ORGANIZING INTERNATIONALLY FOR INTEGRATION NATIONALLY: RECOGNITION OF ROMA IN MULTICULTURAL STATES

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Submitted to the Central European University

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

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Vienna, Austria

2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The main argument of this thesis is that the integration of the Roma into the European states will be a successful project if: 1. The Roma organize themselves into an international politically meaningful entity and seek recognition on the international and national levels, and 2. The European states develop multicultural capacities and recognize the Roma as a politically and culturally distinct group. Using conceptualizations from the work of Hannah Arendt, Friedrich Hegel, Frantz Fanon, Will Kymlicka, Axel Honneth, and Nancy Fraser, the first chapter provides the theoretical frame for answering the questions of why and how the Roma can be successfully integrated into European states. With respect to the sub-questions of the thesis, the second chapter argues that: 1) the European historical path of imperialism, nationalism, and totalitarianism reestablished Roma's position of subordination and brought an ought for Roma to organize themselves, 2) the desirable way out of Roma's subordination is through collective non-violent action, and 3) both Roma (via internationalizing their organization) and the European states (via improving their multiculturalism) need to focus on recognition of the past struggles and present rights of Roma. To illustrate the main argument of the thesis, the last chapter gives actual examples of positive and negative practices (of both the European states and the Roma) that advance or obstruct the process of Roma integration.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the construction of the European nation-states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Roma have been exposed either to constant attempts of assimilation into the European nations or elimination by the Nazi regimes in extreme cases. However, in the last few decades, the dilemma between assimilation and elimination has been replaced with a less harmful, yet difficult, dilemma between assimilation and integration. Assimilation would mean the Roma abandoning their political identity, traditions, language, lifestyle, and culture for inclusion in the hegemonically built European nations; while integration would mean the inclusion of the Roma in the socio-political life of the European countries with most aspects of their cultural, political, and historical identity.

I assume that the integration of Roma into the European states is a harmless and the most desirable option. In other words, integration would not only help to preserve the vibrant, colorful, centuries-old, Romani cultural and political identity, which is part of the European history and culture but also would play a critical role in improving the lives of hundreds and thousands of Roma, who currently are left to live a life on the margins of societies, often lacking basic goods. I suggest the integration solution for several additional reasons. Firstly, European states and their institutions are nowadays an essential form of organization that should provide governance and protection of people's lives and rights. Secondly, the Roma settled in Europe fifteen centuries ago. And, thirdly, for this reason, the Romani culture is part of European culture; thus, it should be preserved.

Since European states continue to play a critical role in people's lives because of their institutions offering the protection, governance, promotion, and improvement of human lives[1]

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[1] The biopolitical power of the states has been transformed form direct 'power to kill someone or let someone live' into indirect 'power to make someone live or let someone die'. The indirect form of biopower implies

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(functions of the state which the Roma often lack adequate access to), I assume that the integration of the Roma in Europe is the preferable course of action. Nevertheless, practice shows that the current process of Roma integration in Europe often fails the original aims. Therefore, the main question this thesis addresses is: Why and how can the Roma be successfully integrated into European states.

To offer an answer to my main question, I will address three sub-questions. First, I elaborate on the question of what is the historical development of the present subordinate position of Roma in Europe that requires integration. Second, I question if there is a way out of the present subordinated position of the Roma in Europe. I consider three answers to this question: the first is that the Roma cannot get out of their racialized position of subalterns; the second is that the only way for Roma to escape the racialized position of subalterns is through collective violent revolution, and thirdly, the way out may be through non-violent collective revolution. Finally, I raise the question of what actions, and by whom, should be taken for the integration of the Roma in European states to be successful. I see this process of integration of Roma in Europe as a process that requires that both the Roma and European states should take certain actions.

The main theoretical framework I use consists of four theoretical concepts: 1) Hannah Arendt's theory about the importance of having a political organization after twentieth-century European history; 2) Franz Fanon's racial and decolonial theory; 3) Will Kymlicka's conception of multicultural citizenship, and 4) the debate between Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth about Redistribution or Recognition as aims of social justice. Moreover, I include the Hegelian master – slave paradigm that is present in the work of both Fanon and Honneth. In addition, I elaborate on the historical development of the: 1) European nation-states and the

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promotion and governance of people's lives. Further on this see: Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power Over Life", in *History of Sexuality* (Vintage Books, 1980), 133-159.

place of Roma in them; 2) the development of the idea of having an international Romani political organization, from the 1970s to our days; and 3) the willingness of European states to integrate the Roma or to hide their agenda of assimilation under the mask of an artificial and pretended integration, exclusion, or even elimination. Finally, I examine both the positive and negative practices of the Roma attempts to be organized and fight for recognition, and of the European states' willingness to give recognition to Roma and integrate them.

The main argument of this thesis is that the integration of Roma into European states would become a successful project if (i) the Roma organized themselves into an international politically meaningful entity and fought recognition on the international and national level, and (ii) if European states recognized the Roma as a politically and culturally distinct group in a multicultural society.

Table 1. The Main Questions of the Thesis

What is the **problem**?	The Roma are marginalized, racialized subalterns in the European nation-states.
What is the **reason**?	The historical 'stateless' position of Roma before, during, and after the nation-building processes in Europe.
What is the **solution**?	Integration of the Roma in the European states.
Why this solution?	It will preserve the identity and improve the lives of Roma.
Who should take **action**?	The Roma and the European states.
What should the **Roma** do?	Consolidate into a united international political entity and fight for recognition.
What should **the states** do?	Work on their multiculturalism and recognize the past struggles and present rights of the Roma.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. *The importance of being politically organized after twentieth-century European history*

I employ Hannah Arendt's concept of political organization and the 'right to have right' as a tool for thinking about why and how Roma should take their destiny into their hands and start to perform as a politically meaningful group. The Roma formed a politically organized group during the First World Romani Congress (1971), with the intention to work on being recognized and integrated into European states.[2] In this section, I will use Hannah Arendt's thoughts both for reflecting on the twentieth-century European history with a focus on the place of the Roma in it, and for addressing the question of what the Roma should do to put an end to their struggles.

1.1.1. Twentieth-century European nationalism

In her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*[3] Hannah Arendt highlights the way nation-states were brought into being in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the way the uniformly constructed hegemonic nations absorbed states and state institutions.[4] In other words, the power balance between the hegemonic nations and the countries' institutions had been disintegrated; therefore, the nations absorbed the states' apparatus that grew into their instrument for despotism.[5]

The twentieth-century European political and international arena was mainly marked by the disintegration of the European empires, clashes among national identities, wars,

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[2] Rufat Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming: Between Denial and Political Identity; The First World Romani Congress* (Budapest: Central European University, 2020).

[3] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968).

[4] Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming*.

[5] Ibid.

migration, assimilation, the integration of migrants, and the rise of nationalism and totalitarianism.[6] I am focusing on the place of the so-called 'stateless' (rightless) peoples within the hegemonically built nation-states of that time. An important characteristic of the political arena in Europe in the twentieth century was the appearance of 'stateless' people, in cluding the Roma. The combination of imperialism, nationalism, and totalitarianism, as well as the two World Wars, entailed grave and pervasive violations of the rights of the Roma people.

Hannah Arendt distinguishes *de jure* and *de facto* 'stateless' people.[7] *De jure* 'stateless' people are those who lack an official and legal status of citizenship, while '*de facto*' stateless people are perceived and treated as stateless subalterns although they might have legal citizenship.[8] *De jure* stateless people received recognition as 'stateless', while the *de facto* stateless people did not receive official recognition as 'stateless' whereas they were considered as if they were.[9] I claim that both *de jure* and *de facto* statelessness can be applied in the Roma case around Europe.[10] In the last century, many Roma were part of the legal order of European countries; thus they became *de facto* 'stateless' after transiting to other countries and obtaining the status of war refugees.[11] The *de facto* 'statelessness' of Roma would mean that although in some cases they might have kept their legal status as citizens, at the end of the day they were perceived and treated as 'stateless', non-belonging people. [12]

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[6] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.
[7] Ibid., 275-279.
[8] Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming*.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

1.1.2. The place of 'stateless' people in the European nation-states and their attemp to become people with 'the right to have rights'

The attempt of stateless people to be people with "the right to have rights"[13] is the most important aspect of the struggle for their path towards full recognition.[14] In a well-known sentence, Arendt states "Equality is the result of human organization. We are not born equal". Therefore, I assume that political organization is necessary for 'stateless' peoples to gain access to equal citizenship deriving from the 'right to have rights'. A political organization of 'stateless' peoples would transform them from 'stateless' people into people with a 'right to have rights'.[15] However, by organization, I do not mean building a Romani state, but an international political Romani entity that would bring Roma recognition, which is crucial for successful integration.

1.2. *The ways racial minorities deal with their subordination*

When certain minorities are not recognized as people whose lives matter and they are therefore destined to live on the margins of the political life and to be viewed and treated as subordinate, non-deserving subjects, they deal with their struggles in different ways. Nevertheless, not only the subordinate minorities, but also states share responsibility for finding a way to apologize, compensate, and help subordinate minorities first deal with their struggles, and subsequently find a solution, that is, to acquire full *de jure* and *de facto* citizenship.

In this thesis, by examining three potential ways in which subordinate minorities can deal with their struggles and overcome them, I suggest a solution for the problem of Romani

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[13] Hannah Arendt differentiates between having 'rights' (guaranteed on paper) and having 'the right to have rights' (being eligible of enjoying protection of rights). Further on this see: Bridget Cotter, "Hannah Arendt and "The Right to Have Rights"", in *Hannah Arendt and International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 95-112.
[14] Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming*.
[15] Ibid.

exclusion. Firstly, I consider the pessimistic claim that there is no solution to this problem. For illustrating this pessimistic claim, I use Franz Fanon's racial theory since I assume that the Roma are victims of a specific form of racism, 'antigypsyism'. Secondly, I consider another solution deriving from Fanon's decolonial thought, which suggests a violent collective revolution as a way of decolonizing subaltern racialized groups. Finally, continuing with Fanon's idea of collective action, I endorse a third view for putting an end to the struggles of marginalized Roma. I find promise in Will Kymlicka's theory of multiculturalism, which I assume to be the destination of Roma's non-violent collective action. Consequently, a major part of this thesis is based on the latter view of multiculturalism as a terrain where the integration of Roma into European states is possible. The instruments, as well as the agents responsible for designing multicultural states are discussed later in this thesis.

The reason why I am considering Fanon's racial and decolonial theories and Kymlicka's multiculturalism is because I aim to suggest shifting the focus on the possible solution instead of focusing on the problem itself. Although Roma have been victims of the supremacy and hegemony of European states, I argue that a shift from the psychological identity of a victim to that of a challenger would not only help the Roma take their destiny into their hands and reconstruct their political, social, and economic position in societies, but this would also make European countries reconstruct themselves as more multicultural states.

1.2.1. Hegel's master – slave dialectic

Before I elaborate on the main theories that I will use for exploring my arguments, I will examine Hegel's master–slave dialectic. Since both Fanon and Honneth are developing their ideas upon Hegel's work concerning the recognition of subalterns, I will briefly

summarize the idea of the Hegelian master – slave concept. In *Phenomenology of the Spirit* [16], Hegel explains the interdependence of the self-consciousness between the master and the slave. According to Hegel, one must receive recognition (acknowledgment) from another person for one's self-consciousness to exist.[17] This means that a person becomes aware of oneself after getting recognition from another person. This is possible in cases of mutual recognition. However, the state of self-consciousness becomes problematic when there is a disbalance of recognition, meaning that one does not recognize the other. The question of what happens in such misrecognition is to be found in Hegel's master–slave dialectic. Namely, the side that does not recognize the other becomes the master, and the misrecognized one becomes a slave. The slave believes that he needs the master to recognize his value and agency.

This master–slave relationship exists as long as the slave expects recognition from the master in order to evaluate his own existence. However, this master–slave relationship is destroyed the moment the slave becomes aware of his own value. He no longer has value through the other's perception, evaluation, and recognition. Once this relation is destroyed, the slave begins to fight for his explicit recognition by the master. In other words, the slave's realization of his power and his rebellion against the master brings him recognition from the master and a way out of the master–slave dependency.

1.2.2. Franz Fanon's racial and decolonial theory

In his book *Black Skin White Masks*[18], Frantz Fanon discusses racism against 'black' people: the way it comes into being, the way it operates within people's lives, and the way black people feel it on their skin and respond to it. In the seventh chapter, he writes about the

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[16] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, A. V Miller and J. N Findlay, *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[17] Ibid.
[18] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Press, 1968).

fixed subordinate position of the 'black' man and the struggle for attaining his recognition. Fanon concludes that there is no way out of the struggles of the 'black' man since he is forever imprisoned in his 'blackness'. However, in another book, *The Wretched of the Earth*[19], Fanon suggests that there is a way for the 'black' man to escape colonization by the white man, namely through collective violent revolution.

I use Fanon's theories in this thesis, because, although somewhat unique, the 'antigypsyism' that Roma face in Europe can be compared with racism against 'black' people, and because Roma can be viewed as colonized subjects by 'white' European societies and states. Furthermore, the 'black–white' or 'colonized–colonizer' relationship can be compared to the 'Roma–Gajo[20]' relationship.

In *Black Skin, White Masks,* Fanon states that, due to oppression, the 'black' man stopped being focused on and preoccupied with the perception of himself, his values, his merits, and his position.[21] Fanon calls this perception of the black man through his own eyes a 'bodily schema'. However, the 'black' man shifts from the 'bodily schema' of perceiving himself through his own eyes into a so-called 'historical-racial schema' from which he begins to perceive himself from the perspective of the 'white' man, from the position of 'the other'. This position of 'the other' is deeply embedded in the 'black's' perception of himself and the world.[22] Every time a 'black' man attempts to secure himself within the society, he always finds himself being dependent on the superiority of 'whites'[23], the perception of 'whites' of him, and therefore the perception he has constructed for himself which derives from the superior – inferior relation between the 'black' and the 'white'.

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[19] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks.*
[20] 'Gajo' in the Romani language means non-Roma. I use this term because it explains the specific relation between the Roma and the non-Roma in European societies.
[21] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks.*
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

The relation between the superior 'white' and the inferior 'black' is fixed, historically built, and therefore, it is barely possible for one to get out of it.[24] In addition to the 'historical-racial schema', Fanon views the black man as being situated in a so-called 'epidermal schema' where he perceives himself at the same time as a 'black body' in a 'white space', belonging to the 'black race', and grandson of a 'black ancestor'.[25] Put this way, it seems that there is no way out of this deeply inherited position of 'blackness' in the 'historical-racial' and 'epidermal' schema. Neither the 'black' can get out of it, nor the 'white' would help him get out of it because of lack of willingness, or because of lack of potential to find a way out of the subordinate position of 'blacks'.

In his other book, *The Wretched of the Earth*[26], inspired by the Hegelian master–slave dialectic, Fanon focuses on the recognition which can potentially be used as an instrument for breaking the superior–inferior relation between the 'whites' and the 'blacks' (colonizers and the colonized). Writing that "Man is human only to the extent to which he tries to impose his existence on another man in order to be recognized by him"[27], Fanon argues that the fight for recognition is essential for the 'black'. Then he says that even if the 'white' and the 'black' are not in an open conflict, the power relation between them defines their interaction, and determines the destiny of the 'black'.[28] This means that Fanon suggests that under non-conflictual conditions, the superior–inferior position continues to operate with the lives of the 'blacks'. This superior–inferior relation does not only operate in terms of political treatment, but also on the psychological level of feelings, which makes 'blacks' unable to escape the identity of the inferior victim, and 'whites' feel superior and entitled to mistreat the 'blacks'.

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[24] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks.*
[25] Ibid.
[26] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Présence Africaine, 1963).
[27] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,*168.
[28] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth.*

Fanon assumes that the recognition of the 'black' by the 'white' is difficult to attain because of resistance, mainly from the 'white'. The only way for attaining recognition of the 'black' by the 'white' is through conflicts and the risk the conflist brings.[29] This means that Fanon's suggestion excludes elitist agreements with 'shaking hands', but rather implies confrontation and collective violent conflict. Since there is no way to gain recognition via peaceful means because the inferior-superior relation is so strong that the only way to escape it, according to Fanon, is via revolution. However, although I agree that collective action is needed, I believe that violent conflict is not currently a desirable solution in the case of the Roma's attempt to be explicitly recognized by the European states.

Fanons' views imply that it is impossible to attain full recognition without conflict. He writes: "He who is reluctant to recognize me opposes me. In a savage struggle I am willing to accept convulsions of death, invincible dissolution, but also the possibility of the impossible."[30] From this quote, I draw one crucial question: Why should we attempt to do the impossible, while not attempting to seek possible solutions. The rest of this thesis aims to offer possible and desirable solutions for ending Roma struggles. Recognition can be attained once states are multicultural and are fair towards Roma, and vice versa, states can become multicultural and fair through using the mechanism of recognition.

1.2.3   Will Kymlicka's theory of multiculturalism

After having explained the historical roots of the European nation-states and the position of Roma in them in Arendt's manner, the morally desirable type of organization for Roma, and the view on recognition in Fanon's racial and decolonial theories, I am moving on to explaining why and how multiculturalism is key to Roma integration. Additionally, I will

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[29] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth.*
[30] Ibid.

explain how that multiculturalism can be attained. I use Will Kymlicka's theory of multicultural citizenship in order to elaborate on the duty of the state to offer a multicultural approach to the integration of Roma.

I use Kymlicka's ideas in order to address the question of what states should do in order for the Roma to become equal citizens. Nowadays, all contemporary countries consist of diverse populations[31], so multiculturalism is key to solving past and present injustices concerning the mistreatment of cultural minorities. I find a similarity between Kymlicka's and Arendt's thoughts because they both claim that the historical development of European states brought a degree of homogeneity. Kymlika writes that states, in order to attain homogeneity, historically have adopted policies of exclusion of ethnic minorities either via segregation, discrimination, and assimilation, or via elimination, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.[32] Although "various efforts have been made historically to protect cultural minorities, and to regulate the potential conflicts between majority and minority cultures"[33], the current position of ethnic minorities in Europe is still defined by some degree of inferiority and 'otherness'.

It was evident that after the Second World war a new understanding of the rights of ethnic minorities was necessary. A large number of liberal thinkers believed that the idea of particular, special rights of diverse, cultural, and vulnerable groups could be replaced by a general new approach to the understanding of human rights. Namely, not groups, but individuals tended to be viewed as rightsholders. I assume that this general 'human rights' approach is not adequate in the case of oppressed ethnic minorities such as the Roma. Pretending that all humans are equal and should accordingly receive identical treatment, entails ignoring the struggles that the Roma went through, which has influenced what Roma are today.

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[31] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Clarendon Press, 1996).
[32] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship.*
[33] Ibid., 2.

I argue that recognizing the diverse identity of Roma – which is due to the treatment they have been receiving from states as well as to their cultural specificity – is a step towards justice.

Kymlicka differentiates multination and polyethnic states. Multination states consist of national minorities, while polyethnic states consist of ethnic groups.[34] The difference between national minorities and ethnic minorities is that national minorities are groups that have their country of origin, but they have transited to another country, while the ethnic minorities are not entitled to the nationality of a certain country. This is relevant because I view the Roma as an ethnic group (not a national group that has its own country). Although there was an attempt for the Roma to be recognized as a nation, I still view them as a supranational European ethnic group. Therefore, I will describe the states where Roma live as polyethnic states.

However, not all polyethnic states are necessarily multicultural. I assume that the polyethnic states where Roma live can be viewed as multicultural if the agency of the Roma as a distinct and deserving group is recognized. Furthermore, such recognition can be attained through multiculturalism, or better stated, through the elements and instruments of multiculturalism that Kymlicka explains in his work. The central argument of Kymlicka's multicultural theory that I employ in this thesis is the argument for minority rights.

The rights of minorities are essential for attaining equality and justice in diverse societies. Kymlicka distinguishes three types of minority rights: 1. Self-government rights (the delegation of powers to national minorities, often through some form of federalism); 2. Polyethnic rights (financial support and legal protection for certain practices associated with particular ethnic or religious groups); and 3. Special representation rights (guaranteed seats for ethnic or national groups within the central institutions of the larger state.[35]

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[34] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship.*
[35] Ibid.

Collective (group) rights are essential for multiculturalism because they recognize the existence of historically built differences among (ethnic) groups, which often result in inequalities. When Kymlicka discusses individual and collective rights, he distinguishes between two meanings of collective rights. Firstly, collective rights can identify the right of a certain group to set boundaries (internal restrictions) to the individual rights of its members for the sake of the solidarity and cultural uniformity of the group.[36] Secondly, collective rights can be connected to the right of a group to set limitations (external restrictions) to the economic or political power of the larger society over group members.[37] In the case of Roma integration, I endorse both 'internal restrictions' (towards its own members) and 'external restrictions' (towards external power-holders) set by the ethnic group.

However, it is important that in cases when the 'internal restriction' of the Roma group hardly violates some human rights of the individuals who belong to the Romani ethnic group, group rights ('internal restrictions') can be a matter of discussion, even sometimes to be replaced with human rights. For example, the restriction of Roma women's access to education, exclusion of LGBT members, controlling female sexuality and virginity, or arranged early marriage, should not be viewed as morally favored and guaranteed. Therefore, the fight of the Roma for minority rights should take into account an important difficulty for integration because sometimes the 'internal restrictions' within the Roma communities can clash with certain human rights. Nevertheless, 'external restrictions' should be taken into consideration only in cases of moral dilemmas and violations of the human rights of certain members of Roma groups (e.g., women, children, and LGBT members).

Further, elaborating on the historical development of the relationship between minority rights and liberalism, Kymlicka focuses on the period around the two World Wars. This is in

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[36] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship.*
[37] Ibid.

line with the claims I made based on Hannah Arendt's ideas on the genealogical understanding of the present position of Roma as a 'stateless' group. Kymlicka has a compelling understanding of the link between liberalism – in terms of individual choice – and culture – in terms of group identity. In order for one to have one's individual choice protected, one should have the freedom to practice one's culture, speak one's language, and know one's history.[38] This is because people are very much connected to their own culture, and therefore perceive themselves as individuals according to the way their group perceives them and other members of the group. Moreover, people view the world through the filter of their values and their memories, which are often shaped by their culture.

Although individual and collective rights might sometimes be in conflict, I agree that collective rights are crucial for fulfilling individual rights. In other words, it is almost impossible to fulfill the rights of people if they are perceived as only individuals, ignoring their genealogically built group identity which determines who they are and what they need. However, in cases when individual and collective rights are in conflict, I argue that the priority of either of them would derive from: (i) the aim to be fulfilled, meaning that the group right might have priority if group identity is under threat, and individual rights would have priority if the human rights of an individual within a community are violated, and (ii) the relevance and importance of the right, meaning that if either individual or group rights are closely related to the existence of a group or an individual then it would have priority over other rights.

Kymlicka defends group rights for ethnic groups by offering two arguments. He offers (i) equality-based arguments which show that minorities are facing some sort of unfair disadvantage which can be rectified by group rights, and (ii) history-based arguments which show that minorities have some historical claim to group rights.[39] Both arguments are useful

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[38] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship.*
[39] Ibid.

for my assumption that multiculturalism in the European states should secure the Roma with minority rights, as a form of recognition, and redistribution that is in the name and for the sake of that recognition. The equality-based argument for justifying group rights highlights the inequalities that disadvantage the Roma and which can be reduced via group rights that require a just redistribution that at the same time brings recognition of the past struggles and present rights of the Roma.

Kymlicka argues that rights to representation aim to integrate minority groups, and additionally they bring unity and equality among all citizens.[40] In other words, group rights do not endanger the integrative function of citizenship, as a common political and legal identity. In the case of the Roma, they are in a disadvantaged position because of their group identity, so equal citizenship would require reducing the economic, political, and social inequalities that derive from the Roma's position as unrecognized, stateless subalterns. This is possible by fulfilling the group rights of the Roma. Additionally, the group rights of the Roma would not overshadow their political and legal belonging to the states, but on the contrary, ensuring the group rights of Roma would lead to a greater equality of citizenship. In times when there are great inequalities between groups, equality among individuals can be attained only if first the equality of groups is guaranteed.

It is important to acknowledge that many European states are to varying degrees multicultural. However, I assume that those states are still exclusive to Roma. Thus, I argue that as long as the European states do not recognize and treat Roma as equal agents, they should not be viewed as fully multicultural. In my view, the European states can be called multicultural once they recognize and integrate the Roma – the largest ethnic stateless minority in Europe.

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[40] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*.

1.3. *Social justice for subalterns: Axel Honneth's theory of recognition vis-à-vis Nancy Fraser's theory of redistribution*

I argue that recognizing the diverse and marginalized identity of the Roma, which is the outcome of the treatment they have been receiving from the states, is the first step towards justice. After recognizing the Romani identity and history in this way, and after realizing the need for having group rights for the Roma, redistribution appears to be the next step. Recognition and redistribution can be used as tools for attaining equality through multiculturalism, via the recognition of the past struggles and present rights of the Roma, and further via redistribution which would not only reduce the inequalities among ethnic groups but also would include additional recognition of Roma group rights. In other words, I suggest recognition of the past struggles and present rights of the Roma as the main objective of both the Roma and the European states, and redistribution as an additional, yet another crucial, tool that should be in the name and for the sake of recognition.

In this thesis, I use the debate between Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth about redistribution or recognition in order to offer normative, but also practical, solutions to the problem of integrating the Roma into the European states, mainly through recognition and, additionally, through morally desirable redistribution. Both recognition and redistribution are aimed at bringing about justice. Recognition brings justice through recognizing the past struggles and present rights of the historically oppressed groups.[41] Redistribution should end economic injustice, caused by historical injustices and the contemporary neoliberal economic order.[42] I view the Roma as a historically oppressed group that needs to obtain recognition, but also to enjoy a just redistribution of material recourses. Additionally, recognition and redistribution play an important role in building a multicultural society. However, in the debate

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[41] Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser, *Redistribution or Recognition?: A Political-philosophical Exchange* (Verso, 2003).
[42] Ibid.

between recognition and redistribution, I give priority to recognition while admitting the importance of redistribution.

The book *Redistribution or Recognition?: A Political-philosophical Exchange* by Fraser and Honneth attempts to explain the relationship between recognition and redistribution. Fraser and Honneth agree that a combination of redistribution and recognition is necessary to bring about justice. However, they disagree about several matters. For Honneth recognition is fundamental, and redistribution is merely a form of recognition.[43] On the other hand, Fraser does not agree that distribution can be placed under the umbrella of recognition. For her, recognition and redistribution are co-fundamental, mutually irreducible dimensions of justice.[44] Honneth offers a normative monism of recognition, which means that he elaborates on both the recognition of rights and cultural appreciation. Redistribution is subsumed to, that is a form of, recognition.[45] Fraser, on the other hand, offers a perspectival dualism of recognition and redistribution, which means that redistribution and recognition are entwined, but one cannot be reduced to another.[46]

In her chapter *Social justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation* in *Redistribution or Recognition*, Nancy Fraser argues: "Neither redistribution alone nor recognition alone can suffice to overcome injustice today; thus, they need somehow to be reconciled and combined."[47] In her opinion, justice requires both redistribution and recognition. Furthermore, she states that the concept of redistribution "comes from the liberal tradition"[48] of Rawls and Dworkin. "Seeking to synthesize the traditional liberal emphasis on individual liberty with the egalitarianism of social democracy, they

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[43] Honneth and Fraser, *Redistribution or Recognition.*
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 9.
[48] Ibid., 10.

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propounded new conceptions of justice that could justify socio-economic redistribution."[49] Additionally, she connects the term 'recognition' with the work of neo-Hegelian philosophers, such as Axel Honneth and Charles Taylor.

Fraser claims that recognition and redistribution can go together because it is misleading that redistribution is associated with class politics, and recognition is associated with identity politics. She writes: "Instead of aligning redistribution and recognition with class politics and identity politics respectively, I shall treat each folk paradigm as expressing a distinctive perspective on social justice, which can be applied in principle to the situation of any social movement"[50]. Fraser argues that redistribution does not only refer to a class, but also to identity; recognition does not only refer to identity but also to class, meaning that class, on one hand, and cultural, and racial identities, on the other hand, interact with one other. This makes the recognition and the redistribution entangled tools that cannot be separately used, since class and group identity are hard to be separated.

Although I can trace some logic in this argument, I question whether this means that Fraser claims that certain social, ethnic, racial, gender, or ethnic group is at the same time an economic class. If so, this would mean that the Roma can be at the same time viewed as an ethnic, racial group, and as an economic class. Therefore, redistribution among economic classes and recognition of ethnic, racial, and social groups should go together as equally important tools for attaining social justice. My objection to this is that the racialization of Roma is the reason for their economic disadvantages; therefore, recognition should be central, and redistribution should be under the name and for the sake of recognition.

The historically constructed racial, ethnic, and cultural inferiority of the subaltern Roma is the reason for their economic poverty today. Overcoming poverty would be the surface-level

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[49] Honneth and Fraser, *Redistribution or Recognition,* 10.
[50] Ibid., 12.

of improving Roma lives, while recognition would be getting to racialization as the root of the problem and working on eliminating it. As long as Roma people and states focus on redistribution in order to end their poverty, racialization is not going to be eliminated but will continue to cause new problems. Nevertheless, although I favor recognition, I do not exclude the necessity of working on justice through egalitarian redistributive schemes.

In his chapter *Redistribution as Recognition* in *Redistribution or Recognition,* Honneth argues that recognition is the critical tool for attaining justice, while redistribution is reduceable to recognition. Although he agrees with Fraser's argument that today's reality brings a need for obtaining justice through redistribution, he mainly aims to ask the philosophical question of "which of the theoretical languages linked to the terms recognition and redistribution is better suited to consistently reconstructing and normatively justifying present-day political demands within the framework of a critical theory of society"[51]. Against Fraser's proposal that "the normative objectives of critical social theory now be conceived as the product of a synthesis of "material" and "cultural" considerations of justice"[52], Honneth believes that "the terms of recognition must represent the unified framework for such a project."[53]

Furthermore, stating that "even distributional injustices must be understood as the institutional expression of social disrespect - or, better said, of unjustified relations of recognition."[54], Honneth claims that many economic inequalities are the result of prior misrecognition. I accept Honneth's point that redistribution is part of recognition. In line with this, I formulate my claim as: the recognition of the agency, rights, history, identity, and culture of Roma is crucial, and every redistributive policy should be enacted in the name of prior misrecognition and for the sake of further recognition of this kind.

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[51] Honneth and Fraser, *Redistribution or Recognition.,* 112-113.
[52] Ibid., 113.
[53] Ibid., 113
[54] Ibid., 114.

Although both Fraser and Honneth offer fruitful arguments, I subscribe to Honneth's view that redistribution can be reduced to recognition. In other words, in addition to the direct recognition of Roma group rights (e.g., by granting them a right to political representation or lancuage and cultural rights), a just redistribution of wealth for reducing the economic disadvantages of Roma would play a role in recognizing the present necessity of group rights, which are due to the historical treatment that the Roma have received from the states. This is to say that, for instance, by paying reparations to the Roma - rather than welfare payments simpliciter – the states at the same time admit the unjust use of power they have used against the Roma.

CHAPTER 2: THE CENTRAL QUESTIONS

2.1. *Why are Roma people still not integrated into European states?*

The hegemonic aspect of the European nation-states causes difficulties in the process of Roma integration. I assume that the historical circumstances of building the European nations and nation-states have brought the hegemonic consolidation of peoples who resembled each other. In other words, after European imperialism, European nations consisted of people who resembled each other. Later, the hegemonic nations 'swallowed'[55] the European states and their institutions.[56] Although some states are less hegemonic than others, the position of Roma in them is the same – subordinate. There can be national or ethnic minorities in European countries that receive more or less discriminative treatment from states; however, Roma are destined to be constantly viewed as 'non-deserving' and 'stateless' people without 'the right to have rights'.

I am introducing a metaphor I used in my previous work *Why did the Nazis want to clean Roma from the face of the earth? Elimination of Roma during World War Two*[57]. I use the metaphor of the "house" in order to show my view on the construction of nation-states in twentieth-century Europe. I compare nation-states to a "house" as a "shelter after the storm (instability after the wars)".[58] The "storm" (the political disorder after the fall of the main empires that had dominated Europe) was the reason why European peoples aimed to shelter themselves.[59] However, some peoples could claim ownership over a piece of land where the

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[55] Hannah Arendt uses the terms 'swallow' to depict the way the hegemonically constructed nations in the twentieth century took control over the European states and their institutions. This shows Arendt's view on the merge of nations and states, forming nation-states.

[56] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism.*

[57] Rufat Demirov, "Why did the Nazis Want to Clean Roma from the Face of the Earth? Elimination of Roma During World War Two", Dealing With the Past, 2021, https://dwp-balkan.org/why-did-the-nazis-want-to-clean-roma-from-the-face-of-the-earth-elimination-of-roma-during-world-war-two-2/.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

"houses" were planned to be built, while others could not make such claims.[60] Additionally, some peoples were more uniform, resembling each other, and had more economic resources than others; therefore, they could more easily construct their "houses" than other more diverse and less wealthy peoples.[61] It was unavoidable that these "houses" needed to be constructed rapidly because it is unsafe to be "homeless" during a "storm"; thus, uniformity could not be avoided. The more a certain group was uniform, the faster the construction of its "house" would be.[62].

The combination of imperialism, nationalism, and totalitarianism created the need for Europeans to be organized into nations of people with a shared history.[63] The Roma did not, and still do not fit in these images of European nations as entities of people with resemblance and shared history.[64] On the other hand, ever since the construction of the European nations , Roma have abandoned their idea of a strong international political body that was initiated at the First World Roma Congress in 1971.

In summary, I have detected two reasons why Roma integration has been derailed. Firstly, the historically built hegemonic aspect of the European nation-states caused the inferior position of 'otherness' of the Roma. Secondly, the the Roma have forgotten about their power and potential, and have relied on the nation-states who often fail to fulfil their duties towards their Roma citizens.

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[60] Demirov, "Why did The Nazis Want to Clean Roma from the Face of the Earth".
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism.*
[64] Demirov, "Why did The Nazis Want to Clean Roma from the Face of the Earth".

2.2. *How could Roma people obtain successful integration?*

2.2.1. Frantz Fanon: Collective violence – the only way out of the inescapable subaltern position or racialized minorities

I start answering the question of whether there is a way out of the subordinate position of Roma in Europe by offering a suggestion inspired by Frantz Fanon's racial and decolonial theories. Following Fanon's arguments in *Black Skin, White Masks,* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, racialized subaltern groups have no way out of their inferior and struggling position because the 'blackness' is omnipresent and unavoidably strong, unless they collectively act against their colonizers, using violence. Fanon suggests that 'shaking hands' of the political elites would not decolonize racialized groups, because the elites from the colonized side have the potential to become the new colonizers of their own group.[65] I agree with Fanon that collective action should be taken, and that the political elites should not be the main actors in the process of decolonization. However, I do not agree that violence should be included. Instead, I suggest the collective work and cooperation of the European Roma for attaining recognition, which is possible in multicultural states.

In line with Fanon's views, this position of Roma as 'the other' can hardly ever be destroyed. The only way to attain recognition, according to Fanon's theory, would be through violent conflict, which I think is not only impossible but also undesirable for Roma. My assumption is based on four reasons. Firstly, the superior-inferior relation between the Roma and the Gajo is so deeply ingrained and accumulated over centuries that it does not enable the Roma to have the power to confront the European states in the form of conflict. Secondly, any potential conflict at this point will only increase the hate and the 'antigypsist' practices of states and societies. Thirdly, the Roma themselves are not conflictual in general; they have been

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[65] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

trying to survive as a group, never conflicting with others, since the times of their arrival in Europe. Finally – and most importantly - the Roma have the option to request recognition and assistance from international political organization, such as the UN, EU, and Council of Europe, that can not only give further explicit recognition of the Roma as an internationally meaningful group but also can help Roma obtain recognition on national levels.

2.2.2. A better solution: Will Kymlicka's multiculturalism through non-violent collective action for attaining integration

A major part of this thesis focuses on the optimistic, possible, and desirable solution to the problem of the struggle for integration of the Roma in the European states. Multicultural states would be the optimal ground for the Roma to attain their recognition as equal citizens of the European states. Furthermore, this equality in the form of multicultural citizenship involves not only integration without assimilation but also helps Roma to preserve their unique cultural identity. In this case, the common identity in the form of citizenship would not replace the ethnic identity of the Roma, but they would go hand in hand in complementing and enforcing each other.

Historically, the European states have been attempting to exclude the Roma. This brings the inferior status of the Roma, which needs to be replaced by equality via recognition, which is possible in a multicultural political arena. Furthermore, equality is possible if states rectify economic inequalities for the benefit of the Roma, the worst-off members of European states. A mere application of equal rights for all citizens is harmful to Roma because it might entail ignoring the struggles that Roma face and the unjust treatment they have been exposed to. Simple equality must be replaced with a differential treatment – in the form of ethnic politics – for the Roma to obtain compensation for their struggles.

I consider two aspects of Kymlicka's theory that need to be taken into account when multiculturalism is to be built for the Roma, in order to attain recognition, and consequently integration. Firstly, Roma rights should be viewed as specific rights in the polyethnic states in the form of polyethnic rights, special representation rights, collective group rights, and cultural and language rights. Secondly, both the equality-based and the history-based arguments proposed by Kymlicka should be taken into account when the group rights of the Roma are justified and secured.

2.3. *What actions, through what instrument, and by whom, should be taken?*

2.3.1. Recognition of the Roma as a politically meaningful group

From the debate between Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth about redistribution or recognition, I focus on the arguments of Axel Honneth, who claims that redistribution and recognition are not two separate aims, but that redistribution can be reduced to recognition. Although both authors offer compelling arguments, I choose Honneth's approach because I see recognition as crucial in the case of Roma integration. Namely, redistribution of wealth in the name of apologizing for the historical injustices that the Roma have suffered at the same time brings recognition of (i) the harm that has been done by the states, and (ii) the need for specific group rights to be secured for the Roma. Although the redistributive policies (in the form of reparations and affirmative actions) might not always be made in order to admit and apologize for past injustices, I still assume that the idea of reparations and affirmative actions derives from the attempt to decrease inequalities that are caused by the unjust (past and present) power relations between the Roma and the European states.

Redistribution refers to the reallocation of wealth, goods, and power. If we see the Roma as a social class, then redistribution is what is needed. However, I assume that the Roma being a social class is a result of something else: The Roma are poor because they are not

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recognized as equal, meaningful, worthy members of societies. The poverty of Roma is a result of the societal view of seeing them as non-deserving subalterns. I argue that redistribution in itself will not get the Roma out of the subaltern position where their existence is reduced to merely satisfying biological[66] needs.

Misrecognition of the agency of the Roma makes them subordinate objects whose voice is not heard, whose labor is not valued, and whose lives are not protected and improved. In other words, the poor living conditions of the Roma are a result of the abandonment of their lives[67]. Simple redistribution will strengthen the relationship between the inferior Roma and superior states. The states would want to keep the Roma in positions where they would be endlessly dependent on state redistribution. For example, the Roma in most states are 'social cases'. This position of Roma is beneficial for the states because with some redistribution they would temporarily satisfy the poor Roma.

Recognition would mean something more, something that would attempt to get to the root of the problems of poverty. Adopting only redistributive policies that do not lead to any further recognition would reduce Roma lives to "bare biological lives"[68] dependent on the redistributive power of states. On the other hand, recognition would make it possible for Roma lives to be treated as equal, politically meaningful, and worthy. Moreover, once recognition is given to the political, historical, social, and cultural agency of the Roma, further redistribution would derive from this recognition.

Nevertheless, it is important that some redistribution might lead to the recognition of the Roma as meaningful agents. For example, affirmative actions for the education of Roma

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[66] Reducing the needs of the Roma to biological needs causes Roma lives to be reduced to an existence in the form of 'Homo Sacer' that does not have any socio-political meaning but is only animalistic 'bare' life. Further on this see: Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford University Press, 1998).

[67] Agamben uses the term 'abounded lives' to refer to people who are not under state protection. They are forgotten and left to live on the margins. Further on this see: Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer.*

[68] Using Aristotle's differentiation between '*bios*' (political life) and '*zoe*' (animalistic life), Agamben describes the 'bare life' as biological life when '*bios*' reduced to '*zoe*'. Further on this see: Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer.*

children and for the employability of the Roma can lead to the independence and recognition of the Roma as meaningful agents. Thus, I view redistribution as a tool that should be used only if it leads to a recognition.

It is relevant to question whether there can be fair redistribution without prior recognition, i.e., whether there can be a recognition without prior redistribution. In other words, I question if recognition leads to fair distribution, or if fair redistribution makes the worse-off capable of obtaining their recognition. I adopt the view that fair redistribution is one of the outcomes of the recognition of the agency, rights, identity, diversity, history, and culture of marginalized groups in society. Additionally, there are cases when redistribution can lead to recognition. However, not every redistribution leads to recognition; sometimes redistribution works against recognition.

My view is that every attempt for fair inclusion and integration of subordinated minorities should start with recognition, and every redistribution should be in the name of that recognition. For example, recognition is attainable via educating young Roma who would raise their voices. Indeed, the redistributive schemes in the form of affirmative action in the sphere of education would create educated young professionals who would help the process of recognition. However, this redistribution I view to be for the sake of recognition. This means that such redistribution is not only because of prior recognition but also for the sake of further recognition.

At this point, I suggest that the Roma identity in terms of diversity is what I argue to be recognized. The Roma identity is constructed in circumstances of marginality, discrimination, segregation, rejection, and racialization. The states recognizing the Roma identity constructed in this way would admit their responsibility for putting Roma in conditions where this identity has been built. When the states fail to recognize the differences of the Roma, they fail to

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recognize the genealogy of reasons for constructing such an identity of the subaltern. Recognition of this aspect of the Romani identity is needed, meaning that the states, in that case, would admit their responsibility for the construction of the Romani identity as marginalized, inferior, and subaltern. Additionally, further actions in form of redistributive schemes and affirmative actions should be taken by the states for the sake and in the name of this recognition.

2.3.2. The shared responsibility between the European states and the Roma

2.3.2.1. The responsibility of the European states

The European countries should transform themselves from nation-states into multicultural states. Additionally, they should give recognition to the past struggles and the current rights of their Roma citizens. Usual practices show that for this kind of recognition the states either offer material reparation or express public apologies admitting the historical injustices that have been done to Roma. I would not exclude these two options, but I propose to pay attention to a third, additional, option: the states ought to rearrange themselves in order to integrate the Roma as their equal members. I see an important difference between hegemonic nation-states and multicultural states in the fact that nation-states are built upon the idea of one nation (referring to the largest ethnic group) – one state, while the multicultural states are built upon the idea of equality of all groups within a state.

I assume that also the trajectory of imperialism-nationalism-totalitarianism[69], nowadays should be accompanied by a fourth stage – multiculturalism. Additionally, we should take into account the multicultural aspect of the European empires which caused fear in European peoples (fear of losing the common national identity after the end of the empires) and a need to consolidate into nations only with people with whom they felt they belonged. The

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[69] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism.*

contemporary idea of multiculturalism should at the same time recognize the sovereignty of the European states, but also include the people who live on the territories of the European states but were not perceived as belonging to the European nations.

2.3.2.2. The potential of the Roma

The Roma need to reawake the idea of having a strong, internationally recognized political organization that reacts when the European states violate their group and individual rights. The first agents that need to work on successful integration are Roma themselves because the states would not start the integration as long as the Roma do not initiate it and follow its further implementation. The Roma should take their destiny into their hands and use the most efficient tools for successful integration into the states. This would mean bringing back the initial ideas for Romani consolidation into a strong international political entity, similar to the ideas from the First World Romani Congress (1971)[70]. For example, the Romani movements from all around Europe should unite in one fight for recognition (not only by the European states but also by powerful international organizations) of Roma as a single political unite.

Although in the time of the First World Roma Congress (1971), the Roma successfully built a ground for performing as a single political entity, one question remained to be open in my previous work: Should Roma, as an organized entity, rely on the willingness of the states to offer them governance and protection or to aim to self-governance.[71] This thesis answers the dilemma that I identified in my previous work: I answer that Roma should first reawaken the ideas of the First World Romani Congress for being self-organized, and then the Roma would be able to pressure the states to fulfill their duty to offer them governance (protection) via integration through recognition.

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[70] The First World Roma Congress is explained in the last chapter.
[71] Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming.*

I suggest two things that Roma should take into consideration when attempting to become integrated members of the European states. Firstly, Romani intellectual elites from all the European countries should consolidate and reawake the idea of having a strong united political entity on a European level and gaining recognition of it. And secondly, Roma intellectuals should cooperate with each other and with powerful international organizations which would give them international recognition, and additionally would influence the process of multiculturalism in the European states.

Promisingly, these mechanisms are somehow present in the existence of some international Romani organizations (the European Roma and Travellers Forum, the International Romani Union, the European Roma Rights Centre, the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture, and others) as well as in the appearance of the Romani movements on a national level ('Avaja' in North Macedonia, 'RSL' in Romania, 'Phiren Amencar' in Hungary, 'Khetane' in Italy, and many others), their attempt to consolidate into an international network on the European level, and the help they receive from Open Society Foundation and other international organizations. However, this needs further elaboration and following up. Due to the fact that these movements are new, it is still too early to give a precise assessment and prediction of their success to transform and merge into one uniformed and functional political body on a European level. Therefore, I assume that this thesis will be published at perfect timing, so that these movements might get inspiration and normative and practical recommendations.

CHAPTER 3: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PRACTICES FOR THE ROMA INTEGRATION

The main argument of this thesis is that the integration of the Roma into the European states will be a successful project if: 1. The Roma organize themselves in an international politically meaningful entity and seek recognition on the international and national levels, and 2. The European states recognize the Roma as a politically and culturally distinct group in a multi-cultural society. In this part of the thesis, I offer examples of positive and negative practices of the Roma and European states, practices that lead towards, as well as distract from, the process of Roma integration that I see as enabled by recognition.

Table 2. Positive and Negative Practices of the European States and the Roma that Lead to Roma Integration

European states working on multiculturalism and recognition of Roma		The Roma working on international consolidation and fight for recognition	
Positive practices	Negative practices	Positive practices	Negative practices
Multiculturalism present in the **political and electoral systems**	**Assimilation** instead of integration	**First World Roma Congress** (building a solid ground for an international Romani political entity) and **Fifth World Roma Congress** (request for recognition of Roma as a single stateless nation)	Individual **benefits** of the Romani political **elites**
Recognition of the **group, ethnic**, and **cultural rights** of Roma	**Exclusion**, **marginalization**, and **segregation** instead of integration	Roma's focus on redistribution for **education** – building an international educated Roma elite that fights for recognition	Reliance on and **artificial cooperation** between the Roma elites and the states
Recognition of the **victimhood** and past **oppression** of the Roma	Extreme cases of **violence** and **elimination** instead of integration	Contemporary **internationalization** of the Romani **movement** and its focus on recognition	Roma patriarchy and **internal exclusion** of Roma **women**

3.1.   *The responsibility of European states*

I suggest that the European states should work on transforming from the model of the nation-state into the model of a multicultural state, establishing an inclusive ground for the Roma and recognizing their Roma populations as equal ethnic groups that belong to an international politically meaningful group. Therefore, I am providing three positive and three negative practices of European states working on their multiculturalism and Roma recognition.

3.1.1.   Positive practices in European states

3.1.1.1. Multiculturalism present in the political and electoral systems

Although my claim is that European states should become multicultural bodies, some European states have already attained a certain level of multiculturalism. In some states, the Roma are recognized as a distinct ethnic group, and as such, they have mechanisms to participate in the political processes. In such states, the Roma can form their ethnic political parties that enable them to be represented in political institutions on the national and local level. For example, in North Macedonia, the Roma are recognized as an ethnic group in the Constitution. "On November 16, 2001, the Macedonian Parliament adopted fifteen changes to its constitution, including the official recognition of Roma and other minorities"[72].This enables them to be politically represented.

Additionally, the Macedonian electoral system gives space for the Roma to participate via their ethnic political parties; thus, the Roma have their representative(s) in parliament.[73] The Roma in Kosovo also enjoy the right of political representation since in the Kosovo's

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[72] "Roma Recognised in New Macedonian Constitution", European Roma Rights Centre, 2002, http://www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/roma-recognised-in-new-macedonian-constitution.
[73] Daniel Bochsler, "Electoral Rules and The Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Post-Communist Democracies", *European Yearbook of Minority Issues*, 2010, 153-180

parliament there is an ethnic quota for represenation of ethnic minorities.[74] Furthermore, in Hungary and North Macedonia, there are " settlements where Roma form the majority of the population (for instance in Gadna in Hungary, or in the Šuto Orizari district of Skopje in Macedonia)"[75]; therefore, they have certain territorial autonomy in these settlements.

Nevertheless, there are multicultural states where the Roma are not recognized as a group with rights of representation, meaning that not every multicultural state is inclusive of Roma. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "Under the Dayton Peace Accords, only those belonging to one of the three Constituent Peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina—Bosniaks, Croats or Serbs—are permitted to stand for election to the House of Peoples or for the Presidency"[76] while other ethnic groups – including Roma – lack the right to be elected for high political functions. This means if one declares oneself as a Roma, one is excluded from the right of being elected for MP, president, or other political position.

3.1.1.2. Recognition of language and cultural rights of Roma

The Romani language is one of the most important elements of the Romani cultural identity. Therefore, the Council of Europe has made an effort into the Roma language being preserved. Starting in the 1980s the Council of Europe has given recommendations and resolutions for (i) giving equal status to the Romani language and culture, (ii) guaranteeing the usage of the Romani language, (iii) considering the Romani history, culture, and language, (iv) recognizing the Roma language as a non-territorial language spoken by the Roma all around Europe, (v) forming a body for translations in and from Romani language, and (vi) encouraging the states to form conditions for the Roma language and history to be taught in schools.[77] This

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[74] Bochsler, "Electoral Rules and the Representation of Ethnic Minorities".
[75] Márton Rövid, "Options of Roma Political Participation And Representation", *Roma Rights*, 2012.
[76] "Sejdic and Finci V. Bosnia snd Herzegovina", Justiceinitiative.Org, 2022, https://www.justiceinitiative.org/litigation/sejdic-and-finci-v-bosnia-and-herzegovina.
[77] Yaron Matras, "The Status of Romani in Europe", *Report Submitted to the Council of Europe's Language Policy Division*, 2005.

international recognition of the cultural and language rights of the Roma sets the ground for their national recognition and preservation.

Besides the international level, there are practices of recognizing the language rights of the Roma also on a national level. For example, in North Macedonia, after the Ohrid Agreement[78] and the Law on the Use of Languages[79] the Romani language is recognized as an official language in the regions where the Roma make up more than 20% of the population, and it is taught in the schools where Roma students are in majority. Thus, in the municipality of Shuto Orizari in Skopje (where the Roma make up more than 20%) the Roma language is used as an official language. In Croatia, the Faculty of Philology has a Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies (in Croatian "Odsjek za Indologiju i Dalekoistočne Studije)[80] where Roma language is taught by prof. Ljatif Demir. Additionally, in Austria, Finland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom, the governments have assisted in producing educational materials about the Romani language, culture, and history.[81]

3.1.1.3. Recognition of the victimhood and past oppression of the Roma

The European Roma are one of the groups that faced the most struggles, from exclusion to physical elimination in World War Two. It is important that the victimhood of Roma during the Holocaust was recognized by Germany in 1982[82], a long time after the recognition of Jewish victimhood. It seems that the recognition of the guilt of European states in terms of violating Roma's rights – including their right to life – is a difficult process, mainly because some states

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[78] "Famework [Ohrid] Agreement", Osce.Org, 2019, https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/8/100622.pdf.
[79] "Law on the Use of Languages", Venice Comission, 2019, https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-REF(2019)019-e.
[80] "Katedra Za Indologiju [Department for Far Eastern Studies]", Katedra Za Indologiju, 2017, https://indolog.ffzg.unizg.hr/?s=romski&submit=Tra%C5%BEi.
[81] Matras, "The Status of Romani in Europe".
[82] "Germany - Recognition of The Roma Genocide", Council of Europe , https://www.coe.int/en/web/roma-genocide/virtual-library/-/asset_publisher/M35KN9VVoZTe/content/georgia-recognition-of-the-genocide.

avoid facing the dark part of their history concerning Roma, and because some still continue to oppress their Roma populations. A long time after the Holocaust, the main focus was on reparations for the Jewish people, while "Roma and Sinti have been largely excluded from compensation"[83].

Yet, there are cases when states do not only recognize the historical injustices, they have done to the Roma but also give reparation that is aimed to give recognition of the past injustices towards Roma. For example, "in 1990, the German government at last provided some global compensation to the Roma and Sinti, with the establishment of a Sinti and Roma culture and documentation center in Heidelberg"[84]. Although some might argue that "Roma people, who were exterminated in their hundreds of thousands (according to some estimates, half a million) in similarly horrific ways [as the Jewish people], were never given reparations"[85], I argue that the recognition of (and the very few cases of reparation for) the Roma Holocaust (Porajmos) plays a critical role in recognizing the Roma identity as a result of the injustices and struggles that Roma people have suffered, and the guilt of European states in constructing the Roma identity as racialized and subaltern.

3.1.2. Negative practices of the European states

3.1.2.1. Assimilation instead of integration

Throughout history, many European societies have attempted to assimilate the Roma people. Although in the times of the eugenic understanding of nations during World War Two, the assimilation of Roma was replaced by an attempted elimination, there were still cases when before, during, and even after the War, states aimed to assimilate the Roma. The cases of

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[83] Andrew Woolford and Stefan Wolejszo, "Collecting on Moral Debts: Reparations for the Holocaust and Porajmos", *Law &Amp; Society Review* 40, no. 4 (2006), 880.
[84] Ibid., 888.
[85] Jinan Bastaki, "Reading History into Law: Who is Worthy of Reparations? Observations on Spain and Portugal's Return Laws and the Implications for Reparations", *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 4, no. 1 (2017): 123.

assimilation of the Roma show that this assimilation appears on both the individual and group levels. Since assimilation means inclusion at the price of losing Roma's identity, the European societies attempted to 'civilize' the Roma by erasing their cultural, linguistic, and historical specificities. Taking Roma children from their families and giving them to non-Roma families to raise is an example of forced assimilation of Roma individuals. On the other hand, attempts to erase Roma's history or disallow Roma to speak the Romani language are examples of assimilation that do not consider only Roma individuals but whole populations of Roma.

Examples of assimilation of Roma can be found in different periods in different European regions. "For example, under the Hapsburg monarchy of the 18th century, assimilation took the form of a direct prohibition against the itinerant Roma lifestyle under the 1761 edict of Maria Theresa"[86]. This created stereotypes about the Roma families as non-desirable places for raising children. Later on, because of these stereotypes about the Roma lifestyle, in "the 1990s, the growth in international adoption notably and disproportionately impacted on Romani children"[87], meaning that many Roma children were taken from their families and given for adoption to non-Roma families. This practice of individual assimilation of the Roma continues and targets Roma children from families that are wrongly viewed as incapable of raising their children.

3.1.2.2. Exclusion, marginalization, and segregation instead of integration

In many European cities, the Roma live in segregated settlements and are excluded from the wider society in various ways.[88] In the period between the 1970s and 2010s, in Italy, there

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[86] Jolie Chai, "Forced Removal of Romani Children from the Care of Their Families", European Roma Rights Centre, 2005, http://www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/forced-removal-of-romani-children-from-the-care-of-their-families#:~:text=The%20forced%20removal%20of%20children%20from%20their%20Roma,victimisation%2C%20segregation%2C%20and%20oppression%20of%20the%20Romani%20peoples.
[87] Ibid.
[88] György Málovics et al., "Urban Roma, Segregation and Place Attachment in Szeged, Hungary", *Area* 51, no. 1 (2018): 72-83; Katalin Kovács, "Advancing Marginalisation of Roma and Forms of Segregation in East Central Europe", *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit* 30, no. 7 (2015): 783-799; Giovanni

were attempts to place the Roma in marginalized places outside the cities.[89] This "segregation of Roma in Italian cities was a systemic and racial issue, evident in the presence of camps, namely policy-driven housing infrastructures in which only Roma families lived, typically fenced and located at the extreme peripheries of large and mid-size towns, disconnected from the public transport system, dilapidated and with highly precarious living conditions"[90]. Similarly, in Slovakia and Hungary, the Roma are usually placed in segregated neighborhoods.[91] The issue of Roma segregation is also present in Romania. For example, "In 2011, Catalin Chereches, the mayor of Baia Mare, Romania, built a wall separating the Roma from the majority community"[92].

Furthermore, the segregation of the Roma also occurs in the form of school segregation of Roma children. Cases of school segregation of Roma pupils can be found in North Macedonia, Albania, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, the UK, and Bulgaria.[93] Extreme cases of segregation of Roma pupils can be seen in the practices of placing Roma children in schools for children with disabilities.[94] I believe that the main reason for placing Roma pupils in schools for children with disabilities is the segregation of Roma families where their children do not learn any other language but Romani; thus, when they take school-entry tests they are unable to answer questions in the languages of the majority, which they do not understand.

Picker and Elisabetta Vivaldi, "Racial Segregation: Camps For Roma And Slums In Italy", in *Dimensions of Antigypsyism In Europe* (Brussels: European Network Against Racism and Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2019).

[89] Giovanni Picker and Elisabetta Vivaldi, "Racial Segregation".

[90] Ibid.

[91] Katalin Kovács, "Advancing Marginalisation of Roma".

[92] Jacqueline Bhabha, Margareta Matache, and Caroline Elkins, *Time for Reparations: A Global Perspective*. University of Pennsylvania Press, (2021), 260.

[93] Helen O'Nions, "Different and Unequal: The Educational Segregation of Roma Pupils in Europe", *Intercultural Education* 21, no. 1 (2010): 1-13; Bernard Rorke, "Old Habits Die Hard: Will the Czech Government Ramp up School Segregation Again?", European Roma Rights Centre, 2018, http://www.errc.org/news/old-habits-die-hard-will-the-czech-government-ramp-up-school-segregation-again; "X And Others V Albania (Pending)", European Roma Rights Centre, 2019, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=5149; "Segregation of Romani Schoolchildren Is Discrimination Says North Macedonia'S Equality Body, But Fails to Call Authorities To Account", European Roma Rights Centre, 2022, http://www.errc.org/news/segregation-of-romani-schoolchildren-is-discrimination-says-north-macedonias-equality-body-but-fails-to-call-authorities-to-account.

[94] Helen O'Nions, "Different and Unequal"

This segregation additionally prevents Roma students from accessing higher education, job markets, and social life in general.

Besides the structural and formal exclusion of the Roma, in most European societies the Roma face exclusion from everyday social life. Moreover, the formal segregation and marginalization of the Roma appear because they are excluded from the European societal life in a broader sense. And vice versa, the formal segregation and marginalization of Roma cause exclusion of Roma from the social life. Non-Roma people often do not make friends or partners with Roma people; non-Roma rarely marry Roma people; many companies do not hire Roma people; many non-Roma do not want to move into neighborhoods where Roma live, and perceive these segregated Roma settlements as dangerous and unpleasant.

3.1.2.3. Extreme cases of violence and elimination instead of integration

Although at the beginning of this thesis I stated that the dilemma between assimilation and elimination had been replaced with the dilemma between assimilation and integration, there are still cases when the states use violence on Roma individuals, use biopolitics to shorten Roma lives, or forcibly sterilize Romani women. Recently, the case of the murder of the Roma man Stanislav Tomas[95] by the Czech police brought awareness to the issue of police violence against Roma people. Unfortunately, Tomas is not the only Roma victim of police brutality. Cases of police violence against Roma are detectable in North Macedonia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Serbia, and Italy.[96] These cases of police violence against the

[95] "Death of Romany Man Knelt on by Czech Police Must be 'Investigated Urgently'", The Guardian, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/jun/23/death-of-romany-man-knelt-on-by-czech-police-must-be-investigated-urgently.
[96] Bernard Rorke, "Outrage Grows Following the Death of 'The Romani George Floyd' in The Czech Republic: #Sayhisname Stanislav Tomáš", European Roma Rights Centre, 2021, http://www.errc.org/news/outrage-grows-following-the-death-of-the-romani-george-floyd-in-the-czech-republic; Bernard Rorke, "No Case to Answer: Slovak Authorities Dismiss Another Two Police Brutality Cases Against Roma", European Roma Rights Centre, 2021, http://www.errc.org/news/no-case-to-answer-slovak-authorities-dismiss-another-two-police-brutality-cases-against-roma; Bernard Rorke, "Roma in Ukraine: 20 Years of Police Terror", European Roma Rights Centre, 2018, http://www.errc.org/news/roma-in-ukraine-20-years-of-police-terror; "Kovács and Others V Hungary (Third-Party Intervention, 2019)", European Roma Rights Centre, 2018, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=4954; Swain Uber, "Roma Lives Matter: Bulgarian Rom Killed for

Roma highlight Roma's position of marginality and the states' perception that it is permissible to use violence on those who are not integrated. Additionally, in North Macedonia, few Roma families sued the state for prison segregation that caused the death of their relatives.[97]

Excluded from society, the Roma also often lack access to proper health care[98], which affects their life quality and expectancy. This means that the states, via exclusion, biopolitically control the size of the Roma populations.[99] For example, in North Macedonia Romani women from the municipality of Shuto Orizari have no access to a gynecologist, which affects their reproductive health.[100] Moreover, many Romani women in the past few decades were forcibly sterilized. Such cases of forced sterilization of Romani women are found in Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Sweden.[101]

3.2.   *The potential of Roma people*

I suggest that the Roma should focus on strengthening their collective network on the European level and seeking recognition from the international political actors that could assist

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"Possession of Pesticides"", European Roma Rights Centre, 2017, http://www.errc.org/news/roma-lives-matter-bulgarian-rom-killed-for-possession-of-pesticides; "Domestic Cases: State Response to Violence and Hate Speech", European Roma Rights Centre, 2015, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=4405.

[97] "Romani Families Sue Over Prison Deaths in Macedonia", European Roma Rights Centre, 2018, http://www.errc.org/press-releases/romani-families-sue-over-prison-deaths-in-macedonia.

[98] Pavol Jarcuska et al., "Are Barriers in Accessing Health Services in the Roma Population Associated with Worse Health Status Among Roma?", International Journal of Public Health 58, no. 3 (2013): 427-434.

[99] The states have a biopower to affect people's lives through managing, promoting, and governing (Foucault) or abandoning (Agamben). Further on this see: Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power Over Life", in *History Of Sexuality* (Vintage Books, 1980), 133-159; Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford University Press, 1998).

[100] "UN Finds Discrimination Against Roma Women in Suto Orizari and Recommends the State to Provide them with a Family Gynecologist", Слободен Печат [Free Press], 2021, https://www.slobodenpecat.mk/en/on-utvrdi-diskriminaczija-vrz-zhenite-romki-vo-shuto-orizari-i-preporacha-drzhavata-da-im-ovozmozhi-matichen-ginekolog/.

[101] Priti Patel, "Forced Sterilization Of Women As Discrimination", Public Health Reviews 38, no. 1 (2017); Ed Holt, "Roma Women Reveal That Forced Sterilisation Remains", The Lancet 365, no. 9463 (2005); "Parallel Report by the Europen Roma Rights Centre Concerning the Czech Republic", European Roma Rights Centre, 2016, http://www.errc.org/uploads/upload_en/file/czech-cedaw-submission-22-january-2016.pdf; "Report Reveals That Romani Women Were Sterilised Against Their Will in Sweden", European Roma Rights Centre, 1997, http://www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/report-reveals-that-romani-women-were-sterilised-against-their-will-in-sweden#:~:text=According%20to%20various%20press%20reports%20in%20late%20August%2C,version%20of%20the%20Dutch%20news%20paper%2C%20De%20Telegraaf.

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their fight for recognition on the national level. Therefore, I am providing examples of three positive and three negative practices of Roma working on their international consolidation and their fight for recognition.

3.2.1. Political action and positive practices adopted by Roma people

3.2.1.1. The First and the Fifth World Roma Congress

On April 8th, 1971, in Ongprinton (near London) Romani representatives from all around Europe united and held the First World Roma Congress. During this event, the Romani national symbols were defined.[102] The First Romani Congress portrays not only the Roma resistance to violence and structural discrimination by nation-states but also shows the attempt of Roma to politically organize themselves into a meaningful group with a voice.

Besides Roma delegates from different European countries, at the First World Roma Congress there were also delegates present from "the UN, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the UN Council of Human Rights, and European Commission of Human Rights"[103]. This means that in this Congress the Roma not only successfully set the ground for an international politically meaningful organization but also obtained recognition by the relevant international political organizations.

Another important "event where Roma elites and activists express their interest towards the idea for recognition of a single, unified Romani nation was the Fifth Congress of the International Romani Union held in 2000 (Prague), when for the first time a 'Declaration of a

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[102] During the First World Roma Congress "Gelem, gelem" was decided to be the Romani anthem, the Romani flag was decided to be a blue (sky) and green (grass) background with red wheel (travellings) on the center, the foundations of Romani language were defined, the term "Rrom" was decided to be the only correct term for naming the Romani people, the Roma history was discussed and the origin from India was rediscovered and other national symbols were defined. Today April 8th is celebrated as the International Roma Day. Further on this see: "First World Roma Congress". Race Today, 1971.
[103] Demirov, *The Power of Self-Naming,* 9.

Romani Nation' was drafted and distributed among the delegates of the Congress"[104]. Although recognition of Roma as a nation is a matter that can be further discussed and argued whither Roma should be viewed as an extraterritorial nation or as an extraterritorial ethnicity, the idea of the recognition of Roma as a single political unit – nation or another type of political entity – is an important moment that can be used as inspiration by the current Romani activists from Europe.

The First and the Fifth World Roma Congress should be motivation and a guide for Roma to reconsolidate their unity in a strong internationally recognized political organization. Furthermore, such an international Romani political entity would play a critical role in obtaining Roma recognition on national levels, as well as in monitoring the implementation of the projects that aim to integrate the Roma into European societies.

3.2.1.2. The Roma's focus on redistribution for education – building an international educated Roma intellectual network that fights for recognition

This thesis adopts the claims that recognition of the past oppression and present rights of the Roma is an essential instrument for successful integration, and that recognition should be in the name and for the sake of recognition. However, I do not underestimate the role of redistribution. Moreover, redistribution can be a very important tool that can bring recognition. Thus, there are redistributive activities that assist Roma's fights for attaining recognition and consequently for being successfully integrated into the European states.

Having a clever and powerful internationally connected Romani intellectual network that fights for recognition is crucial for the success of Roma integration on national levels. Since education is very important in building such a network, the redistributive practices for the education of the Roma play a critical role. As successful practices of Roma investing in

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[104] Senada Sali, *Romani Nation-Building: The Claim for Recognition of a Non-Territorial Romani Nation (the Cases of Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia* (Budapest: Central European University, 2015), 1.

building Roma intellectuals, I stress the work and achievements of the Roma Education Fund[105] and the CEU Romani Studies Program[106]. These examples successfully form Roma intellectuals that have capabilities for bringing unity, that in turn leads to recognition and integration.

Since 2005, the Roma Education Fund has been providing assistance for Roma students, in primary, secondary, and higher education. This organization provides Roma students with scholarships, mentorships, and training. The success of the Roma Education Fund can be seen in the fact that many people from the last generations of Roma intellectuals have been beneficiaries of some of its scholarship programs. Successful Roma activists that work in the field of recognition and integration would not have had an opportunity for education and career-building had they not receive help from this fund.

Similarly, the Romani Studies Program at the Central European University creates a network of young Roma professionals and intellectuals that in different ways take part in the Romani fight for recognition and integration. Most of the alumni of the program continue their education in some departments at the Central European University, or at other universities, where they additionally build a network and set a ground from which they can help their Roma communities to obtain recognition. Moreover, there are cases when alumni of the Romani Studies Program continue doctoral studies after finishing their master studies. Even those alumni of the Romani Studies Program that do not continue their education often build networks and pursue careers that are important for the Romani movements across Europe.

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[105] "About Us", Roma Education Fund, https://www.romaeducationfund.org/about-us/.
[106] "Milestones Romani Studies Program", Romanistudies.Ceu.Edu, https://romanistudies.ceu.edu/milestones-romani-studies-program.

3.2.1.3. Contemporary internationalization of the Romani movement

The unity and internalization of the Roma movement began after World War Two when the Roma united in a fight for the recognition of their rights and vocalized their dissatisfaction with the discriminatory treatments they received from European states.[107] These ideas of internalization of the Roma movement led to organizing sets of World Roma Congress events, from 1971 to 2016, and continue to connect the Roma from all over Europe in an international Romani movement, in a fairly formal network.[108]

In 2021, after the murder of the Roma man Stanislav Tomas by the Czech police, Roma from all around Europe united and stood against state violence against the Roma. Protests were organized by local Roma organizations in the Czech Republic, Scotland, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Romania, Serbia, Italy, Hungary, North Macedonia, Bulgaria, France, the UK, Kosovo, and Slovakia.[109] These protests and movements were coordinated by a broader international Romani network of Roma movements.

This unfortunate event showed the level of unity among the Roma movements from all around Europe. They coordinated and stood up against police brutality, asking for the recognition of the struggles and rights of the Roma. This unity of Roma in resistance against state violence is a positive practice that Roma should keep and develop further. Moreover, some activists and journalists, inspired by the resemblance between the police murder of George Floyd and that of Stanislav Tomas, named this European movement 'Roma Lives Matter' and compared it with the 'Black Lives Matter' movement in the USA.

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[107] Thomas Action, "Transnational Movements of Roma to Achieve Civil Rights after the Holocaust", Romarchive.Eu, https://www.romarchive.eu/en/roma-civil-rights-movement/beginnings-and-growth-transnational-movements-roma/.

[108] Ibid.

[109] "#Romalivesmatter: Regarding the Death of Stanislav Tomáš", Ενωση Πραινων Ελευθεριακω [Union of Green Liberals], 2021, https://prasinoieleutheriakoi.wordpress.com/2021/07/22/romalivesmatter-regrading-the-death-of-stanislav-tomas/.

3.2.2. Negative practices of Roma people

3.2.2.1. Individual benefits of Romani political elites

Romani political elites often manipulate Roma populations and the finances they receive – usually from international NGOs – for solving the problems of Roma people. Therefore, these elites sometimes choose to keep the *status quo* of Roma, in order to receive more funds which they can appropriate for their own benefit. As long as Roma people do not obtain meaningful recognition, their issues will not be solved, and the Roma political elites will benefit from redistributive schemes through corruptive practices.

To the question: Why do the corrupted Romani political elites often want to keep the *status quo* of Roma being disadvantaged – I answer: Because they benefit if the Roma are left to be in the subordinate position, such that they can easily 'buy' Roma votes offering them little satisfaction of their needs. The Roma political elites benefit from the *status quo* of the Roma populations. To illustrate this, I quote the words of a Roma activist from North Macedonia, Muhamed Ajvaz, who in a public debate about the Macedonian parliamentary elections in 2020 elaborated on the Romani political arena and the intentions of the Romani politicians in North Macedonia. On this occasion, Ajvaz said:

> *"I see the current Roma political environment as a broken 'coffee machine'. We already have 'repairmen' that for the last thirty years have been repairing that machine. The Roma community is tired of dinking that 'spoiled coffee' all the time and that someone is constantly coming to 'repair' that 'machine'. And, as we know, many of the repairmen have the trick of leaving some part of the machine broken, so there would always be a need for them to come to repair the machine."*[110]

I relate Ajvaz's metaphor of apparent repair of the machine to the focus of corrupted Roma elites only on the redistribution that benefits them. This means that there are Roma

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[110] "Панел Дискусија Аваја [Panel Discussion Avaja]", Facebook.com/watch/avaja.org, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=3010865248926255.

political actors that obstruct the process of the recognition and integration of the Roma. Instead, their focus is on redistribution that is not in the name and for the sake of recognition, but in the name of fulfilling their individual economic interests. Solving the problems that the Roma face would put an end to the benefits of these Roma political elites. Thus, they always keep some problems unsolved, so they can keep benefiting, keeping the Roma in a struggling position.

3.2.2.2. Reliance on and artificial cooperation between Roma elites and states

In the last few decades, many strategies and projects for the inclusion and integration of Roma have been adopted, and many forms of cooperation and agreements between the Roma and the states have been established. However, many of the projects and strategies remain unimplemented or partially implemented, and the cooperation between the Roma elites and the state institutions is *pro forma*. Some projects aimed to integrate the Roma are focused only on redistribution that is not in the name and for the sake of recognition, while others are to bring recognition, but their realization does not in fact bring recognition. The reason for this is the excessive reliance on the willingness on the states' willingness to integrate the Roma, which derives from the Roma's internalized position of subordination and passivity. Additionally, the cooperation between Roma elites and state institutions is often *pro forma* because both Roma elites and state institutions sometimes intentionally keep the Roma in disadvantaged positions in order to keep the need for strategies and projects that keep these elites and institutions employed.

In 2015 ended the previous so-called 'Roma Decade' which is "a political commitment by European governments to improve the socio-economic status and social inclusion of the Roma population"[111] and which "brings together governments, international, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, including Romani civil society, to

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[111] Hera Gabor et al., *Factors for Success or Failure of Roma Inclusion Projects* (Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, 2014), 5.

accelerate progress toward improving the welfare of the Roma and to review such progress in a transparent and quantifiable way"[112]. Currently, a new 'Roma Decade' is being applied. According to the director of the Roma Open Society Initiatives Office, Zeljko Jovanovic, the main reason for the failure of the projects and strategies part of the last 'Roma Decade' (2005-2015) is that the state institutions did not fulfill their promises for Roma inclusion and integration.[113] Moreover, I claim that Roma's excessive reliance on the states that did not fulfill their promises is an additional reason for the failure of the projects aimed to integrate Roma. Therefore, a strong internationally recognized Romani political entity would play a critical role in monitoring the implementation of such projects.

3.2.2.3. Roma patriarchy and internal exclusion of Roma women

As stated above, integration means the inclusion of the Roma in European societies without questioning and undermining the Romani tradition and cultural practices. However, the only case when I believe that Roma should think about adjusting their cultural identity is with patriarchal norms that violate the rights of certain Roma sub-groups, such as women, LGBTQ+, children, and other subordinated-to-patriarchy sub-groups of Roma. Inclusion of all Roma sub-groups is important for pragmatic as well as moral reasons. Pragmatically, the larger the number of united Roma is, the greater the opportunities for recognition and integration. Morally, since the Roma people want to be included in the European societies, they should also be inclusive towards their own members.

Roma women are often excluded from the socio-political life within Roma communities. There are some attempts to include women; however, strong Roma patriarchal norms operate not only in the everyday life of Roma but also in the sphere of Romani political

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[112] Gabor et al., *Factors for Success or Failure of Roma Inclusion Projects.*
[113] Zeljko Jovanovic, "Why Europe's "Roma Decade" Didn't Lead to Inclusion", Open Society Foundations. 2015, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/why-europe-s-roma-decade-didn-t-lead-inclusion.

life. Examples of Romani women being subordinated to Roma men in their everyday life can be seen in the practices of controlling and repressing female sexuality through virginity testing, early marriages, and forbidding Roma girls to pursue education. On the level of political participation, although there are examples of Roma women being vocal and active, Roma men and women are still disproportionately represented in politics.

Cases of early marriages are found among Roma communities in Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, Greece, Spain, Croatia, Slovakia, and Portugal.[114] Furthermore, practices of controlling female sexuality through virginity testing are still present in some Roma communities in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania, Hungary, North Macedonia, Albania, and Kosovo.[115] Finally, cases of Roma girls facing difficulties in continuing their education can be found in the Czech Republic, Romania, Greece, the UK, Bulgaria, Spain, Croatia, Hungary, Portugal, and Slovakia.[116] These Roma practices of early marriages, virginity testing, and not allowing Roma girls to continue their education, internally oppress Roma women, meaning that the Roma make a pragmatic and moral mistake oppressing and excluding women while attempting to be included in European societies.

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[114] *Making Early Marriage in Roma Communities: A Gglobal Concern*, pdf (European Roma and Travellers Forum & Romaani Women Informal Platform "Phenjalipe"), http://file:///D:/MA%20THESIS/literature%20for%20last%20chapter/2.2.3.%20a.pdf; *Roma Women in Nine EU Member States*, pdf (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2019), https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-eu-minorities-survey-roma-women_en.pdf.

[115] Branislava Bošnjak and Thomas Acton, "Virginity and Early Marriage Customs in Relation to Children's Rights Among Chergashe Roma from Serbia and Bosnia", The International Journal of Human Rights 17, no. 5-6 (2013): 646-667; Rita Izsak, "The European Romani Women's Movement – International Roma Women's Network", Association For Women's Rights in Development, 2008.

[116] Roxana Andrei, G Martinidis and Tana Tkadlecova, "Challenges Faced by Roma Women in Europe on Education, Employment, Health and Housing - Focus on Czech Republic, Romania and Greece", Balkan Social Science Review 4 (2015): 323-351; Rosie Hopegood, "Why Traveller Girls Leave School at 11 To Stay Home And Clean Every Day", Mirror, 2017, https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/real-life-stories/inside-world-gypsy-girls-leave-11133880; *Roma Women In Nine EU Member States*, pdf (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2019), https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-eu-minorities-survey-roma-women_en.pdf.

One might say that these patriarchal practices have been constructed in conditions of marginality and therefore the blame should be put on the non-Roma societies for excluding the Roma and making them internalize patterns of exclusion within their own group. Nevertheless, I argue that the Roma should abandon the belief that patriarchy is an essential part of their cultural identity and become inclusive of all Roma individuals on egalitarian terms.

CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that the most desirable solution to the problem of exclusion, subordination, and racialization of the Roma is integration into European states. I advocate for the integration solution because the European states and their institutions are essential for protecting and governing people's lives and because the Roma people settled in Europe fifteen centuries ago; thus, the Roma identity has become part of the European identity and needs to be preserved.

Integration means including the Roma in the socio-political life of the European countries with most aspects of their cultural, political, and historical identity. Although I suggest the integration of the Roma into the European states, there is one exception in the case when the group rights of Roma clash with the human rights of some members of the Roma communities. That is in cases when the Roma group rights violate the rights of Roma women, children, and LGBTQ+. Only in these cases do I suggest that the Roma should reconstruct their traditional and cultural customs. This is because by the integration of Roma I mean the integration of all sub-groups of Roma.

In general, this thesis questions why and how can the Roma be successfully integrated into European states. For answering this, I discuss three questions: (i) the historical development of the present subordinate position of Roma in Europe that requires integration, (ii) the way out of the present subordinated position of the Roma in Europe, and (iii) who should take actions for the integration of the Roma in European states to be successful.

The theoretical framework consists of theories by Hannah Arendt, Friedrich Hegel, Frantz Fanon, Will Kymlicka, Axel Honneth, and Nancy Fraser, that I use to offer a theoretical frame through which I elaborate on the main questions of this thesis. Firstly, using Arendt's ideas for the importance of being organized after twentieth-century European history, I argue

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that Roma are not integrated into the European states because of the historical path of imperialism, nationalism, and totalitarianism, as well as the two World Wars. These entailed grave and pervasive violations of the rights of the Roma people, pushing them in a position of *de jure* and *de facto* statelessness which could be overcome if the Roma organized themselves and fought to obtain their 'right to have rights. Secondly, applying Hegel's master – slave dialectic, Fanon's racial and decolonial theory, and Kymlicka's multiculturalism, I argue that the Roma can decolonize their racial subordination and obtain recognition only if they aim for a non-violent collective revolution that would pressure the states to develop multiculturalism. Finally, in line with Honeth's and Fraser's debate about recognition or redistribution, I argue that the main instrument that should be used for the Roma integration is recognition of the past struggles and present rights of Roma, and that every redistribution should be in the name and for the sake of that recognition.

The main argument of this thesis is that the integration of the Roma into the European states will be a successful project if: 1. The Roma organize themselves into an international politically meaningful entity and seek recognition on the international and national level, and 2. The European states develop their multicultural capacities and recognize the Roma as a politically and culturally distinct group.

Illustrating the main argument of the thesis, the last chapter gives examples of positive and negative practices – of both European states and the Roma – that advance or obstruct the process of Roma integration. As positive practices of European states I acknowledge examples of: 1. multiculturalism present in the political and electoral systems (applying the right of political representation of the Roma), 2. recognition of language and cultural rights of Roma (providing the Roma with legal and institutional support for learning and using the Romani language), and 3. Recognition of the victimhood and past oppression of the Roma (recognition – although late – of the Romani victimhood during the Holocaust).

As negative practices of European states, I highlight examples of: 1. assimilation instead of integration (disallowing Roma to remember their history, language, and culture, and taking Roma children from their families to be raised by non-Roma families), 2. exclusion, marginalization, and segregation instead of integration (placing Roma in segregated settlements, school segregation of Roma pupils, and every-day social exclusion of Roma), and 3. Extreme cases of violence and elimination instead of integration (police brutality and murders of Roma, inappropriate access of Roma to health care, and forced sterilization of Roma women).

As positive practices of the Roma, I see: 1. the First and the Fifth World Roma Congress (setting a ground for international Romani political organization and international recognition), 2. redistribution for education that builds an international educated Roma elite who fights for recognition (Roma Education Fund and CEU Romani Studies Program), and contemporary internationalization of the Roma movement (Roma united in resisting the state oppression and violence).

As negative practices of the Roma, I identify: 1. the individual benefits of the Romani political elites (benefiting from redistribution that is not aimed to bring recognition and keeps the Roma in *status quo* position of struggling), 2. reliance and artificial cooperation between the Roma elites and the states (*pro forma* projects and strategies for the Roma integration that remain either unimplemented or partially implemented), and 3. Roma patriarchy and internal exclusion of Roma women (controlling female sexuality through virginity testing, early marriages, and forbidding Roma girls to pursue education).

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