



# Tsiganologische Mitteilungen

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15. Ausgabe

## Themen

- |   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| 1 | „You perform being a Gypsy“ - <i>an interview with the anthropologist Judith Okely</i>                         | 3  |
| 2 | Tobias Marx: Die Jahreskonferenz der Gypsy Lore Society (GLS) 2011 in Graz (Österreich) – eine Kurzbetrachtung | 10 |
| 3 | Harika Dauth: Review - Julia Von dem Knesebeck. The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany         | 17 |
| 4 | Meldungen  | 25 |

## Liebe Leserin, lieber Leser,

während sich die Blätter an den Bäumen langsam färben, füllen sich die virtuellen Blätter der Tsiganologischen Mitteilungen nach der Sommerpause langsam wieder. Mit dem Einläuten der bunten Jahreszeit begrüßen wir Sie zu einer informativen Lektüre der nunmehr 15. Ausgabe der Tsiganologischen Mitteilungen.

Das Interview mit Judith Okely, das im letzten Jahr während der tsiganologischen Ringvorlesung in Leipzig mit der stellvertretenden Direktorin des *International Gender Studies Centres* in Oxford geführt wurde, markiert den Beginn der aktuellen Ausgabe. Okely, die mit ihrem Buch „Traveller Gypsies“ (1982) weltweite Berühmtheit erlangte, in dem sie, während des Erstarkens des Romani National Movements, die Herkunft aller Roma/ Zigeuner aus Indien anzweifelte, spricht in dem Interview darüber, wie Roma/ Zigeuner selbst und die akademische Landschaft damals auf ihre provokative These reagiert haben. Sie spricht außerdem davon, wie sie zur Anthropologie gefunden hat, in welchen Formen sich Antiziganismus in der Politik von Großbritannien äußert und wie unterschiedlich sich Feminismus interpretieren lässt.

Der zweite Beitrag stammt von dem Ethnologen Tobias Marx aus Leipzig. Der Tsiganologe, der derzeit seine Doktorarbeit zu Roma-Eliten in Bulgarien und Mazedonien schreibt, berichtet für uns von der letzten Konferenz der Gypsy Lore Society in Graz. Die Themen der diesjährigen Konferenz umfassten „Recent Migration“, „Science of Science“, „Education“, „Politics“, „Social Inclusion/Exclusion“, „History“, „Roma Women“ and „Ethnology“.

Wir beenden die Ausgabe mit einer Buchrezension des unlängst erschienenen Buches „The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany“ der Historikerin Julia von dem Knesebeck. Harika Dauth, Redakteurin bei den Tsiganologischen Mitteilungen, hat das Buch während des Sommers gelesen und für die TM zusammengefasst. Die Arbeit gilt als die erste detaillierte Untersuchung von Roma-Kompensationsakten im Nachkriegsdeutschland der drei Bundesländer Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen und Niedersachsen. Direkte Zitate von sowohl Roma-Angehörigen, sympathisierenden Gadje als auch Vertretern des deutschen Staates gewähren den Lesern einerseits Einblick in die systematische Verfolgung, die Roma während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und erneut während des Kompensationsprozesses erdulden mussten, andererseits rücken sie die Narrative der verfolgten Roma in den Mittelpunkt und fordern damit gängige Vorurteile der Mehrheitsgesellschaft, die sich bis in die Legislative und die Judikative ziehen, heraus. Ein zentraler Teil der Ar-

beit behandelt den Umgang im Nachkriegsdeutschland mit der Zwangsterilisierung und widmet sich damit einem Feld, das den Fokus auch aus Deutschland heraus in andere so genannte demokratische (Befreier-)Länder rückt, bei denen Eugenik auf der politischen Agenda stand.

Soviel zunächst einmal zum groben Inhalt der 15. TM. Und jetzt wünscht Ihnen Harika Dauth im Namen der Redaktion eine erkenntnisreiche und spannende Lektüre.

## 1 „You perform being a Gypsy“ - *an interview with the anthropologist Judith Okely*

Judith Okely studied at the Sorbonne, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. She is Emeritus Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Hull and Deputy Director of the International Gender Studies Centre at the Queen Elizabeth House in Oxford. Among her most popular books are „The Traveller-Gypsies“ (1982), „Simone de Beauvoir: a re-reading“ (1986), „Anthropology and Autobiography“ (1992) and „Own or Other Culture“ (1996), works that have been translated into Japanese, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, German, French and Chinese. Her research interests include: Fieldwork Practice, Gypsies, Feminism, Autobiography, Visualism, Landscape Representations and the Aged, mainly within Europe.

At the 12th of May 2010 Judith Okely came to Leipzig in course of a lecture series which are published in the e-Journal [Behemoth – A Journal on Civilisation](#). One day after the lecture we met with the anthropologist for an extended breakfast which included several cups of coffee, the Indian hypothesis, racisms in Great Britain and the hardship of Feminism in Anthropology. Telling stories from the field and from her childhood, it became evident how much her autobiography is intertwined with her actual work as an anthropologist.

*TM: Judith, was there an incident in your life that founded your career as an anthropologist? How did you get interested in Gypsies/ Roma?*

Judith Okely: Once I gave a lecture to 14 to 16 year olds at the Royal Anthropological Institute that offers special lectures to gifted children. This was the first time the institute asked an anthropologist to speak, and I spoke about my fieldwork with Gypsies. There was an Asian girl aged about 15. She asked me 'What made you an anthropologist?' I said, 'Retrospectively, I think it was the moment when I had heard my father died and a few hours later the matron told me I wasn't allowed to cry'. I think at that moment unknowingly, I hated my culture. So, I became driven by hatred. Yet, amongst the Gypsies I found this bizarre resolution which was that I attended a funeral where a man died, who had children younger than when I lost my father. They were allowed to cry and they had seen his body. My father's ashes are somewhere scattered in the crematorium in South London. It's the personal that drives you, it is an emotional thing. I said in the lecture that a puzzle is what draws you to becoming an anthropologist. I have found this repeatedly in my forthcoming

book, *Anthropological Practice* based on dialogues with over 20 anthropologists of 16 nationalities.....

*... so by a puzzle you mean questioning and re-thinking your own cultural systems, comparing it with others, experiencing your positionality, ethnocentric experiences...?*

I went to the Sorbonne as an Anglican believer, and then I went to the Anglican church in a posh part of Paris and I was ready to take communion, because in the Anglican faith you take communion but you don't go to Confession. And I heard this English preacher talking as if England was there in the middle of Paris. Like cricket and warm beer... I said to my friend, 'I am not taking communion.' And I walked out. You didn't have the word ethnocentric, but I thought my Christianity has nothing to do with English culture, I thought Christ is universal. So I bought the Bible in French. By the end of the year I was agnostic.

*Your most popular and challenging thesis in the field of Gypsy/ Roma Studies challenges the mono Indian heritage of Gypsies. How did you come up with the idea, that not all Gypsies necessarily had to come from India?*

I think I was influenced in this perspective. It was Malinowski who said you don't look at the origin of a belief of a cultural system, you look at it's current function. I'm not a functionalist. But still many people think you explain a belief in terms of its origin. Yet, Malinowski would say that the origin of a people's belief may be quite different to why it continues. So, Malinowski said he would look at the current meaning. That must have influenced me because of the misleading way in the *Journal of GLS* articles. In some of them they kept trying to reduce every Gypsy behaviour to a distant exotic origin. They said, of course, that is also what the Hindus do. For instance the fact that Gypsies burn their caravans would allegedly prove the Indian heritage. But in fact they don't burn the dead bodies in contrast to Hinduism. I'm delighted and fascinated that I haven't found a Gypsy community anywhere in Europe or North America, who do not bury their dead. So it is the opposite to the Hindu tradition of burning the body. Then somebody twisted it around and said, well they forgot. That was my original scepticism. I thought you don't explain peoples' beliefs only by their heritage from India.

*Could you talk with some Gypsies/ Roma/ Traveller in the field about the Indian*

*hypothesis as well? Did they come up with narratives concerning their origin?*

It was a Gypsy man who lived at the Traveller Caravan Site where I was living. It was a year into my fieldwork. He came with a group of people and he said: 'Judith, we've been trying to think where we come from.' I thought they were asking where do the Gypsies come from, so I said 'Well people said you come from India'. They were astonished. They had never heard it before, and they thought that they were like Cowboys and (North American) Indians. Then the most brilliant follow-up from the Gypsy man was, 'We are not talking about Travellers. We want to know where does the sky come from? Where does the earth come from? What about trees?' It was a deeply philosophical question about the origin of mankind and the beginning of history. These are people who did not read a book or the Bible. So I gave them a version about the Bible, saying also that I did not know. But it was brilliant. They did not follow the Indian line at all.

*To challenge the profound linguistic thesis that Gypsies/ Roma are of Indian origin must have been shocking for some social scientists at that time....*

I didn't write that in my PhD, I didn't write anything about challenging the Indian origin. My thesis was passed in 1977/1978. A year later I got a contract with Cambridge University Press. So, I was adjusting my thesis and at that point I had a long discussion with an anthropologist friend of mine who is a Marxist. Of course I study Marx, too. In fact, I thought there is a political economic explanation behind historical change. My ethnography already prioritised the Gypsies unique economic niche. In the discussion we talked about the collapse of feudalism and the throwing onto the open market of serfs, about how the feudal landlords disbanded their armies. I thought it is no coincidence that Gypsies around Europe suddenly appeared. In fact, I did NOT deny that any came from India. But at the same time I know that language can be adopted by people who are not original speakers. The British Empire is a proof of this e.g. with English spoken in India. The funny thing was, that I gave the very first tryout of this idea to a conference with archaeologists and historians. I was sharing a platform with Eric Hobsbawm. Edmund Leach was the discussant. Hobsbawm asked me if I would publish my paper in his Marxist History Journal 'Past and Present'. I was naive believing that I could not publish in a journal and later in my book, so I turned down the offer. In fact it would have been much better because to have it in a prestigious history journal edited by the world famous Eric Hobsbawm; then I would have been untouchable. But the nice thing

is in the later chapter in my book, I managed to get the direct words of Edmund Leach. At the end of the conference he mentioned the Anglo-Saxon in our language and people who moved from Jutland to England: 'We don't say that everybody who speaks English is a descendant from migrants of Jutland' (Scandinavia and the Viking route).

The archaeologists were very embarrassed because I was the only woman in the whole weekend conference ... and I made my entry on the issue. Yes, that was my first working out of the idea, which I put in my book. Then everything was quiet until 1989. And all of sudden ... I don't know if it was coincidence ... Roma specialists were reading my book. I could not believe what they wrote: „Judith Okely is the enemy of the Roma.“ On the 'Romnet Even' Ian Hancock, whom I met on several occasions, is convinced, you can google it: 'Judith Okely believes Roma are descendants from Raggamuffins and thieves and beggars'. Absolute caricature.

*The most striking aspect of the Indian hypothesis which is basically a linguistic theory, is that Romany, the language of Gypsies/ Roma, is based on the indo-european Sanskrit. You conducted fieldwork among Travellers. Did they also speak Romany?*

They did talk a bit of Romany. They would talk Romany words when the police was there. Anglo-Romany has English grammatical structure. To me the key things were in fact the selected individual words. As an anthropologist I was more interested in, when they inserted a Romany word in an English sentence. That is much more interesting than the origin of the words and when they lost them, linguistic questions that Yaron Matras prefers. To me it was very revealing, the first words I ever learnt were *gavver* which is policeman, *chavvy* which is child and *chor* wich is to steal. At what point they would choose to insert these words is terribly interesting. The USE of language, not the loss. Ironically Donald Kenrick was teaching Romanes. So he a Gadjo would be teaching a Gypsy how to speak his own language. I'm not interested in reconstructing a mythical loss.

*According to Yaron Matras Romany is not considered to be a contact language that is created when two different language groups facing each other but a „language in permanent contact“ that is based on permanent movements mainly due to persecution and forced migration. Plus, due to their professions as traders, musicians, artists, tinkers, servants etc. they had to learn the languages of the majority societies with whom they shared commercial relations, the languages of their clients.*

All through the centuries Gypsies have never been isolated. They made their living from relationships with outsiders. That's why I argue, that they are a unique type of nomads. So when I did Anthropology in Cambridge, we were told there are two types of nomads: hunters and gatherers and pastoralists, who had an ideal self-sufficiency. The latter can live off the milk they produce. And the hunters and gatherers, I know that they have some relations with outsiders, of course, but the Gypsies are unique kinds of nomads, because they never grow their own food. They don't eat their own animals. They are not pastoralists. They also provide services. For that, they have to relate to the enemy. So they have to know the enemy. You adjust. You perform being an exotic Gypsy in some contexts, for example as fortune teller.

*Did you also adjust while researching in the field? Did you also perform a Gypsy-likeness?*

There was an embarrassing moment when an ex-boyfriend rang up the Research Centre in London and asked where I was and they gave him the address of the campsite. And he turned up in his little Mini. It was a sensation. I said 'For God's Sake what are you doing here?' He replied: 'Why are you acting so grim? And what kind of clothes are you wearing? What's this baggy skirt and shirt? Why are you looking so dowdy?' I said: 'For God's Sake take me off to a café!' He was just shocked about my appearance. I had to adjust and in those days you had to look modest, not like the exotic Carmen image.

*Let's talk about the politics and policies of naming. In Germany it is politically incorrect to use the word Gypsy. Politically correct would be to use the term 'Sinti and Roma'. How is the term Gypsy perceived and used in Britain?*

They still publish Gypsy with a small 'g' in Britain. In England and Britain there is a new akronym which is RGT (Roma-Gypsy-Traveller). Why can't we recognize nomads? After I gave a presentation at the British Academy a woman revealed herself as Iraqi and said 'Why can't they adapt, why can't they adjust?' I said 'Look, I'm sorry they have been recorded here since the 14th century. But states hate nomads!' The twist is, we won't be allowed to use the words Gypsy by the EU, we were told we could use the word Traveller. Now, Jack Straw who was Home Secretary when Blair was appointed ... I'm sure he is of Jewish origin ... they released an interview with him in the local radio, and someone repeated it and published it. He said 'We can't have these Travellers going around thieving and defecating in doorways'. People of

the Gypsy Council challenged Jack Straw stating that Gypsies do not defecate in doorways, they go behind the hedges. The final twist was that they brought him to court where the judges decided that he was not racist because he did not use the word Gypsy but 'Traveller', which is not an ethnic group. If he used the word 'Gypsy' he could have been sued under the British law for racism. It's upside down.

*You were an engaged anthropologist from an early age on. Do you think that feminism played a role in the fact that anthropology became a political issue for you?*

My father brought me up sitting on his knee, reading French children's books. I remember the mystery of seeing French words that he would translate into English. He didn't do this in German but he also studied German at Oxford. You see, his name was Francis. You can do all your psychological explanations. I was driven to go to France. I went to the Sorbonne. My mother was already a feminist and the night before I left for Paris she packed in my suitcase 'The Subjection of Women' by John Stuart Mill. After a year or so, halfway through Paris, I discovered Simone de Beauvoir whom I read in French. In fact she transformed my life and that's why I have written a book on Simone de Beauvoir. I decided even before I got to Oxford I want to get a woman into the Oxford Union Society which is a very famous Debating Society. So I joined a committee to get a woman elected and in the end I was the first woman to become a member of the union. I don't see any contradiction between politics and intellectual work, they are not separate, everything you do is political...

*Being the first woman member in an academic union, reading and writing feminist works, can you talk a little bit about the structure in which your struggles as a woman were embedded? Do you perceive feminism as a struggle that is basically women biased?*

Anthropology is about men. Once I was in charge for the first year course at Durham university with another woman who was a feminist as I am. We said we're damn well going to introduce feminist literature into the course. So we put it on the course against the wishes of the professor and head of department. And then Henrietta Moore a first year undergraduate thought this was an old hat and came out with a book called „Feminism and Anthropology“ and she critiqued all these women who wrote about women and she said you are not a true feminist if you only write about women and write about gender. Of course the men loved her book because it saved

them reading any earlier texts. They just talk about women, we don't need to read these books, because Henrietta Moore says it's all crap. But she didn't understand I put my job on the line just to put those books on the reading list. And of course we weren't just excluding men; I wanted books on masculinity. Where are they? Where are they now? There is a brilliant book called 'The Limits Of Masculinity' by the sociologist Andrew Tolson. Everybody in my course loved that book. But is this gender thing going on in sociology? Most of the books problematising masculinity are about gay men, they are not about heterosexuality.

I have published an article 'Gendered Lessons in Ivory Towers' in *Identity and Networks*, co-edited with D. Faye Bryceson and J. Webber (Berghahn 2007) which explores autobiographically the sexism in two universities where I was employed.

*Being a feminist, did your attitudes conflict with those of Gypsies in the field?*

There was no problem, because you respect people's culture and I knew from the start that you don't talk to men on your own. It has nothing to do with 'I speak for freedom!' And then the other amazing thing was how powerful women were. Among Gypsies there was another kind of femininity. These were women who were autonomous, I am saying ultimately the power rested with the men and they had the bigger income, they drove the lorries. Some women were allowed to drive. Compared to my own culture it was the opposite. These women were not subjected. They talked about their children, many women went out to work. Unfortunately what is happening now, is that going door to door selling has collapsed, ironical, the Gypsies had to defend themselves by having more permanent sites. They can travel much further distances, they can do a day return, the men go out to work and the women seem to be stuck in the campsites on their own. Whereas before they would walk out to the local housing areas and could buy things. These women are much more homebound now.

*Judith, thank you for your words.*

*The interview was conducted in Leipzig at the 13th of May 2010 by Andrea Steinke and Harika Dauth and has been edited by Harika Dauth.*

## 2 Tobias Marx: Die Jahreskonferenz der Gypsy Lore Society (GLS) 2011 in Graz (Österreich) – eine Kurzbetrachtung

Vom 1.–3. September 2011 öffnete das *European Centre for Modern Languages* (ECML) in Graz seine Pforten für die diesjährige Jahreskonferenz der Gypsy Lore Society (GLS).

In elf thematischen Rubriken standen den Teilnehmern 62 Präsentationen zur Auswahl.<sup>1</sup> Die am stärksten vertretene Rubrik war, ganz im Sinne des ausrichtenden *Vereins zur Dokumentation der Sprache und Kultur regionaler Minderheiten* „[spirk] – Sprache, Identität, Kultur“<sup>2</sup>, die der Sprache („**Linguistics**“), unter welcher sich 12 Beiträge versammelten. Die weiteren Themengebiete beliefen sich auf: geschichtliche Aspekte („**History**“) mit insgesamt 10 Paperpräsentationen, Aspekte der Kunst („**Art**“ – 9 Präsentationen), derzeitige Betrachtungen zum Thema Migration („**Recent Migration**“) und zur Identität („**Identity**“ – jeweils mit 6 Präsentationen vertreten), ethnologische Aspekte („**Ethnology**“ – 5 Präsentationen) und politische Aspekte („**Politics**“ – vier Beiträge). Die Themenbereiche soziale Inklusion/Exklusion („**Social Inclusion/Exclusion**“) und Roma-Frauen („**Roma Women**“) traten mit je drei Beiträgen auf, die der wissenschaftlichen Betrachtung der Wissenschaft („**Science of Science**“) zu und über Roma/Zigeuner sowie die der Bildung („**Education**“) rückten mit jeweils zwei Präsentationen in den anteilmäßigen Hintergrund der vertretenen Hauptthematiken der diesjährigen Konferenz.

### Eine Auswahl von Beiträgen

BENEDIKS Paper stand ganz im Zeichen der Gastgeberstadt Graz und dem Aspekt, wie lokale Medien Graz als eine Hauptstadt der Bettler und gleichzeitig als eine Hauptstadt von Design und Baukunst darstellen. Er gab der Konferenz damit einen themenverbindenden Auftakt, der den Forschungsgegenstand der Roma/Zigeuner als solchen mit dem der Gastgeberstadt Graz verwob. Seine dekonstruktivistische Perspektive suchte diese Darstellungen – also Graz als „Hauptstadt der Bettler“ und gleichzeitig als „Hauptstadt des Designs“ zu betiteln –, zu falsifizieren.

Ein weiteres Paper in dieser Rubrik wurde von TIEFENBACHER präsentiert, in dem ebenso Hintergrundinformationen offengelegt wurden. Diese betrafen sowohl die so genannte „Bettlerflut“ in Graz als auch die dabei entstehenden Netzwerke jener als

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<sup>1</sup> Eine vollständige Liste aller Paperpräsentationen befindet sich im Anhang dieser Kurzbetrachtung. Bei Bedarf stehe ich für eine evtl. Kontaktvermittlung zu den Vortragenden gern unter [tmarx@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:tmarx@uni-leipzig.de) zur Verfügung.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. <http://www.sprachennetzwerkgraz.at/tabid/2190/language/de-DE/Default.aspx> [Zugriff 8. 10. 2011].

Bettler deklarierten Roma/Zigeuner. Ihre Analyse basiert auf Daten des transdisziplinären Forschungsprojekts „Bettlerflut“ (Sept. 2010 – Febr. 2011)<sup>3</sup>, welches in Graz und einigen Heimatdörfern südslowakischer Roma/Zigeuner durchgeführt wurde.

Wie sich eine weitere einkommensbedingte Migration, allerdings im bulgarischen Kontext, darstellen kann, verdeutlichte EROLOVA anhand ihrer Ergebnisse, welche sie aus der Datenlage heraus analysierte, die sie im bulgarischen Teil der Dobrukscha bei türkischen Roma/Zigeunern erhob.

TAUBER diskutierte am Beispiel der von ihr erforschten Gruppe der Estraxaria-Sinti<sup>4</sup> ihre Position in dieser Gruppe, da sie dort sowohl als Forscherin auftritt als auch als Ehefrau eines Sinto dieser Gruppe. In diesem spannungsreichen Feld wird deutlich, dass der Faktor, Verwandter der untersuchten Gruppe zu sein, oft mit dem der gebührenden Forschungsethik konfliktieren kann. So standen beispielsweise die Erwartungen „ihrer“ Sinti an sie, ein „good book“ zu schreiben, mit denen der „wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft“, ein „true book“ zu verfassen, nicht unbedingt im Einklang.

Dass sich im Laufe der letzten zwei Dekaden das Blickfeld auf Identität und Zuschreibung gerade in den postjugoslawischen Gebieten im Hinblick auf die Zugehörigkeiten von Ashkali und Ägyptern wandelt und deren politische Bewegungen und ethnische Identitätsstiftungen im Kosovo derzeit stark dynamisiert sind, wurde in LYCHNOVSKIS Beitrag deutlich. Am Beispiel Montenegros bestätigte ZAHOVA die Datenlage des Beitrags von Lychnovski und, dass weiterer Forschungsbedarf dahingehend besteht, dieses recht junge „Identitätsphänomen“ im Kontext der Nationalismen und Nationenbildung in der postjugoslawischen Region in die Romani/Gypsy-Studies einzubetten, was deutlich aus allen Beiträgen der Rubrik „Identity“ hervorging.

Inwiefern sich eine „globale pro-Roma Zivilgesellschaft“ für oder gar gegen Roma richtet, besprach RÖVID, indem er die Antworten auf die Frage: „acting out for, with or instead of Roma?“ auszuloten suchte.

BLUMERS Beitrag stellte die nicht nur für die deutsche Forschungslandschaft viel diskutierte Frage nach dem Holocaust-Mahnmal und dessen Errichtung in Berlin. Sie ließ das Pro und Contra des Mahnmalsbaus in ihrem Projektbericht vor dem Hintergrund der zwei Faktoren „Opferhierarchien und Mahnmalnetzwerke“ erscheinen.

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<sup>3</sup> Vgl. [http://www.uni-graz.at/romipen/Forschungsprojekt\\_%22Bettlerflut%22/Uber\\_uns.html](http://www.uni-graz.at/romipen/Forschungsprojekt_%22Bettlerflut%22/Uber_uns.html) [Zugriff 8. 10. 2011].

<sup>4</sup> Siehe auch: Tauber, E. 2006. Du wirst keinen Ehemann nehmen!: Respekt, die Bedeutung der Toten und Fluchttheirat bei den Sinti Estraxaria. Forum Europäische Ethnologie, Bd. 8, Berlin (u.a.): Lit.

Dass die Praxis des Wahlstimmenkaufs in unterprivilegierten Gemeinschaften auf der ganzen Welt verbreitet ist, bestätigte und bekräftigte das Paper von HRUSTIČ. Der langjährige Mitarbeiter am NDI (National Democratic Institute) brachte im Zuge seiner Datenanalyse primär die Perspektive der Bewohner einer Siedlung in der Slowakei an die Betrachteroberfläche. Die Beziehung zwischen Finanzierung von Wählern und Stimmenkauf dieser Wähler stellt für Hrustič eine Signifikanz dar, deren Einfluss erheblich den Prozess einer Demokratisierung der Wahlen in solchen Gemeinschaften in Frage stellt.

Historische Aspekte im Hinblick auf, zum einen, die Auswertung und Aufbereitung von Filmmaterial und, zum anderen, die Auswertung und Aufbereitung von Archivmaterial stellten zwei der insgesamt 10 Präsentationen dar, welche unter dem großen Thema „History“ zusammenliefen. Die filmische und fotografische Erfassung von Roma/Zigeuner-Gruppen in deren Siedlungen im heutigen Grenzgebiet Österreich-Ungarn stellte zu Beginn des 20. Jh. erheblichen technischen Aufwand dar. BAUMGARTNERS erfrischende Präsentation des Materials aus den Anfängen des ethnographischen Films zeigte deutlich die Grenzen und Chancen, welche sich bei der Aufbereitung und Analyse eines solchen Materials ergeben.

Welche Möglichkeiten sich aus der Betrachtung und weiteren Analyse des Archivmaterials des Osmanischen Reiches ergeben können, versuchten ALTINOZ und PAMUK aus der Türkei zu zeigen. Deren Fokus lag zum einen auf den von Roma/Zigeunern im Osmanischen Reich ausgeübten Berufen und zum anderen auf deren Lebens- und Alltagssituationen, soweit diese den Quellen entnommen werden können. Weitere, detailreiche Quellenanalysen stellen die Forschungsgemeinschaft hier eindeutig vor zukünftige Aufgaben, gerade vor dem Hintergrund der noch eher unaufgearbeiteten osmanischen Archivsammlungen<sup>5</sup>.

Um die Verteilung von Ressourcen in einer Roma/Zigeuner-Siedlung am Rande Roms ging es in ULDERICOS Präsentation. Ulderico betonte, dass sich auch die neu gebildeten Autoritäten im „campo sosta scenario“ von den bisher untersuchten Autoritäten anderer Roma-/Zigeuner-Gemeinschaften kaum unterscheiden. Die Roma-Leader seien im traditionellen wie auch im modernen Sinne Grenzüberschreiter zwischen der Roma- und der Gadge-Gemeinschaft, doch unterlägen die Ressourcen dieser Roma-Leader primär den Wandlungsprozessen der Gaje-Gesellschaften.

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<sup>5</sup> Wie mir während der Erstellung des vorliegenden Konferenzberichts von R. Dauth mitgeteilt wurde, besteht die wesentliche Herausforderung bei der Archivrecherche für diese größtenteils auf Alt-Türkisch verfassten Quellen darin, sprachlich ausreichend gewappnet zu sein.

Damit unterstrich er, was bereits durch an anderen Orten und Zeiten durchgeführten Forschungen in Roma-/Zigeuner-Siedlungen zum Ausdruck kam: Die Einschreibung neuer Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen innerhalb der Siedlungen, welche sich als Konsequenzen auch aus der Separation solcher Siedlungen heraus generieren: „[...] given the institutional separation of the Roma in the camps, power und authority belong to the possibility of using the physical and symbolical borders, improving what we propose to define as a specific version of 'gagikano capital' (Piasere 1991), that depending on the separation. This scenario creates new authorities and recognizes the relationships within Roma communities“<sup>6</sup>.

Auch wenn es mir schwer fällt, das diesjährige GLS-Treffen zusammenzufassen, stachen für mich drei einprägsame Aspekte heraus: Erstens war der Anteil der Vortragenden aus der Generation der Nachwuchswissenschaftler m. E. sehr hoch. Ihre Feldergebnisse stammen größtenteils aus laufenden oder kürzlich abgeschlossenen Promotionsprojekten aus den unterschiedlichsten Forschungsbereichen der Romani-/Gypsy-Studies und legen damit eine Fülle „frischen“ empirischen Materials auf den Gabentisch der Forschung.

Zweitens standen auch dieses Jahr traditionelle Themen wie Sprache, Geschichte und Kunst im anteilmäßigem Vordergrund. Im Zuge der derzeit intensivierten politischen Diskussionen über (und NGO-Donationen für) vier der „heiligen Integrationsthemen“ (Bildung, Gender, soziale Inklusion und Exklusion, Politik) entstand auch auf dieser Konferenz eine entsprechend unterteilte Fokussierung dieser Bereiche. Inwiefern hier eine Melange zwischen Politik (politstrategische Differenzierung und Stratifikation) und Wissenschaft (wissenschafts-analytische Zugangsmuster) – und zu wessen Gunsten – entsteht, soll an dieser Stelle unbeantwortet, doch die Aufmerksamkeit hierfür geweckt bleiben.

Drittens darf man mit Spannung auf das nächste Treffen der GLS in Istanbul 2012 schauen.<sup>7</sup> Nicht nur die zwei Präsentationen der türkischen Wissenschaftler, die sich akribisch dem osmanischen Archivmaterial widmeten, kündigten Vielversprechendes an. Auch auf das von der neuen Präsidentin der GLS, Elena Marushiakova, in Aussicht gestellte Rahmenprogramm der kommenden Konferenz, welches das Thema „Roma-Kultur“ umkreisen wird, darf man gespannt sein.

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<sup>6</sup> Ulderico 2011. Paperabstract.

<sup>7</sup> Siehe online <http://www.gypsyloresociety.org/the-latest-news/2011annualmeetingandconference-ongypsystudies> [Zugriff 8. 10. 2011].

## Liste der Präsentationen:

### Recent Migration

Acton, Thomas, Sylvia Ingmire: *Polish Roma Migrants and their contribution to Roma/Gypsy/Traveller politics in the United Kingdom.*

Benedik, Stefan: *How to become “Beggar’s Capital”. An introduction to public negotiations on images of migrating Roma/Romnija in Graz.*

Erolova, Yelis: *Contemporary Labor Migrations of the Turkish Gypsies from Bulgarian Region of Dobrudzha.*

Marushiakova, Elena, Veselin Popov: *Roma migrations vs. Gypsy nomadism.*

Slavkova, Magdalena: *Work and family across borders: the case of Bulgarian Rudari.*

Tiefenbacher, Barbara: *547 km from East to West to East to West. Temporary Transnational Slovak Romani Migrations for Begging to Graz.*

### Science of Science

Casa-Nova, Maria Jose: *Between Being, Staying and Leaving: Ethnography with Minority Groups.*

Tauber, Elisabeth: *Field research, participation and ethics of research in the context of Romanies.*

### Education

Dimitër-Taikon, Angelina, Mikael Demetri, Christina Rodell Olgac: *Romani pupils in a Swedish school context.*

Jovanović, Barbara: *Preschool education of Romani children in Southern Serbia: a case study.*

### Linguistics

Adamou, Evangelia: *Romani in Mexiko.*

Balo, Andras Marton: *Analogy in Romani morphology.*

Benišek, Michael: *Romani of Serednye: a report on a Transcarpathian Romani variety.*

Bodnárová, Zuzana: *The linguistic situation of Vend Romani in Hungary.*

Červenka, Jan, Pavel Kubanik, Helena Sadilková: *Romani in Czech Republic –socio-linguistic situation.*

Cherenkov, Lev: *The Romani dialects in Ukraine: Some non-resolved problems of Classification.*

Elšik, Viktor: *Linguistic Atlas of Central Romani.*

Granqvist, Kimmo: *Finnish Romani during the 1800s.*

Herin, Bruno: *More on Domari.*

Kozhanov, Kirill: *Notes on the Plaščuny dialect in Russia.*

Leggio, Daniele Viktor: *The Romani Internet: language codification and identity formation.*

Matras, Yaron: *Language planning and the Romani Experience.*

## Identity

Bartash, Volha: *Ethnic Identities of Gypsies in Contemporary Belarus.*

Čirković, Svetlana: *Stereotypes about Roma: from critical self-perception to manipulation.*

Diricchardi-Muzga, Rinaldo: *The German/Austrian Gypsy/Sinti minority in Slovenia: crisis of ethnic identity – the old problems of their recognition in postmodern Slovenia/elsewhere.*

Kapralski, Slawomir: *Post-Holocaust Roma/Gypsy Identities.*

Lichnofsky, Claudia: *Ashkali and Egyptians: two terms – same people? .*

Zahova, Sofiya: *Identity in Construction: the RAE (Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians) population issue in Montenegro today.*

## Art

Aberg, Kai: *Where do Kaale songs come from? – The dynamic relation between the local and the global identity of the Finnish Roma.*

Beissinger, Margaret: *Manele at Village Weddings in Romania: How Rural Musicians Adapt to an Urban Romani Genre.*

Demeny, Tamas: *Hungarian Roma autobiographies.*

Grobbe, Michaela: *Romani self-expression in visual art and theatre as a model of intercultural exchange.*

Janoska, Katharina: *Literature from and about Gypsies: differences and Connections.*

Kovalcsik, Katalin: *The Change of the position of „Gypsies” on the vintage feast in a Hungarian village.*

Lange, Barbara Rose: *Multiethnic paradoxes and the singing of Ági Szalóki.*

Ruyter, Nancy: *In Search of the Gypsy in Writings on Flamenco.*

Silverman, Carol: *Global Gypsy music: issues of appropriation and Representation.*

## Politics

Blumer, Nadine: *From Victim Hierarchies to Memorial Networks: Berlin’s Memorial*

*to the Sinti and Roma Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime.*

Hrustič, Tomáš: *Elections as an opportunity for marginalized Roma – participation on electoral process vs. benefiting from vote-buying.*

Kopf, Sabrina: *EU projects for Roma – Noble goals or just another “funding game”?*

Rövid, Marton: *The pro-Roma global civil society: acting out for, with or instead of Roma.*

### **Social Inclusion/Exclusion**

Kasper, Ruth: *The Burgenland-Roma. The situation of Austria’s latest recognized ethnic group 15 years after its recognition.*

Podolinská, Tatiana: *Religious change among Roma in Slovakia: Social inclusion or exclusion? .*

Smith, David: *Gypsy/Travellers, Social Networks and Access to Health Services in the UK.*

### **History**

Altınöz, İsmail: *Occupation of the Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire.*

Baumgartner, Gerhard: *Early Film Documents of Austrian Roma from the 1920s and 1930s.*

Goederle, Wolfgang: *Petty criminals, Gypsies and other vagabonds...Negotiations of Gypsiness in administrative discourses of the Habsburg Monarchy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.*

Kaveh, Chalak: *The Application of the Bavarian “Gypsy law” 1926-1936: New Perspectives and Interpretations.*

Pamuk, Bilgehan: *Some thoughts about the Gypsies in the Ottoman Society.*

Sadilkova, Helena, Tomáš Zapletal, Milada Zavodská: *Romani post-war migrations to the Czech Lands: Brno case Study.*

Sirbu, Tatiana: *Gypsies in tsarist Bessarabia.*

Steiner, Stephan: *Man-eating Roma. The anatomy of a bloody week.*

Tervonen, Miika: *Enforced ethnicity? Roma and Resande in Finland and Sweden, c. 1860-1920.*

Trevisan, Paola: *A fascist internment camp for Italian Sinti in the province of Modena: from ethnographic to archival research.*

### **Roma Women**

Greenfields, Margaret: *The ‘social return on investment’ outcomes from a Community Development Programme for Gypsy and Traveller women – findings from an*

*evaluation.*

Ivanova, Evgenia I., Velcho Krastev: *The women from the group of “Thracian Tinsmiths” – between tradition and the provocations of the modern day, the road of the life of three women generations.*

Müller, Stephan: *Situation of Romani women in the four countries Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia.*

### **Ethnology**

Chernykh, Aleksandr: *Calendar feasts and rites of Roma-Kalderash in Russia.*

Hrusticova, Ludmila: *Strategies of religious organization in competitive environment among Roma.*

Růžička, Michal: *The problem of „cultural oppositionality” of „Gypsy settlements” in Eastern Slovakia.*

Ulderico, Daniele: *Roma authorities in “campi sosta”: borders and power.*

*Tobias Marx, Jahrgang 1974, studierte nach seiner Berufsausbildung zum Energieelektroniker und einem mehrjährigem Arbeitsaufenthalt in Rumänien Ethnologie und Afrikanistik an den Universitäten Leipzig, Halle und Dar es Salaam. Nach seinem Magisterabschluss begann er an seiner Promotion zum Thema Roma-/Zigeuner-Eliten in Bulgarien und Mazedonien zu arbeiten.*

### **3 Harika Dauth: Review - Julia Von dem Knesebeck. The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany**

Julia Von dem Knesebeck. 2011. *The Roma Struggle for Compensation in Post-War Germany.* Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press. pp. 288, ISBN 978-1-907396-11-3, prices: £20/US\$40 (paperback).

Keywords: compensation, restitution, Roma, Second World War, sterilisation, structural racism, legal anthropology

The manner in which Germany has and continues to deal with its war atrocities during the Third Reich is globally respected. Yet it took more than 50 years until a German president, Roman Herzog in 1997, fully acknowledged that the genocide against Sinti and Roma was as much motivated 'by the same racist hysteria' and 'executed with the same wilful intent for systematic and total annihilation' as the genocide against the Jews. This delay of acknowledgement is apparent in literature

on the German post-war compensation and reconciliation. Although published to a wide extent, it lacks empirical data on compensation for the Roma people. Basically, despite an increase of attention of the public eye as well as bureaucracy paid to the persecution of Jews during the Third Reich in the Eastern occupied territories since the late 1980s and especially in the late 1990, there was no detailed scientific study of the Roma's persecution in the same areas. In fact there was almost no research on the persecution of Roma until the 1980s. Yet, all authors who did write about the general persecution of Roma during the Third Reich assumed that Roma were excluded from the German restitution process without investigating the actual claims made by Roma. Filling this notorious deficit, the historian Von dem Knesebeck evaluated compensation claims of Roma showing intriguing details such as those concerning forced sterilisation. Archives of the German states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen and Lower Saxony between the end of the Second World War and the 1980s, the beginning of the civil rights movement in West Germany hold proof of this. With her research results she is delivering the first detailed study of the material on Roma generated by the compensation process including numerous direct quotes of compensation claim files by Roma, Gadge (Non-Roma) supporters of Roma, state officials, judges, medics and other scientists.

The book is chronologically divided into two parts: Starting with the immediate post-war period from 1945 to 1950 when support for the victims of the Nationalist Socialist regime was firstly directly featured by the Allies, then by local and later by state initiatives. The second part of the book deals with the time frame from 1950 to the 1970s, the period of the three Federal Compensation Laws and the Federal Restitution Law as the two main pillars of juridical regulation. The former including all sorts of compensation payments such as payments for wrongful imprisonment, damage to earning capacity etc. and the latter concerning property claims. The main difference between those two bodies of law, namely Compensation (*Entschädigung*) and Restitution Law (*Schadensersatz*) was, that the claimants of the former had to prove that persecution had been racially, religiously or politically motivated while claimants of the latter expropriation efforts had to show that they were amongst those victims who had been collectively persecuted (e.g. under the Nuremberg Race laws). The laws that defined the categorisation of victims were established by the Western Allies, precisely by American-devised law, shortly after the Second World War. The term 'National Socialist injustice' (*nationalsozialistisches Unrecht*) has been used by the lawmakers in order to distinguish the victims of National Socialism from the 'ordinary' victims of war.

A claimant could only claim compensation if he or she had been resident within the German borders of 1937 before persecution, if the person had returned to the Western zones by 1947 and if the person was in possession of German nationality, in short a person who belonged to the so called 'German linguistic and cultural circle'. By creating an independent compensation law, the German government avoided to deal with every victim, including the ones beyond the geographical area of Germany that had been affected by the exercised power of the German state or its subsidiaries. Although the majority of German Roma could prove their presence in Germany dating many generations back, their identification as Germans was not automatically acknowledged by compensation officials. Due to the in 1913 introduced Citizenship Law, based on blood right (*ius sanguinis*), and replacing the former Birth right (*ius soli*), people were only regarded as German if they had a German father, married to a German or if they were naturalised.

In the first chapter Von dem Knesebeck examines the nature of persecution of Roma during the Third Reich. The crucial point of discussion in the Roma's compensation files was whether they had been racially persecuted or not. The opinion that Roma were racially persecuted was not considered by most of the state and local courts who examined the cases of Roma individually rather than collectively, diminishing the war-time atrocities of the Nationalist Socialist treatment of Roma by perceiving their persecution merely as 'police measures' and as a 'continuation of Weimar policies'. Although the persecutors built on previously established sentiments, they radicalized the extent of their persecution, killing Roma in concentration camps across Europe. Von dem Knesebeck argues that it was merely the distinctions and discontinuities between the periods of persecution and the language used by the National Socialists that produced the racial nature of their persecution.

Worth mentioning is that the historian goes beyond the discourse of whether Roma had been racially persecuted or not, instead she reveals a crucial amount of other difficulties that Roma had during the compensation process.

Chapter two analyses the autobiographical material and interviews of Roma in order to offer the reader an insight into the issues concerning *Wiedergutmachung* that were important to Roma themselves. Here, one of the most striking points made by the author is the paradoxical necessity of the Roma to prove that they had been a 'race' that was persecuted under the Nationalist Socialist regime, which stands in sharp contrast with the perspective expressed by Roma who perceived themselves as German. In this regard a Rom stated that it had been Nationalist Socialist racial

policies which made him feel like a Sinto for the first time in his life, whereas he had felt like a Sinto and a German previously.

In chapter three Von dem Knesebeck contrasts the 'good time' immediate post-war period with contemporary compensation files, showing the potential disadvantages of Roma in comparison to other victim groups. She argues that Roma were not treated on a par with Jewish or political victims since they had to fight harder, lacking a lobby, or fulfil extra criteria in order to receive help.

In 1953, Roma were not excluded from the Supplemental Compensation Law, yet they were not explicitly included either. Left in this legislative gap, decisions concerning their compensation were based on individual judgements of the respective bureaucrats dealing with their cases.

In cases where the justification of Nationalist Socialist imprisonment of Roma was their criminality or 'asociality', i.e. people who did not contribute to the Nazi ideology by begging, being unemployed, having illegitimate children or various partners, compensation claims were widely rejected with the argument that Roma had not been racially persecuted before the official Auschwitz Decree in 1943, in which Himmler ordered the deportation of all German Roma to Auschwitz. These legislative measures led to cases where a Rom who had been interned in Buchenwald from 1941 to 1945 would only get financial aid for the period between 1943 and 1945, although his situation did not change at all in January 1943.

The problems Roma faced concerning *Wiedergutmachung* were partly the result of official neglect and indifference. Although many Roma were actively making claims, it often needed the support of educated non-Roma for these claims to succeed. Roma needed to prove their 'worthiness' in order to 'deserve' their compensation, an idea that was reflected in the Compensation Law which stated that if a claimant had been imprisoned for over three years after the war, he or she would lose his or her right to *Wiedergutmachung* by losing his or her civil liberties.

A report from the Committee for Victims of Facism (*Ausschuss für Opfer des Faschismus*) clearly points out the bias against the ones who had been labelled 'asocials' during the Third Reich. In fact, the three victim categories created by the committee came very close to the categorisations that were employed by the SS (*Schutzstaffel*) in the concentration camps ('political', 'racial', 'criminal' and 'asocial'). The first group being the 'Political Prisoners of Conscience', the second group 'Political Prisoners in the wider sense' (radio listeners, saboteurs etc.) and the last group, usually including Roma, 'Criminals and Asocials'. Whilst the first group

received a monthly payment of 200 and 100 Reichsmark respectively plus clothing and furniture, the third group received 'Clothing and support towards the normalisation of life together with the fastest possible integration to life'. This statement of the general Lower Saxonian Law for Compensation demonstrates a belief that Roma needed to be reintegrated into 'normal' life in order to prevent a 'fallback' to 'asocial' behaviour.

Yet, it was not only state actors who were biased against Roma. On another level of the compensation machinery, the Main Committee of Former Political Prisoners (*Hauptausschuss ehemaliger politischer Häftlinge*) in Lower Saxony stated as one of the reasons why the committee was created to prevent criminals and 'asocials' from gaining influence. Further, criminals were not entitled to get assistance from the committee. After all a recognition of their status as victims by the Concentration Camp Committee (*KZ Ausschuss*) could be decisive regarding whether a victim would receive financial compensation or not. Taking this into account, the compensation process does not only show how the West German administration, officials legal apparatus and persecution committees handled and defined National Socialist injustice but also that the National Socialist persecution methods had an impact on how Roma victims were perceived after the war.

In fact, the author argues, that '1945 was not a 'year zero' (*Stunde Null*) for Roma as attitudes towards Roma remained unchanged. The characteristics which came to be subsumed under the term 'asocial' had been ascribed to Roma for centuries before the Third Reich, which was why the Nationalist Socialist categorisation of them remained unchallenged, both before and after the war' (p. 80) since barely anybody was questioning whether ascribing qualities such as 'asocial' to entire groups was a racial categorisation in itself. The disclosure of injustices and pejorative attitudes against Roma, which had been accepted and allowed to continue, reveals the circumstances that made the post-war lives of Roma and their compensation processes more difficult for this particular survivor group.

In chapter four to six the author distinguishes between the problems exclusive to Roma while they claimed compensation.

Generally, the cases that Von dem Knesebeck lists are an evidence that Roma claimants often failed compensation not because they did not qualify for compensation but because of bureaucratic procedures, for instances because sometimes they were not able to read or write or because their lawyers missed formal deadlines.

One of the main challenges for Roma described here are the issues connected to forced sterilisation.

In total, 400,000 people were sterilised under the Nationalist Socialist Hereditary Law. While the majority was sterilised during the first six years of the war, the sterilisation of Roma continued throughout the war. It took three decades for the West German state to admit that the sterilisation of Roma was part of the 'final solution', and that the Hereditary Health Law had been a typical Nationalist injustice. After the war the Americans did not want to judge this law because since the early twenty century they had academic and scientific cooperations with Germany in the field of eugenics. In fact a great number of US states had sterilisation programmes implemented (up until 1956). On the basis of the fact that other democratic countries such as Sweden and the USA had sterilisation programmes well established in their own states, sterilisation was, by a large amount of German authorities, not regarded as a National Socialist injustice according to the 1st paragraph of the Federal Compensation Law, in fact the sterilisation of 'asocials' and so called psychopaths was regarded as legal. Although these were examples, especially from the post-war period, where officials acknowledged the forced sterilisation as a racial measure, the majority of compensation cases was rejected with the ongoing argument of Roma's 'mental defects', 'feeble-mindedness' or 'morally feeble-mindedness', some arguing with an illegitimate relative status in cases where Roma were claiming compensation for their relatives.

What differentiated Roma from other Nationalist Socialist injustice victim groups was that their forced sterilisation was not based on a Hereditary Health Law, the 'legal ground' for sterilising people who were perceived by the Nazi regime as 'an immediate danger to German society'. Yet Roma were presented with either giving consent to sterilisation or being sent to concentration camps. Because written documents of the forced sterilisation of Roma did not exist, in the majority of the cases, the unlawfulness was tremendously difficult to prove. Now, in order to receive compensation for damage done to body and health, even if the Hereditary Health Court decision was successfully annulled, the victims still had to prove that the sterilisation led to severe physical health damage resulting in at least 25 percent reduction in earning capacity— 'a strange application of labour market economics regarding an attack on fertility' (224). Yet, 'the psychological damages of sterilisation was not regarded as having a significant effect on the victim's earning capacity' (137). The health was regarded as intact if the organs of the body were functioning. Basically, in the first fifteen years after the war, no medical opinion acknowledged the type of suffering, what was later to become known as 'post-traumatic stress disorder'. Psychological problems were either viewed as 'normal' by the medics lacking psychological concepts or the survivors did not mention them since they were either

not realising them, lacking language or concepts. In fact psychological problems did often not manifest until many years after the end of the persecution. Additionally, the fact of having been robbed of one's fertility and thereby destroying the community and the family structure, hence destroying the chance to pass on values and traditions, was not compensated either. Instead, many victims who could have suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder were described as 'compensation neurotics'. Generally, the process for compensation on health was long enduring, even if the claimants were, in the long run, successful, relieving their persecution over and over again by reciting their stories and going through countless medical examinations. Out of the 7 700 claimants that were able and willing to do so, 6 450 received positive response to their claim.

Chapter seven investigates a sample of Roma restitution files. The academic literature on compensation of Roma tends to single out restitution on the assumption of the Roma not having many possessions. Interestingly, the same opinion was expressed by several state officials involved in the restitution claims. Yet the files examined by Von dem Knesebeck proved this point of view as wrong, disclosing restitution claims of Roma for possessions such as caravans, musical instruments, jewellery and hereby challenging the common stereotype that all Roma were poor vagrants. However in contrast to the compensation claims the restitution claims were much more straightforward, since expropriation could be clearly linked to the moment of racial persecution, that had been accepted from 1943 onwards.

Interestingly, Roma only came to be recognised as being persecuted because they managed to be successful in enforcing their compensation claims. Thus, it required the compensation process, the efforts of the individual Roma (and of their respective Gadge supporters) and later the efforts of Roma organisation such as the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma in order to 'create' a group of victims as persecuted Roma. One of the practical legal gains of this fight was a revision of the idea that Nationalist Socialist crimes had to have been based on a written order. Instead it was acknowledged that racial persecution could be the consequence of general directives from the center implemented by often locally based groups such as the racial scientists and police forces. Yet, ironically, 'because of the way in which the fight for compensation developed, the National Socialist treatment of Roma came to be not only regarded as a racial persecution, but as the persecution of a race, which appears to have turned 'being Roma' from a social and cultural to a racial identity' (p. 222). In a way, the author argues, the recognition of Roma as victims

of racial persecution can be perceived as an admission of them not being identified as German. In the end, the post-war processes did reinforce the racial categorisations created by the Nationalist Socialists at the expenses of the social perception of Roma. Also because 'being identified as a distinct ethnic minority ended up being the path towards recognition and compensation' (p. 239). Thus, while officially being in need to argue in favour of being a different ethnic group in the German post war compensation process, simultaneously, the 'ethnic characteristics' are pretexts for ongoing discriminations of Roma by attaching a different status to them as opposed to the rest majority society.

One of the great merits of the book is to show that from the beginning supporters and victims themselves argued that their persecution was racially motivated exactly because of the link the Nationalist Socialist made between 'asocial' traits and the 'racial character' of Roma. Thus, despite the applied stereotypes during the compensation process, 'the failure to recognise the nature of persecution was not inevitable' (p. 221).

Von dem Knesebeck's study clearly invites to expand and deepen the studies of Roma's (Nationalist Socialist) persecution, to help us understanding not only the consequences that lead to (state and/or majority oriented) persecutions of minorities but also to detect their institutionalised structure.

This article will be published in a shortened version @ <http://romanis.eu/>

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## 4 Meldungen

### Konferenzen und Veranstaltungen

Internationales Symposium: Was heißt denn hier Zigeuner? Bild und Selbstbildnis von Europas größter Minderheit.

Datum: 10./11.11.2011

Ort: Berlin

Infos: <http://www.allianz-kulturstiftung.de/roma-symposium/index.html>

### Neuerscheinungen

Bogdal, Klaus-Michael (2011): Europa erfindet die Zigeuner. Suhrkamp.

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