

RESUMÉ

**Authors
in alphabetical
order**

II. 2.
Andrej Belák

p. 172 – 207

**Segregated Roma and Health Policies –
Ethical and Practical Contradictions**

In my long-term research programme, I am experimenting with applying ethnography with a view to deepening the existing epidemiological, public-health and political understandings of the poor health condition of Roma in Slovakia. In the presented text I seek to show how, in the light of my varied research findings, current political agendas aimed to alleviate health disparities affecting the Slovak Roma appear as morally illegitimate and practically naive. First, I offer a critical review of the alleviation agendas' declarations as well as of their (barely existing) practice. Next, I share and discuss my construct of the logic of everyday health-related practices within segregated Roma settlements. Consequently, I point first to certain principal contradictions between the criticised agendas and the constructed logic of practice, and then – summing up related experiences shared with me by professionals across the country's health-care system – to a real-life analogy of these contradictions. Using the concept of participation and basic methodical premises from relational social theory purely rhetorically, and, alongside, remaining preoccupied with Roma health-related behaviour and repressive measures, the examined alleviation agendas strongly resemble those (paternalist and unsuccessful) endorsed by the late Communist state regime. The current policies, too, appear to count in Roma on such their capacities, preferences and tastes which most of them not only do not have, but which many of them simultaneously tend to consider, experience and resist as morally and/or qualitatively undesirable.

III. 1.
Jan Červenka

p. 324 – 345

**Cikán, Gypsy and Rom – the Dynamics of
Naming Roms in Different Discourses**

The author discusses the ways Roms are labelled in different discourses, especially in the Czech and Slovak contexts. He suggests this labelling is rooted in the dynamics and a wide context, which is reflected in all segments of the communicative situation:

1) *The named object* itself is not self-evident: speakers referring to the Romani/Gypsy population do not even agree on who should be included under the chosen term. This problem is often confused with the choice of the term itself. But even if it is not self-evident or even impossible to find a common autonym for all Romani groups,

this does not mean the non-existence of common identification. Simultaneously, policymakers as well as researchers, in reality, do need to use a common term for Roms.

2) The author admits that *the choice of a particular term* is not self-evident. The term *Rom/Romové* (Czech)/*Róm/Rómovia* (Slovak) ('Rom/Roms') is new and not always accepted in most languages, and cannot be used in all contexts. After a thorough discussion of the term, the author, however, suggests it is the most appropriate term to be used in the current, especially Czech and Slovak, discourse.

3) The choice of the *language code* is not self-evident either. The author presents the paradox of a Romani person using the autonym *Rom* in Romani, while, at the same time, in the majority language preferring the term *Cigán* over the usual romism *Rom*.

4) What is not self-evident is *the situation of the speech act, its context, and stylistic level, the relation between the speaker and the addressee, and even the ethnicity (or supposed ethnicity)* of the speaker and the addressee, and even of the secondary addressees, as well as the witnesses of the speech act. For example, some Roms call each other *Cigán* in the majority language, but in communication at a more official level or in everyday communication with the non-Roma, they insist on the usage of the term *Rom*. The author finds problematic the term *emic labelling*, and suggests the possibility of discerning between the term *autonym*, i.e. the term speakers use when *labelling* themselves, and *endonym*, i.e. the term speakers use to express what they *consider* themselves to be. Such dichotomy would be meaningful in communication in the majority language. Emic labelling can also be seen as the usage of terms by Romani representations, which is an approach often ignored by other Romani studies scholars. Červenka demonstrates that ever since the 1970s the majority term *Rom* (as a borrowing from Romani in majority languages) has widely dominated in the choice of terms in the names and declarations by Romani organisations.

5) All the opinions mentioned above are perceived as *changing in time*. The author underlines, in particular, the changes in stylistic conventions that are rooted in the development of connotations and associations linked to a certain word as a key to the choice of a particular variant available. The dynamic as well as ambiguous change in the use of the terms *Rom/Róm* in opposition to *Cikán/Cigán* in Czechia and Slovakia from the 1960s until today is analysed with the aim to show that the choice of terms reflects not only the changes in attitudes to Roms.

6) The change in the context of labelling Roms is observed not only in time. The author goes on to show *the asymmetry of contexts of different national languages*. Červenka warns against the mechanical identification and translation of the English term *Gypsy* by always using the Czech term *Cikán* and Slovak *Cigán* (as well as against such usage of the term *Rom/Róm*), and recommends the loosening of strong ties between seemingly unproblematic translation equivalents.

**Andrej Findor, Zuzana Maďarová,
Alexandra Ostertágová**

**Social Justice in Slovakia: The Moral Foundations
of a Contentious Political Issue**

The authors focus on the Moral Foundations Theory, an empiricist approach to studying the asymmetrical interplay between intuitive moral judgments and moral reasoning, and on the role it could play in analysing political contestation in the Slovak Republic. Using the Slovak adaptation of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire as the main analytical tool together with the Political Attitudes Questionnaire, they set to identify the plurality of moral foundations (care, fairness, authority, loyalty, and sanctity) and their relationship to the ideological preferences of the Slovak public and its distinctive segment – members of human rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The authors introduce an empirical case study dealing with the contested notion of social justice embodied in the revised Act on Assistance in Material Need. The survey (n = 298) of moral foundations and political attitudes towards this revised Act through an unrepresentative sample of the Slovak population and members of human rights NGOs found conflicting understandings of social justice (e.g. fairness): as proportionality for the unrepresentative sample of the Slovak population and as equality of opportunities for the members of human rights NGOs. The survey also provided evidence for the contention that different political attitudes to social justice rely on different sets of moral foundations. The authors discuss these findings in the context of racialised ethnic prejudice against Roma in Slovakia and the considerable lack of public support for inclusive social policies designed for members of marginalised Roma communities. The identification of the so-called ‘moral gap’ between the unrepresentative sample of the Slovak population and the members of human rights NGOs contributes to the assertion that conservative moral foundations (authority, loyalty and sanctity) fulfil the role of in-group/out-group boundary making mechanism. This finding enables the authors to discuss further the potential as well as the constraints of designing effective political communication frames which, while appealing to conservative moral foundations, will deliver prosocial, inclusive messages, transcending the in-group/out-group divide.

Jan Grill

**The transforming Fabrics of Intercultural Relations:
The Modes of Co-Existence in Tarkovce in East Slovakia**

This chapter explores the transforming fabrics of intercultural relations in East Slovakia. Rather than theorising models of co-existence in generalising and top-down models assuming pre-existing social formations defined through homogenising ethnic lenses (Roma and non-Roma), this chapter turns its focus on a particular dynamics and differentiated patterns of interaction in a local context of the village of Tarkovce in East Slovakia. Drawing on a long-term ethnographic fieldwork and historical research, it attempts to provide a historical-cum-ethnographic reconstruction of different modes of co-existence and complex entanglements in the changing group formations and asymmetric power relations since the second half of the twentieth century until today. In this village, Roma live in spatially marginalised segment *Taboris*, on streets inhabited predominantly by Roma families located ‘in between’ the *Taboris* and the village core, but some Roma also live alongside non-Roma villagers in the village centre. This chapter examines how the present pattern of spatial and social organisation has developed in relation to state policies, changing geopolitical forces and borders, and economic strategies. It outlines the historical context in which the traditional majority of non-Roma groupings symbolically and spatially occupied the village centre and Roma villagers settled in the marginalised ‘Gypsy settlement’. Following the political changes in Czechoslovakia after 1948, this order was transformed with the implementation of several socialist policies towards ‘citizens of Gypsy origins’, such as the liquidation of old ‘Gypsy settlements’, state loans for constructing houses, or employment policies. The resulting mixed pattern, in which some Roma moved to the position of immediate neighbours, has generated various social differentiations and reconfigured local hierarchies between local Roma and non-Roma, as well as within the local Roma themselves. These differentiations reflected the key assumptions of the evolutionary ladder of progress embraced by socialist discourses. Some aspects of this spatio-temporal framework and forms of classifications permeated the everyday categories used by ordinary Roma and non-Roma for making moral distinctions on a continuum between ‘backward’ and ‘more cultured’ people – i.e. those ‘living on a (good civilizational) level’. The socialist state categorisations influenced the local classificatory matrix, and Roma individuals selectively and contextually deployed these social differentiations, which fused and intersected with other vectors of difference existing within the Roma world. The second part of the chapter explores the effects of post-socialist transformation characterised by ethnicisation

of poverty, neo-liberal reforms and unemployment in the village since the 1990s. Moreover, the social life in the village was greatly influenced by waves of Roma asylum seeking and labour migration throughout the late 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century. The chapter pays particular attention to the most recent re-configuration of the existing social order, power asymmetries and spatial re-organisation in relation to the most recent Roma migrations to Great Britain. These forms of migration have been accompanied by simultaneous rural-urban migration of local non-Roma youth in search for socio-economic opportunities. These two processes, reinforced by the conspicuous consumption of the returning successful Roma migrants, have led to increased visibility of Roma in the village centre and to redrawing power asymmetries, and have challenged the ways in which Roma and non-Roma see their mutual co-existence, neighbourliness and modes of interaction. For most Roma villagers, migration not only gave them an opportunity, but also effectively manifested through social practices of Roma migrants that ‘the tide has turned’. Roma migration to Britain challenged some of the existing hierarchies and was perceived rather ambiguously by non-Roma villagers. Some non-Roma villagers suggested that England helped ‘our Roma’ and ‘elevated’ their ‘level’ (living conditions and manners). Other non-Roma experienced the success displayed by the returning Roma migrants in terms of what G. Hage characterises as ‘relational envy’ (Hage, 2002). Successful Roma migrants were seen as moving faster than non-Roma villagers who frequently experienced their previously privileged position in local hierarchies as challenged.

III. 2.

p. 346 – 373

Markéta Hajska

***Gažikanes vaj romanes?* The Language Attitudes of Vlach Roma from an Eastern Slovak Community towards Three Locally Used Languages**

The study is based on the author's long term research (since 2000) in a sub-ethnically mixed Roma village inhabited by Vlach/Lovari and Non-Vlach Roma, speakers of Northern Central Romani in Eastern Slovakia. The village is inhabited by monolingual non-Roma using two varieties of Slovak language (the official standard language, as H-code = high code, and local *Šariš* dialect, as L-code = low code); bilingual Rumungro Roma, speakers of North-Central (N-C) Romani and Slovak language; and trilingual Vlach Roma, speakers of N-C Romani, Vlach Romani and Slovak. The members of each ethnic group have different views of language prestige, and the meaning of the language of higher prestige in the given *diglotic situation* is always very specific: each speech community regard its own language as a code connected to higher prestige.

The study focuses on the language behaviour and the attitudes of Vlach Roma, for whom Vlach Romani is the cornerstone of Vlach identity and the symbol of high social prestige. The language attitudes of the Vlach Roma not only characterise their own opinions on languages, but also reflect the meaning of the social position and social status of the speech communities.

For Vlach Roma, every language in a *polyglotic situation* is connected to specific domains, which are shared and known by all members of the Vlach groups. This language behaviour is also visible in interactions between Roma and Non-Roma, and certain situations are characterised by the use of different kinds of strategies, such as parallel communication, demonstration of the ethnic status, hidden language plays, and overlooking others on purpose. *Romanes* covers all domains of the inter-Romani communication of Vlach Roma in private and also public space. *Gažikanes* (Slovak language) is used only for communication with Non-Roma, intra-Romani communication. The use of this code among Roma is very exceptional, and relates to a lower status or can be connected to discourse code switching.

I. 1.

p. 40 – 58

Milan Hrabovský

Antiziganism as a Barrier to Roma Inclusion

The study deals with the problem of antiziganism as a racist concept, which is not as obvious as ‘ordinary’ racism. Antiziganism is gaining on importance. Life in a ‘ghetto’, life in poverty, illiteracy, shortage, pauperism, lack of hygiene and the alarming state of housing mean that we indeed have a real problem across society. But all our efforts repeatedly fail. Moreover, some authors begin to blame Roma for this situation. They assert that Roma have adopted maladaptive strategies which constantly ruin their lives. On the other hand, this is not the whole picture. It is very important to reject all kinds of any maladaptive strategies, but if the claim still exists in our society that ‘gypsies’ are ‘inferior biological species’, we must also turn to another explanation.

This study therefore concludes that antiziganism is not about prejudices, biases and stereotypes, but about *acting* against Roma, which has roots in *the somatisation* of the given social context of their lives. If any member of the general population showed an equivalent level of poverty, illiteracy, shortage, pauperism, lack of hygiene and an alarming state of housing, their situation would not be measured and somatised as with Roma. To sum up: the social context of Roma is explained with their *race*, and the social context of the majority is explained with social and political *factors*. For this reason, we may assign antiziganism to racist ideology as such.

In the first part of this study, we deal with Nazi construction of Roma as a type of 'asocial being'. The category of 'asocial being' served Nazi for the purpose of making from Roma a racial category of so-called *Untermenschen*.

This interweaving somatisation and 'asocial being' heads towards ultimately a racist statement that *no* social and political measure (education, nurturing, and affirmative action) will be capable of compelling and changing Roma to live 'a normal life'. Hence, we can define antiziganism as *acting*, which ascribes to the given social context its 'soma' (body), and such ascribing focuses exclusively on the group called 'gypsy'. For example, poverty and criminality are *inscribed* in the soma (body) of Roma.

For this reason, the study raises three possible outcomes or answers to antiziganism: a) to reject the 'biological view' of Roma; b) to reject the right-wing view; and c) to apply a contextual view of all human beings.

Hence, the main problem with antiziganism is not the alleged or actual differences between human groups, but the fact that antiziganism *rejects* true and full-fledged integration of Roma in society. If the concepts of somatisation and 'asocial being' with respect to Roma prevail (e.g. they cannot attain any progress; they are 'weak', 'parasitic' and 'asocial race'), then *these* 'arguments' contribute to a collapse of inclusive programmes.

Describing Roma as an 'inferior' and 'intellectually retarded' race helps racists (and not only them) to construct a homogenous group, for which every hatred, stereotype or any other (verbal) attack is justified and considered to be the right one.

I. 4. p. 104 – 142
Tomáš Hrustič
'It Is Up to Us What Agreement We Make'. An Overview of Roma Political Participation in Slovakia (1990 – 2014)

The recent history of Roma political participation in Slovakia is very complicated and effortful, and has been marked by overlooking and refusal of Roma by mainstream political parties on one hand, and rivalry, disunity and schism of Roma representatives and leaders on the other hand. And somewhere between these two hindrances, efforts for participation in governance and mobilisation of up-coming leaders (local, regional and national) were born, and the first small positive results were personified in successful elected Roma representatives at local level and young and educated Roma in high positions in state administration. The enumeration of examples of Roma political participation shows that despite the diverse heterogeneity of Roma communities, there are some instances for a greater mobilisation potential. My argument is based on the assumption that Roma political disunity is not primarily

caused by the heterogeneity of Roma. Rather, Roma elites have not yet been able to conceptualise Roma political and ethnic identity and to organise and promote this conceptualisation into a more intensive mobilisation of Roma.

This chapter maps the political participation of Roma. The first part describes the recent history of Romani political parties in the 1990s and their effort to influence political life in Slovakia. The second part describes direct participation of Romani candidates in all types of elections in Slovakia, and focuses on their performance, election campaigns and reflection of their successes or failures. It lists the results of Roma candidates at national, regional and local levels, and analyses the potential that Roma representatives have for all these levels. The political participation of minorities can be characterised either by establishing of or working in minority/ethnic political parties, or by ways of cooperation of individual Roma with mainstream political parties and structures. In the case of Roma in Slovakia, both tendencies can be observed, and both have a legitimacy and, from the perspective of minority, certain advantages and disadvantages.

This chapter identifies a few moments in the short history of Roma politics in Slovakia with a great potential for a more intensive and massive mobilisation of Roma, such as successful networking of local and regional Roma structures during the euphoric days shortly after the Velvet Revolution, which clearly proved that in some cases Romani elites are able to mobilise and activate the Roma constituency. Another promising potential for a more organised mobilisation of Roma could be witnessed in several recent local and regional election campaigns, mostly led by the younger generation of Roma leaders. On the other hand, the chapter describes and analyses several attempts of Roma leaders to create an agreement, coalition and more specific cooperation with mainstream political parties. It concludes that, with a very few exceptions, mainstream political parties always ignored Roma leaders, or tried to use mostly short-term agreements with them to attract Roma votes or as election tokenism.

II. 3. p. 208 – 223
Tomáš Hrustič
Usury in segregated Romani settlements in East Slovakia

The paper describes how moneylending has become one of the easiest and most sustainable ways out of poverty for many Roma living in segregated settlements in the rural regions of East Slovakia. Most activities of Roma living in a segregated settlement seek to secure their material and financial existence. The financial strategies of people living in excluded environments are motivated by mechanisms different

from those of the middle class. One of the phenomena linked to financial strategies of impoverished people is debt – lending and borrowing money, often accompanied by various interest rates ranging from lower rates to usury. Thus, usury is often perceived from emotional and moral perspectives. This paper is trying to explain usury (lending and borrowing money with high interest rates) in a broader context as a strategy beneficial to both parts – lenders and borrowers, which often resembles the patron vs. client relationship. Further to the author's long term research in a segregated Roma settlement in East Slovakia, the paper describes the mechanisms of money lending with a focus on the interpretation of usury by loan sharks and their clients. According to these analyses, the concept of high interest short-term money lending pervades the entire system of local settlements' economy. For a middle class outsider, the borrowers' perspective looks like an irrational decision, leading to the vicious cycle of poverty. However, it proves to be a rational behaviour of securing the means of existence for short periods. On the other hand, looking at the loan sharks' emic perspective, usury is the way of securing power and existence for long periods. Moreover, many Roma become at different times borrowers and lenders, using any cash at hand to invest into small loans. Lending and borrowing money, ranging from small cash loans to usury, is the key role in the financial life of a family, and pervades the entire social system in these settlements. In its conclusion, the paper shows the ways how usury in a segregated Romani settlement leads to social mobility beneficial both for lenders and for borrowers, although, in the long term, it brings possibilities for economic improvement only for a few, while limiting the financial possibilities of others. And it also leads to statements that any policies and state mechanisms focused on repressive measures against usury will necessarily fail because only systemic changes tools addressing poverty, like official micro-loans and micro-financing, have the potential to cope with usury and its related side-effects.

III. 4. p. 398 – 415
Eva Krekovičová
The Comic Figure of a Rom in Slovakia and Its Changes over Time through the Example of Anecdotes and Cartoons

The author based this paper on her research of cultural representations of the Roma minority, as seen through the eyes of the majority. She observed the image of Roma through their reflection as comic heroes. The comic nature of the hero is based on the principle of superiority and incongruence.

The comic figure of the Rom is characterised as a specific variant of a comic hero with the centre of extension in the territory of today's Slovakia and Hungary. The old-

est sources from the territory of the historic Hungarian Monarchy date back to the 1680s (school theatre plays, prayer parodies, vagant poetry).

The author also focuses on the change of image of the hero from the 2nd half of the 19th century until today through the example of jokes and cartoons. The Rom as a comic hero dominates in both genres and is strongly essentialised.

She mainly concentrates on anecdotes disseminated through the internet, which tend to depict Roma as enemies and evil-doers through the example of: 1. a thematic group about Roma and skinheads (heroes and anti-heroes); 2. texts with similar or identical themes, from which skinheads are absent; and 3. jokes with holocaust topics.

Two fundamental image changes can be noted in the proclaimed attitudes: 1) *a shift from 'foreign' to 'enemy'*; and 2) *an emergence of the dehumanisation principle*. From the point of view of the relationship between image and reality, both changes, at first sight, copy the trend of deteriorated attitudes of the majority towards Roma, as observed in recent researches by sociologists. The situation, however, is more complicated.

On one hand, the material confirmed that images represent contextual categories, which is related to processuality, i.e. openness towards changes, and to a potential tendency towards ambivalence. A special category, however, is constituted by anecdotes characterised by 'aggressive humour', which proves that *contextuality in the research of images should be perceived in a comprehensive manner*, i.e. not only with regard to the historic reality which they reflect or have the potential to reflect, but also *in relation to the poetry of the genre in which they are reflected*.

III. 3. p. 374 – 397
Pavel Kubaník
'Playing the books'. Notes on the acquisition of Slovak in Gav

The article focuses on the role children play in the process of second language acquisition in one of larger Rom settlements in Eastern Slovakia, which the author calls *Gav*. *Gav* is a spatially and symbolically segregated locality inhabited by Roms. Administratively, it forms part of the village called Valal here, where only non-Roms ('Gadjos') live. Adult Roms in *Gav* are all bilingual, speaking Romani and Slovak, while local Slovaks only exceptionally understand some basic Romani. Intra-group communication in *Gav* is conducted in Romani. The use of Slovak in this context can be seen as a discourse means indexing parts of the non-Rom world, the typically reported speech of 'Gadjos'. Besides mass media and short encounters with 'Gadjos', the major input of Slovak for Rom children is their school attendance. While Rom parents do not make much effort to teach their children a second language before

going to school, the role of peer groups in this process is quite significant. Children attending school are in everyday active contact with speakers of Slovak (e.g. their teachers) more than adults, and children's peer groups play an important role in the socialisation of children in pre-school age as well. In this context, the active role of children in the acquisition of a second language is logical. In its final part, the study examines how children's peer groups are 'playing the books', which is an idiomatic expression for the pretend play of school. The conversation analysis of some segments of video-recorded play sessions shows how six-year-old children are able to handle their (partial) knowledge of two languages and how the background of the pretend play within the peer group helps younger children to acquire items of Slovak.

III. 6.

p. 438 - 479

Arne B. Mann

Ethnic Stereotypes as Sources of Jokes about Roma

The manifestations of the attitudes of the general population towards Roma can be observed in the formulation of state policies on the basis of the public presentation of opinions by the representatives of political parties and opinion leaders, presentation in printed and, in particular, electronic mass media, or representative public opinion surveys. Another possibility is the observation of the majority's attitudes on the internet in the form of widespread and still active presentation of jokes about Roma. Anonymity in this case gives the opportunity to express uncensored opinions of contributors; on the other hand, it should be noted that internet communication involves just a certain part of the population of the country, as a result of which such manifestations are not an objective representation of the situation in society.

Jokes play an important role in the process of creating and proving group identity. Through the mocking of the actual and supposed differences of the members of another group, they seek to emphasise the exclusivity of their 'own group', highlighting the 'risk of threat' by the other group. This process includes the creation and use of ethnic stereotypes, i.e. fixed ideas, attitudes and perceptions of their own ethnic group (*autostereotypes*) and of other ethnic group(s) (*heterostereotypes*).

The paper seeks to analyse the jokes on Roma created on the basis of existing heterostereotypes in part of the general population, currently disseminated through the internet. The set consists of 631 units.

The comparative group consists of jokes known from the period before 1989, recorded on the basis of own recollections and the recollections of contemporaries. Another source is the published works by Milan Leščák, Jiří Polívka and Viera Gašparíková containing many humorous stories about Gypsies.

The whole set is divided into 14 categories. Eleven of them are created on the basis of existing heterostereotypes about Roma: their relation to work, crime, demography (increased natality), hygiene, sexuality (promiscuity, polygamy, incest), their relation to education, misuse of social benefits, different skin colour, religiousness, emigration, poor intellect. Another, yet most numerous group (22.5%) consists of jokes denying the right of Roma to life, i.e. racist jokes. Against these two groups, there is a small group of jokes (3.3%) about Roma cunningness, presenting them as smart guys.

The jokes disseminated through the internet in Slovakia are both in Slovak and Czech languages. It is often a literal translation of the same text. In jokes in Czech language, the direct speech of Roma is often quoted in Slovak (or in a distorted East-Slovak dialect), thus pointing out the Slovak origin of the Roma living in the Czech Republic and emphasising their otherness.

The object of the jokes is designated with the term Gypsy/Gypsies (*Cigán/Cigáni*), on purpose ignoring the term Roma. The clear identification of the object is also manifested by the use of 'typical' names: *Dežo* and his wife *Araňa* or *Erža*. All jokes recorded express distance or even dominance (superiority) of non-Roma over Roma. This approach can be observed in various forms – from ridicule, irony, satire, up to cynicism, sarcasm and racism. This fundamental principle is present in all jokes containing a dialogue, in which the Roma is always addressed by his/her first name. In the process of functioning of jokes we can also encounter jokes, the original object of which was not a Roma, but a member of other, also mocked ethnic minority (e.g. a Ruthenian) and which have been updated over time.

Humorous narratives from before 1989 and internet jokes express the superiority of the non-Roma, and degrade and mock Roma. Before 1989, Roma were presented as 'comic figures', 'harmless fools', and are seen through 'gentle humour'. The jokes spread through the internet are formally shorter and respond to the existing problems of a part of the Roma population (hygiene, crime), but more often they are a construct replacing objective knowledge (misuse of social benefits, sexuality, demography). They ignore the social determination of these problems, ascribing them an ethnic aspect, and the heterostereotypes constructed in this way are then related to the ethnic group as a whole. Irony in jokes is more and more frequently replaced by sarcasm and cynicism.

Elena Marushiakova & Vesselin Popov

The impacts of ‘Orientalism’ in Academia and Policies on Cohabitation between Roma and the Majority Society

The article presents different approaches and methodological problems emerging in academic studies and policies which target Roma living in Eastern Europe or those who used to live in that region and, during different periods, left this region and resettled elsewhere. The paper presents some major problems (with no claims of completeness) arising from the socio-ideological paradigms, within which Roma have been placed for the past approximately 20 years of transition in Eastern Europe, crosscutting them with issues of ‘Orientalism’.

Certainly, all countries in this region and their Romani communities are unique and have specific characteristics, but there are enough common features and models (both from the point of view of academic knowledge and supranational governments, national governments and NGO policies, programmes and projects), which enable us to examine the problem in a general and generalising way.

The starting point analysed in the article is linked to the definition of the target, or, in other words, to the definition of ‘Who are the Roma?’ A review of the terminological evolution in the publications of European institutions (in particular, of the Council of Europe and later of the European Commission) and documents of national governments or academic studies leads us to the conclusion that at the level of institutions it is not clear ‘who are the Roma’ not even at present, and the approach towards them is mostly within the frames of century-old stereotypes. Logically, a legitimate question arises – whether it is possible at all to successfully implement national and supranational policies, if they are based on strategies and programmes where it is not clear who is their main target.

The second point is related to the misunderstanding of the specific character of existence of Roma communities. The Roma communities in Eastern Europe are not a hermetically isolated and self-sufficient social and cultural system. They have always existed at least in ‘two dimensions’, or in two coordinate plans – both as a separate community and as a society (in particular, as its ethnically-based integral part within the respective nation-state). The failure to comprehend the essence of the ‘community-society’ distinction and interconnection results in incorporating the Romani communities within the frames of two basic paradigms, which can be summed up as *Marginalisation* – as a social layer of the society, and *Exoticisation* – as a separate community. In both cases we can speak about two interconnected research and policy paradigms, which stream from the prism of Orientalism.

We are of the opinion that the basic problem lays in the spirit of Orientalism, which leads to the misunderstanding of distinctiveness (but in no case of as uniqueness) of Roma as an ethno-social and ethno-cultural phenomenon. This Orientalist approach by the academia and in policies has a powerful impact on cohabitation between Roma and the general population. As a result, a conviction has been formed across Europe over time that the Roma represent a marginalised and poor population, living in third-world conditions, and are therefore exotic in a way. This is the reason why one of the prerequisites for most countries in the region in the context of the European Union accessions process was to implement active national policies addressing the problems of Roma, which has become practice in all respective countries. This gave rise to the origins of the concept of special privileges for Roma, which became the foundation on which mass anti-Gypsy attitudes and stereotypes were rethought and developed, until they firmly entered public consciousness and became the justification for all failures in the transition period in the new European realities. Thus, in an absurd manner, the best intentions to improve the situation of Roma led to the renaissance and transformation of century-old stereotypes about the Roma community as parasites, which formed the basis for their persecution in the Middle Ages in Western Europe and led in the end to the final solution applied by the Nazis during the World War II. Precisely this new stereotype largely influences the emergence and development of numerous overtly nationalistic and pro-nationalistic parties in the entire Central and South-Eastern European region in the last decade, and contributed to the strengthening of anti-European attitudes in the region.

On the basis of numerous examples, the article concludes that the ‘Orientalism’ in academia, policies and practice with regard to Roma is the major obstacle to an unproblematic cohabitation between Roma and the general population, and that the only way to improve such cohabitation is to introduce an equal, non-Orientalist approach towards them in policies, social practice and in academia.

Eva Mazárová

Ade, káj amen dživas/‘Here Where We Live’

(on the Interpretation and Perception of Space by Roma from Gelnica through the Example of Selected Residential Units)

The study represents a probe into the socio-spatial relations of two selected residential units inhabited by Roma (Romanies), located within the area of one city. This is a case study examining the relationship between ‘Roma’ and ‘non-Roma’ space in it, with an emphasis on analysing the impact of residential segregation (or separation)

on social interaction between minority and majority as the main topic of the whole publication.

Since I do not make the locality in the text anonymous, it would be difficult to conduct the research with the already rather abstract space parameter. In addition, the names of the residential units reflect the relationship of respondents to the location, which is essential for the research.

The article also addresses the classification, function, and assessment of the area quality in terms of Roma living in that location, and shows the opinion of respondents on profane space and its events. Of course, from the researcher's perspective (as outsider), such research can be carried out only with certain limitations and boundaries in terms of the analytical observation of emic views and stories (insider).

The work seeks to move beyond subjectivity boundaries to the perception of research subjects. It determines the *emic* character of the research. With the help of mental maps that reflect the 'lived space' of respondents, it is getting closer to their perspective of the place they live in. This material is valuable mostly for its subjective character (capturing the most essential and omitting the 'non-essential' from the respondent's point of view.) It is about approaching the framework in which informants grab 'their' space.

The term 'border' is understood in the paper as a spatial category, separating two 'material worlds' with different characteristics, which results from the reflection of spatial and social differentiations. The existence of the border enables the existence of not only a single community or a group, but also of antagonist communities or groups.

The facts outlined herein are reflected in the town realities, and these studies capture and scientifically analyse the space structures in which respondents move physically and mentally. The key experience is space classification by quality, reflexion, means of copying, and becoming familiar with.

II. 4.

p. 224 – 246

Alexander Mušinka & Kvetoslava Matlovičová

The Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013 as a Variable Database for Analysing the Situation of Roma in Slovakia and Its Potential for Further Researches and Analyses

This paper presents selected data from the recent nationwide research *Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013* (hereinafter referred to as '*Atlas 2013*'). It is the most extensive research ever made in this area, and focuses on the monitoring of selected indicators on Roma communities. This paper is one of the first selected outputs of

the research. The key findings and a short description of the research methodology form the content of the final publication published by the UNDP in 2014 (Mušinka et al., 2014).

The paper presents the methodological and factual limits of this extensive research. Given the wide range of data identified straight in the field, not all figures identified have identical informative value. To interpret the data correctly, it is necessary to take into account its heterogeneous nature. We also tackled the issue of identification of the target group; we hold the view that the division of quantitative data (or estimates) into 'official' and 'actual' is incorrect both in the lay and in the academic discourse, because the data is very often identical in terms of relevance in spite of having been obtained using different methodological approaches.

The research has a great analytical potential, and its results can help not only to better understand the situation of Roma in Slovakia, but can also serve as a principal database for further specialised and selective exploration. The mapping clearly highlights the different representations of Roma not only in the different Slovak regions, but, at a more detailed level, also in the different districts or municipalities. From among selected indicators, we focused on those which complete the methodological picture of the research, and are, to a certain degree, examples of the use of the different categories of obtained data.

Even though it is a generally known fact that the highest share of Roma can be found in the Regions of Prešov, Košice and Banská Bystrica, the data at the level of districts suggests that the share of Roma in the districts of these regions is geographically disproportional.

This research was for the first time exploring the size and territorial location of sub-ethnic Roma groups across Slovakia. Against lay opinions on the prevalence of Vlax Roma in the south of Slovakia, *Atlas 2013* clearly shows their presence in some districts only, primarily in the Western Slovak region. The maps annex also shows the presence of Vlax Roma in the northern districts. The estimated share of Vlax Roma is min. 3,54% of the total number of Roma in Slovakia.

As for economic activities, the data clearly shows that Roma are economically active in all regions, and the quantitative share of economically active Roma in Slovakia, in principle, copies their regional representation. The data concerning quantitative estimates of the numbers of unemployed Roma or the numbers of Roma having worked abroad for longer periods of time can be interpreted in a similar way.

Atlas 2013 also shows the very low education level of the Roma population and the poor share of Roma in people with secondary and tertiary education in different regions. What is positive is the fact that Roma with higher education can be found within Roma communities all over Slovakia.

**The Images of a Jew and a Rom
in the Humorous-Satirical Magazine *Kocúr***

This paper deals with an analysis of the image of a Rom and a Jew in the humorous-satirical magazine *Kocúr* (1919 – 1945). This source contains various types of textual and visual materials – jokes, political cartoons, feature stories and glossaries. The theoretical basis of the analyses was in this case formed mainly by the concepts of group stereotypes and images as social constructs reflecting in a simplified way the ideas about the groups of ‘ours’ and ‘the others’ and about their mutual relations. From a certain perspective, Jews and Roma can be perceived as traditional representatives of excluded ethnic groups participating in the period of culminating anti-Semitism during World War II in Slovakia in the discourse division of society into ‘white’ (majority) and ‘non-white’ or ‘black’ (Roma and Jews). The images of these two ethnic groups also represent the symbols of social and moral inferiority, and served as discourse tools of repudiation. The analysis sought to observe and compare the most frequent attributes related to the images of Jews and Roma in different texts and illustrations. It can also be assumed that, by means of this source, it is possible to study the contemporary visual and discourse characteristics of self-identification of a group as ‘us’ against the group ‘not us’ (which includes ‘traitors’, ‘defectors’ or ‘bastards’). Frequent attributes in the images of others are, for example, those which express their (apparently inherent) inferiority. This is confirmed in the attributes of Roma as liars and poor men defending themselves against “lords”, while the attributes typical for the image of Jews include dirt, bad smell and transmission of parasites. These attributes relate not only to the image of poor Jews (in particular, the Jews of Halič), but also to the representatives of the middle class. This implies an image of Jews linked rather to the category of nature than that of culture, where not even their money or education would be enough to get them to the (civilisational) level of the majority. The war and the accompanying official government propaganda brought a significant change by shifting the focus on the identification of the ‘enemy’ that threatens the majority. There is an apparent difference in the given source after 1939 both in the extent and the type of such attributes: while Jews as the arch-enemies of the nation calculate with power in society and are directly present in the environment of power execution, Roma are always depicted as mostly comical, though inferior figures in society, representing a threat only in the thoughts of the manipulated mob.

**‘You’re a Rom and You Can Be Whoever You Wish to Be!’
Redefinition of *Romipen* in the Pentecostal Pastoral Discourse**

The paper deals with the research of the ways of redefining the *romipen* (Romahood) category by means of a comparative analysis of conversion and pastoral narratives in three Pentecostal denominations which are active among the Roma in Slovakia: the Word of Life movement in Plavecký Štvrtok, the Maranata Christian mission in Rudňany, and the St. Paul’s Community within the Greek-Catholic Church in Čičava. The discursive analysis is based on the current theoretical discussion in ethnology (the *social field concept, habitus, imagined community, identification*) and social theory (concept of *solid, fluid* and *ultra-modernity*). The author points out the forced *ethnisation* of the categories of *romipen*, Rom and Roma nation not only at the level of the practical discourse, but also at the level of the scientific discourse. From this point of view, the *traditional* type of *ethnicity* (based on traditional definitions of the nation) is often intentionally over-communicated. Likewise, we can encounter intentional under-communication of this topic. Both *ethnisation* (excessive accentuation of the ethnic perspective) and *de-ethnisation* (its intentional suppression) usually serve as practical (political) tools for an objective fixing of the unfavourable or unequal position of this ethnic minority not only within particular ethno-national European countries, but also at the supra-national – European level.

The comparative analysis of the practical ways of construction of the various forms of *romipen* within the Pentecostal pastoral discourses of three selected denominations has shown that it is constructed as a *category of practice*, which is intentionally ethnically *emptied* to a large extent and creatively filled with specific content according to the life goals and paths of concrete users either at the individual level or at the community level in line with the creed of good, moral, useful and decent life [of a Christian = Human = Rom]. Those *Re-borns* create a group of individuals grouped around an integral intermediary – God, thus forming a specific category – (global) *God’s people, God’s nation*.

In spite of the strong trans-social and trans-ethnic discourse, according to which believers should lose the reason for taking into account the emic social inter-group stratifications, they still remain *ethnically* and *socially sensitive*. An important change in this context is, however, that the previous paradigm Roma *versus* Others turns after conversion into the paradigm Roma *alongside* Others. This fundamentally changes the positional way of defining themselves in relation to others. The *New Rom* is primarily the negation of the *Old Rom*, not of the *Gadjo*.

When exploring the common features of the practical (re)construction of the *romipen* within the conversion narrative and the Pentecostal pastoral discourse, The author differentiated between four common approaches/steps: 1) the emptying and negation of the original content of *romipen*; 2) the release of the converts from the original bonds and networks (of mainly primary nature); 3) the linking of the converts to a new institution (church/assembly) through *secondary* or *hybrid* networks; and 4) creative filling of the (new) *romipen* with content according to the convert's personal vision in line with the new set of rules and values (the moral code of the Bible).

The author pointed out that even though the process of ethnogenesis of the Roma nation runs under the late modernity conditions, the requirements posed to it remained fixed in pre-modernity and fixed modernity. In global societies, however, these traditional ethnic constitution elements are becoming less clearly defined, replaceable and flexible. The majority requirements for a *unique character* of Roma culture, language, etc. as the constitutive elements of Roma identity in the 21st century can therefore be clearly designated as irrelevant calques of the fixed modernity from the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, the *romipen* construction in the Pentecostal pastoral discourse among the Roma in Slovakia works with a positive concept of Romahood in an *ahistoric* and unconventional manner, i.e. using the de-traditionalisation. This approach absolutely complies with late modernity and enables the new Roma to leave their old, historically unfavourable and stigmatised positions and to adopt new, socially and personally more favourable positions in the new late-modern world.

II. 5. p. 248 – 262
Daniel Škobla & Richard Filčák
‘And They Let Their Well Freeze Over...’ Local Field of Power and Access to Potable Water in Roma Settlements

The main objective of this study is to explore and critically apply Bourdieu's *concept of the field* to identify barriers that hinder access to clean, safe sources of drinking water for the Roma population at local level. The study builds on the data from the Roma living conditions survey by the United Nations Development Programme 2010 and *the Atlas of Roma Communities 2013*, as well as on short-term ethnographic researches in so-called Roma settlements. The study combines a quantitative empirical description of the water infrastructure with a qualitative account of structural inequalities in the local field of power. The main barriers identified are power asymmetries and the lack of representation of the interests of those Roma who have difficulty in accessing drinking water. The authors suggest that equal access to water

infrastructure should be assured through Roma-focused affirmative actions, and recommend strengthening both universalistic social policies and central decision-making to neutralise partisan interests and biased decision-making that are sometimes present at the local level.