. (13 godina) iz Zagreba. U Čakovec su doputovale osobnim automobilom ZG 107-291 vlasništvo Slobodana Đurića, ciganina iz Zagreba.

Istog dana su crvenim »rekordom« spomenute ciganke bile i u Puščinama gdje su gatajući na karte, Franciški Golubić prevarile za 72.000 starih dinara. Franciška je pozvana u Stanicu javne sigurnosti, gdje ih je prepoznala. Ratka Radulović je odmah predana Općinskom sucu za prekršaje, koji ju je kaznio zatvorom u trajanju od 20 dana s tim da je odmah nastupila izdržavanju kazne, a maloljetnice su puštene kući.

Appendix 6


NAŠA ANKETA

OREHOVČANI O OREHOVICI

...tvorena nova ...obna kuća ...hničke robe ...urskoj Soboti

Appendix 7


«MEĐIMURJE» ● STRANA 7

Bogdan i Ignac (jedan iz Kuršanca drugi iz Orehovice) upoznali su se u krugu Centra. I poslije obuke ostat će nerazdvojni prijatelji – tvrde obojica

Appendix 8


pisma, mnenja, stališča

Romi v novi Slovenski državi

Appendix 9

Mihaela Han — prva romska miš Slovenije

Presenečena ob razglasitvi za najlepšo

Appendix 10

CRNA KRONIKA

Tučnjava u Kotoribi

Appendix 11

ROMSKO NASELJE U KOTORIBI

Prosimo preko Drave, u Hrvatskoj

Appendix 11

RIJEČ IMAJU MJEŠTANI

Trnovec

[illegible]

MILANKA KRISTOFIĆ: [illegible]

JASMINA PINTARIĆ: - Trnovec je malo selo, ali lijepo. [illegible] Potrebno je više telefonskih priključaka. Naime, sve je više mladih obitelji, koje bi u svoje domove htjele uvesti telefonsku vezu, ali to zasad teško ide. [illegible] ništa. Moram reći da imamo slabu autobusnu vezu s Čakovcem, jer vozi samo mariborski prijevoznik, dok nas ovdašnji zaobilaze. Pogotovo je to problem s ljudima koji nemaju vlastiti automobil.

NIKOLA BLAGUS: - Našem selu jako nedostaje gradski vodovod. Voda za piće je nezdrava, a i nema je dovoljno. Nakon gradnje HE "Varaždin" ostali smo bez vode, a sada je situacija još i gora. Tu kod nas puno je privatnih tovilišta svinja, pa gnojnica što otječe u zemlju još više pridonosi nekvaliteti vode. Svoj doprinos u gradnji vodovoda morala bi dati i poduzeća za koje naši kooperanti tove svinje. Naravno, trebala bi nam i kanalizacija. Htio bih reći da je Trnovec nekad bio poznato poljodjelsko mjesto, ali je zadnjih godina u općinskim planovima nekako zaobiđen.

ŠTEFICA ORŠUŠ, ROZALIJA ORŠUŠ, ZLATA BALOG: - Mi u našem romskom naselju imamo struju, ali bi nam i vodovod trebao. Vidite, Romi u naselju kod Orehovice imaju postavljene tri slavine i odande uzimaju vodu. Trebalo bi više zapošljavati Rome, pogotovo mlade, koji bi željeli raditi i stvoriti si bolju sutrašnjicu. Djeca nam idu u školu, ali sada moramo sve plaćati. Pa gdje da uzmemo novac? Velike su obitelji, a uglavnom radi samo jedan ili nijedan. S ostalim mještanima Trnovca dobro se slažemo.

Anketirao: I.JURGEC

Snimio: D.LESAR

Appendix 12

legitimacija za europsku zajednicu [illegible] bodnih naroda. U toj borbi su i Međimurje i Međimurci dali puni dopri[illegible]

uvjeren da Hrvatska zna, hoće [illegible] bolje.

Željko Balog

Stranka Roma

Unatoč svem uništenju života, svim razaranjima civilnih objekata i umjetničkih i kulturnih dobara volju naroda za samoopredjeljenjem nitko nikada nije mogao pregaziti, a niti neće. Ukoliko je netko pokušao, nije uspio. A to kako su na svojim leđima osjeti[illegible] rat, građani Republike Hrvatske [illegible] najbolje znaju.

Kao predsjednik stranke Roma [illegible] sam kazati da ne očekujemo od [illegible] Čakovec, a niti od Vlade Repu[illegible] Hrvatske da nas hrane ribom, [illegible] očekujemo da nas nauče ribu [illegible] Naravno, uvijek će biti socija[illegible] slučajeva o rješavanju čijih proble[illegible] teba brinuti, ali mlađim generacija[illegible] treba omogućiti da idu naprijed. [illegible] obzirom na trenutnu situaciju mož[illegible] nije bio trenutak da se rješavaju ne[illegible] važna pitanja života Roma. Dok je [illegible] svaki onaj tko je svoj osobni doho[illegible] dobivao na osnovu svoje stručnosti [illegible] hovao od spadanja na prosjački [illegible] romski narod je oduvijek na prosjačkom štapu. Ovu priliku koristim da pozdra[illegible] sav narod Međimurja koji dobro pozna[illegible] životni položaj Roma te da svim brani[illegible]ljima Hrvatske zaželim sretnu No[illegible] godinu.

Appendix 13

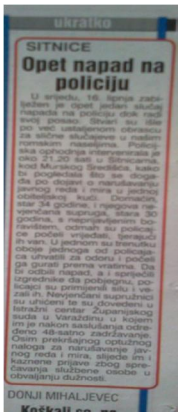
Iz prikupnih otročajev nenadzorovano zrastejo zlikovci.

Foto: Igor Zaplatil

12 | Več

PETEK, 17. NOVEMBRA 2006

Appendix 14



ukratko

SITNICE

Opet napad na policiju

U srijedu, 16. ljpnja zabilježen je opet jedan slučaj napada na policiju dok radi svoj posao. Stvari su išle po već ustaljenom obrascu za slične slučajeve u našim romskim naseljima. Policijska ophodnja intervenirala je oko 21,20 sati u Sitnicama, kod Murskog Središća, kako bi pogledala što se događa pa po dojavi o narušavanju javnog reda i mira u jednoj obiteljskoj kući. Domaćin, star 34 godine, i njegova nevjenčana supruga, stara 30 godina, s nepriјateljskim raspoloženjem, odmah su policajce počeli vrijeđati, tjerajući ih van. U jednom su trenutku oboje jednoga od policajaca uhvatili za odoru i počeli ga gurati prema vratima. Da bi odbili napad, a i spriječili izgrednike da pobjegnu, policajci su primijenili silu i vezali ih. Nevjenčani supružnici su uhićeni te su dovedeni u istražni centar Županijskog suda u Varaždinu u kojem im je nakon saslušanja određeno 48-satno zadržavanje. Osim prekršajnog optužnog naloga za narušavanje javnog reda i mira, slijede im i kaznene prijave zbog spriječavanja službene osobe u obavljanju dužnosti.

DONJI MIHALJEVEC

Appendix 15

OSOBNI POGLED

Piše Željka Drljić

Nije segregacija, nego romski teror!

■ Zaštitari čuvaju i Hitnu pomoć u Čakovcu

Nema situacije u ovom kraju u kojoj se učenjaci ne ponavlja isti scenarij - scenarij nasilja, agresivnosti i bahatosti Roma. U čekaonicama zdravstvenih ustanova nered u redu, u najvećem broju slučajeva, prave Romi. Statistika kriminaliteta u Međimurju ne otkriva pravu istinu jer - policiji nije dopušteno baratati nacionalnošću počinitelja. I što ta statistika u međimurskoj stvarnosti pokazuje? Ništa. Ispada da živimo u "mirnom okruženju" u kojem se neprekidno provaljuje i krade. Kradu i provaljuju uglavnom Romi, ali to u statistici ne piše. Stvari treba nazvati pravim imenom jer Međimurje ima i svoju crnu statistiku kojom se ne bavi niti jedna udruga ili institucija koja barjaktari ljudskim pravima. A to su stotine pokradenih ljudi ovog kraja koje su oštetili Romi, a zlo stav ih nikada nije obeštetio. Čak ni moralno, a kamoli materijalno. Tko je ikada obeštetio vlasnike šume oko Držimurca, uzgajivače povrća iz Kuršanca i okolice itd.? Tko im je ikad javno priznao da su žrtve terora?! I to romskog!

Od vlasnice prodavaonice u donjem Međimurju čujem da su joj Romi po drugi put u kratkom vremenu izvršili krađu. I nikome ništa. U zemlju propali, ne može ih se pronaći, pa je to slučaj koji više ni policiji nije "zanimljiv". A da je vlasnica prodavaonice naljepila natpis na ulazu: Romima ulaz zabranjen, dospjela bi na sve naslovnice zbog "govora mržnje". U Međimurju na sceni nije nikakva segregacija, već romski problem s kojim se danas susreću svi: od njihovih socijaliziranih sunarodnjaka do većine ostalih stanovnika, i to na svim mjestima - od čekaonica u zdravstvenoj ustanovi, autobusnoj ili željezničkoj stanici do reda na bankomatu.

Trpi i državni proračun. Nedavno se dogodilo da svoje kolege i istražnog suca nakon tragedije na cesti nedaleko Puščina, prilikom obavljanja uviđaja, od Roma mora zaštititi interventna policija. Više ne postoji svakodnevna ili izvanredna situacija u kojoj se neće naći nekoliko Roma koji smatraju da im pripada više prava, nego svima ostalima u zajednici. I zato je dosta eufemizama koji skrivaju pravo ime problema. U Međimurju ne postoji segregacija, postoji teror dijela romske zajednice nad institucijama i neromima. Sve drugo su floskule koje poput papagaja ponavljaju vode asocijacija za ljudska prava, a za njima, poput odjeka, i romske vode.

REAGIRAJU NA ODORU?

I do nas neprestano dolaze pri-govori građana koji su se zbog zdravstvenog problema našli u stanici Hitne pomoći u Čakovcu. Pored guzvi vikendom i pored nevolje koja ih je snašla, zajedno s osobljem HMP-a, moraju otrpjeti i redovite ispade dijela Roma koji smatraju da imaju prednost. Ravnateljica Doma zdravlja Čakovec prim. **Nevenka Krčmar**, dr. med., potvrdila nam je da problema ima.

- Noću, od 20 sati do jutra, zaštitari brinu za red i mir i u našim prostorima, kao i u prostorima Županijske bolnice. Pokazalo se da je za Rome specifično da reagiraju na odoru, pa se i smire kad vide zaštitara u slučaju da izazivaju nered.

Ovu sadašnju organizaciju u dogledno vrijeme bismo trebali pojačati s još dva zaštitara za našu službu, a u slučaju izgreda, upućeni smo i na policiju koja nam pomaže i odakle promptno reagiraju. Činjenica je da ima svega i u čekaonici naše hitne pomoći, no mi nastojimo razumjeti i pomoći svakome tko nas treba - kaže prim. N. Krčmar.

P.S. O problemima u školama i napadima na učitelje redovno smo pisali, kao i o sve češćim napadima na policajce. Vjerujem da će o tome svoje reći i šefovi Policijske uprave međimurske.