

PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION, DILEMMAS OF INCLUSION ROMA POLITICS AND POLICIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

With the support of the
Curriculum Development Competition, Central European University

Semester: Spring 2008/2009

Tutor: Márton Rövid (rovid_marton@phd.ceu.hu)

Office hours: By appointment

Place: TBA

Time: TBA

Credits: TBA

Course description

The aim of this course is to introduce students to various forms of social exclusion Roma face in the 21st century, and the dilemmas policy-makers, NGOs and activists encounter when promoting the inclusion of Roma.

The course is composed of four parts. First, the debates on '*Who are the Roma?*' are discussed. Shall the 'Roma' be seen as a non-territorial nation, the biggest European minority or as a label referring to diverse ethnic groups or a socio-ethnic class? Theoretical questions of labelling, group-making and self-determination are examined in view of the case of Roma.

The second part discusses the various patterns of exclusion Roma face (in the fields of education, labour market and residence). Debates on the relation between recognition and redistribution, as well as ethnicity and poverty are studied. Furthermore, the applicability of the analytical category of 'underclass' to case of Roma is examined.

The third part of the course analyses the role of various actors and the dilemmas they face when promoting the inclusion of Roma. The foremost theories of multiculturalism and the main forms of political autonomy are discussed. Particular attention is paid to the role of NGOs (International Romani Union, European Roma Rights Centre, etc.) and international organizations (United Nations, European Union, Council of Europe, etc) in the codification, spread and acceptance of norms in relation to Roma.

The fourth part of the course is devoted to case of Hungarian Roma. Specific dynamics of exclusion and the possibilities and limitations of particular policies are discussed.

The course is organized as a series of seminars. The theme of each class is to be discussed after a short presentation of the required texts by a student. All the mandatory readings are available in readers and online at <http://romapolicycourse.wordpress.com>

As the language of instruction is English, students who wish to enrol in this seminar must have a solid command of English language. All the readings and assignments are in English.

Handicapped students should inform the tutor so that we can make appropriate arrangements.

Learning outcomes:

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- understand key concepts and theories in the fields of social exclusion and self-determination
- analyse international, European and national policy-making processes
- critically reflect upon academic and policy papers on Roma
- present coherent arguments in both oral and written forms in English

Assessment

Each student will be assessed through a combination of seminar contribution, oral presentation and written works.

In terms of written work, each student is expected to write three short position papers (500 – 750 words). A position paper is a critical examination of a text. It contains the summary of selected author's position, as well as critical reflections. Each position paper gives 10% of the final grade.

In addition, students are required to summarise two different texts in the form of class presentations and raise some key questions for class discussion. Each presenter is required to prepare a handout and/or PowerPoint presentation. One of the oral presentations can be on the same text as the position paper. Each presentation gives 10% of the final grade.

Students are required to read all mandatory texts prior to the classes, and actively contribute to class discussions. Participation gives 20% of the final grade.

Finally, students are required to write a research paper of up to 2000 words length on a topic related to the course and the title to be agreed by the lecturers. The paper should follow the genre of academic essay with appropriate references and a bibliography. Please include the word count on the title page. All written contributions should be produced exclusively by the student; any text reproduction which is not clearly identified and attributed will have to be considered as plagiarism. The deadline for handing in the essay will be determined at the first seminar. Please note that late papers submitted after the deadline will be marked down by half a letter grade per day. The final essay gives 30% of the final grade.

Course outline

Seminar 1. Introduction

PART I: WHO ARE THE ROMA?

Seminar 2. Who are the 'Roma'?

Required readings:

Brubaker, Rogers. 2002. Ethnicity without Groups. *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* XLIII (2):163-189.

Guy y Blasco, Paloma. 2002. Gypsy/Roma Diasporas: Introducing a Comparative Perspective. *Social Anthropology* 10 (2), 178-188.

Hancock, Ian. 1997. The Struggle for the Control of Identity. *Transitions*, 1-7.

Optional readings:

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

Marushiakova, Elena and Vesselin Popov (2001). "Historical and ethnographic background: Gypsies, Roma and Sinti." In Guy, Will. ed. *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 33-53.

Matras, Yaron. 2003. The role of language in mystifying and de-mystifying Gypsy identity. In *The role of the Romanies*, edited by N. Saul and S. Tebbut. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Mayall, David. 2004. Gypsy Identities 1500-2000. *From Egipcians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*. London, New York: Routledge.

Stewart, Michael. 1998. *The Time of Gypsies*: Westview.

Szelényi, Iván, and János Ladányi. 2001. The Social Construction of Roma Ethnicity in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary During Market Transition. *Review of Sociology* 7 (2).

Seminar 3. Roma and the question of self-determination

Required readings:

Acton, Thomas, and Nicolae Gheorghe. 2001. Citizens of the world and nowhere: Minority, ethnic and human rights for Roma. In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by W. Guy. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, pp. 54-70.

Kovats, Martin. 2004. *The politics of Roma identity: between nationalism and destitution*, www.opendemocracy.net

Mayall, David. 2004. "Constructing the ethnic Gypsy" in: *Gypsy Identities 1500-2000. From Egipcians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 219-251.

Optional readings:

Gheorghe, Nicolae. 1997. The social construction of Romani identity. In *Gypsy politics and Traveller identity*, edited by T. Acton: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Matras, Yaron. 1998. The development of the Romani civil rights movement in Germany 1945-1996. In *Sinti and Roma in German-speaking society and literature*, edited by S. Tebbut: Berghahn.

Marushiakova, Elena, and Vesselin Popov. 2004. The Roma - a Nation without a State? Historical Background and Contemporary Tendencies. *Mitteilungen des SFB "Differenz und Integration" 6: Segmentation und Complimentarität. Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte* 14.

Project on Ethnic Relations. 2003. Roma and the Question of Self-Determination: Fiction and Reality.

PART II. PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION

Seminar 4. Struggles for recognition and redistribution

Required readings:

Fraser, Nancy. 2003. Rethinking recognition: overcoming displacement and reification in cultural politics. In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*, edited by B. Hobson: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-35.

Szalai, Júlia. 2003. Conflicting struggles for recognition: clashing interests of gender and ethnicity in contemporary Hungary. In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*, edited by B. Hobson: Cambridge University Press, pp. 188-214.

Optional readings:

Fraser, Nancy, and Axel Honneth. 2003. *Redistribution or recognition? : a political-philosophical exchange*. New York: Verso.

Goodwin, Morag. 2004. The Romani claim to non-territorial nation status: recognition from an international legal perspective. *Roma rights* (1).

Honneth, Axel. 1995. *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Seminar 5. Do Roma form an underclass?

Required reading:

Szelényi, Iván, and János Ladányi. 2006. "Theories of the Underclass – Comparative and Historical Perspectives", *Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 5-37.

Stewart, Michael. 2002. Deprivation, the Roma and 'the Underclass'. In *Post-socialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, edited by C. M. Hann. London: Routledge, pp. 133-155.

Optional readings

Emigh, Jean Rebecca, Eva Fodor, and Iván Szelényi. 2000. The Racialization and Feminization of Poverty? In *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition* edited by J. R. Emigh and I. Szelényi: Greenwood, pp. 1-32.

Stewart, Michael. 2000. Spectres of Underclass. In *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, edited by J. R. Emigh and I. Szelényi: Greenwood, pp. 191-204.

Seminar 6. Ethnicity and poverty

Required readings :

Szelényi, Iván, and János Ladányi. 2006. "A Cross-National Comparative Study of Ethnicity and Poverty", *Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 123-185.

Optional readings:

Julia Szalai. 1997. "Power and Poverty: Socialist Second Economy and Self-Protection Against Poverty in Hungary", *Social Research*, Vol 64.

Ringold, Dena, Mitchell A. Orenstein and Erika Wilken. 2003. *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*, World Bank.

PART III. DILEMMAS OF INCLUSION

Seminar 7: Understanding multiculturalism

Required reading:

Kymlicka, Will. 2007. "The Forms of Liberal Multiculturalism" and "The Origins of Liberal Multiculturalism" in: *Multicultural odysseys: navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 61-134.

Optional readings:

Habermas, Jürgen. 1994. Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State. In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by A. Gutman: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, Charles. 1992. The Politics of Recognition. In *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seminar 8. Options of autonomy

Required reading:

Brunner, Georg, and Herbert Küpper. 2002. European Options of Autonomy: A Typology of Autonomy Models of Minority Self-Governance. In *Minority Governance in Europe*, edited by K. Gál. Budapest: Open Society Institute, pp. 11-36.

Optional readings:

Bauböck, Rainer. 2005. Political Autonomy or Cultural Minority Rights? A conceptual Critique of Renner's Model. In *National Cultural Autonomy and its Contemporary Critics*, edited by E. Nimni: Routledge.

Kymlicka, Will. 2007. National Cultural Autonomy and International Minority Rights Norms. *Ethnopolitics* 6 (3):379 - 393.

Nimni, Ephraim, ed. 2005. *National cultural autonomy and its contemporary critics*, Routledge innovations in political theory ; 16. London ; New York: Routledge.

Roach, Steven C. 2005. *Cultural autonomy, minority rights, and globalization*. Aldershot ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Seminar 9. Political participation

Required reading:

Bárány, Zoltán. 2002. „Romani mobilization” in *The East European Gypsies : Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 202-240.

Klimova, Ilona. 2002. Romani political representation in Central Europe. An historical survey. *Romani Studies* 12 (5), pp 101-131.

Optional readings:

Meyer, Lukas H. 2001. Transnational Autonomy: Responding to Historical Injustice in the Case of the Saami and Roma Peoples. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 8 (2-3).

Sobotka, Eva. 2007. Human rights and Roma policy formulation in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. In *The Roma. A Minority in Europe*, edited by R. Stauber and R. Vago: Central European University Press.

Tamás, Pál. 2007. Central European Roma Policy: National Minority Elites, National States and the EU. In *The Roma. A Minority in Europe*, edited by R. Stauber and R. Vago: Central European University Press.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2006. "Ethnic Politics from Below" in: *The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books.

Seminar 10. The role of transnational advocacy networks

Required reading:

Risse, Thomas – Sikkink Kathryn: The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practices: introduction” in Thomas – ROPP, Stephen C. – SIKKINK, Kathryn (eds.): *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 1-39.

Optional readings:

Acton, Thomas, and Iona Klimova-Alexander. 2001. The International Romani Union. An East-European Answer to West European Questions? In *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by W. Guy. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Trehan, Nidhi. 2001. In the name of the Roma? The role of private foundations and NGOs. In *Between past and future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by W. Guy: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2001. Advocacy Networks and Romani Politics in Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*.

Seminar 11. International organizations

Required reading:

Bárány, Zoltán. 2002. „The International Dimension: Migration and Institutions” in *The East European Gypsies : Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 241-280.

Optional readings:

Kymlicka, Will. 2007. *Multicultural odysseys: navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Klimova-Alexander, Iona. 2005. *The Romani Voice in World Politics*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kovats, Martin. 2001. *Opportunities and Challenges EU. Enlargement and the Roma/Gypsy diaspora*

Kovats, Martin. 2001. The emergence of European Roma policy. In *Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by W. Guy: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Kovats, Martin. 2001. Problems of Intellectual and Political Accountability in Respect of Emerging European Roma Policy (Commentary). *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*.

Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 2007. ”Roma/Gypsy organizations” and ”International Institutions” in: *Roma in Europe*: Council of Europe, pp 207-262.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2006. ”International Responses”, in : *The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books.

PART IV. THE CASE OF HUNGARY

Seminar 12. The social exclusion of Roma in Hungary

Required reading:

Szuhay, Péter. 2005. The Self-definitions of Roma ethnic groups and their perceptions of other Roma groups. In *Roma of Hungary*, edited by I. Kemény. Boulder: Atlantic Research and Publications, pp 226-237.

Ladányi, János. 2000. The Hungarian Neoliberal State, Ethnic Classification, and the Creation of a Roma Underclass. In *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, edited by J. R. Emigh and I. Szelényi: Greenwood, pp. 67-82.

Csepeli, György, Antal Örkény, and Mária Székelyi. 2001. The coexistence strategies of the Roma and the non-Roma population in Hungary.

Optional readings:

Csepeli, György, Antal Örkény, and Mária Székelyi. 2003. Ambitious education. The role of family, school and friends in the development of successful Romany life courses. *Romani Studies* 13 (1).

Kemény, István, 2005. "History of Roma in Hungary" and "Roma Population of Hungary 1971-2003", in: *Roma of Hungary*. Boulder: Atlantic Research and Publications.

Seminar 13. Hungarian Roma politics and policies

Required readings:

Kállai, Ernő. 2002. The Hungarian Roma Population During the Last Half-Century. In *The Gypsies/ the Roma in Hungarian Society*, edited by E. Kállai. Budapest: Teleki László Foundation, pp. 35-50.

Kovats, Martin. 2001. Hungary: politics, difference and equality. In *Between past and future*, edited by W. Guy: University of Hertfordshire Press, pp. 333-350.

Optional readings:

Bárány, Zoltán. 2002. „State Institutions and Policies toward the Gypsies” in *The East European Gypsies : Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burton, Andrew. 2007. Minority Self-governance: Minority Representation in Flux for the Hungarian Roma. *Ethnopolitics* 6 (1):67 - 88.

Dobos, Balazs. 2007. The Development and Functioning of Cultural Autonomy in Hungary. *Ethnopolitics* 6 (3):451 - 469.

Kovats, Martin. 2001. The Political Significance of the first National Gypsy Minority Self-Government. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* (1).

Koulish, Robert. 2005. Hungarian Roma Attitudes on Minority Rights: The Symbolic Violence of Ethnic Identification. *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 (2):311-326.

Stewart, Michael. 2001. Communist Roma policy 1945-1989 as seen through the Hungarian case. In *Between past and future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by W. Guy: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Seminar 14. Conclusion