

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

draft syllabus

*Trimester:*

Fall 2023/2024

*Instructor:*

Dr. Márton Rövid ([rovidm@ceu.edu](mailto:rovidm@ceu.edu))

*Office hours:*

By appointment

*Place:*

Vienna Campus, room to be specified

*Time:*

Thursdays 17.40-19.20

*Credits:*

2

## **Course description**

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

The course is composed of three 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 participation, equality, and 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 and international organizations in the codification, spread and acceptance of norms in relation to Roma. The challenges and shortcomings of Roma inclusion policies and National Roma Integration Strategies are discussed in depth. The course ends by reflecting on how to tackle enduring form of injustice.

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 online.

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.

1. **Active participation:** 15% of the final grade. Students are required to participate in all Week, read all mandatory texts prior to the classes, and actively contribute to class discussions. Students shall inform the tutor in advance if they cannot come to a Week. Please arrive to every class on time.
2. **Class presentations:** 30 % of the final grade. Each student presents three mandatory texts by summarizing the main arguments of the author and raising 2-3 questions for class discussion. Each presenter may prepare a handout and/or PowerPoint/Prezi presentation. The texts are assigned at the first class.
3. **Research proposal:** 15% of the final grade. As a preparation for the final research paper, students are required to submit a midterm research proposal. The topic of the proposal should relate to the class and be approved by the instructors. The proposal should include a brief description of the topic, research questions, overview of methodology, and a preliminary literature review. It should 600-900-words long. Possible deadline: 14 November
4. **Research paper:** 40% of the final grade. Students write a research paper of up to 2000 words length on a topic related to the course that is approved by the instructor. The paper should follow the genre of academic essay with appropriate references and a bibliography. The paper shall refer to at least two articles, arguments, debates covered in the course – in addition to the literature relevant for the selected topic. 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. Please note that late papers submitted after the deadline will be marked down by half a letter grade per day. Possible deadline: 17 December

## Course outline

### Seminar 1. Introduction (21 September)

#### PART I: WHO ARE THE ROMA?

### Seminar 2. Who are the 'Roma'? (28 September)

#### Required readings:

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

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

#### Optional readings:

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

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.

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 (5 October)

#### 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.

#### Optional readings:

Kovats, Martin – Law, Ian. 2018. "Roma Identity and Diversity" in *Rethinking Roma. Identities, Politicisation and New Agendas*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21-64.

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

Kóczé, Angéla - Trehan, Nidhi, and. "Racism, (neo-)colonialism and Social Justice: The Struggle for the Soul of the Romani Movement in Post-socialist Europe." In *Racism Postcolonialism Europe*, edited by Huggan Graham and Law Ian, 50-74. Liverpool University Press, 2009, pp 50-74.

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. 248-282.

#### PART II. PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION

### Seminar 4. Struggles for recognition and redistribution (12 October)

#### 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.

#### Optional readings:

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.

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: Research day (19 October)**

#### **Seminar 6. Do Roma form an underclass? (2 November)**

##### *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 7. Ethnicity, race, poverty (9 November)**

##### *Required readings :*

van Baar, Huub (2018) Contained mobility and the racialization of poverty in Europe: the Roma at the development–security nexus, *Social Identities*, 24:4, 442-458.

##### *Optional readings:*

Szalai, Júlia – Zentai, Violetta (eds.) 2014. *Faces and Causes of Roma Marginalization in Local Contexts*, Center for Policy Studies, Central European University.

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.

### **PART III. DILEMMAS OF INCLUSION**

#### **Seminar 8: Understanding multiculturalism (16 November)**

##### *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 9. Options of autonomy (23 November)**

##### *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:*

O'Nions, Helen. 2007. "Extending Collective Rights: The Roma Nation, Self-Determination and Minority Autonomy" in: *Minority Rights Protection in International Law. The Roma of Europe*, Ashgate Publishing

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.

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 10. The role of transnational networks and international organizations (30 November)**

##### *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.

Rövid, Márton, and Angéla Kóczé. "Pro-Roma global civil society: acting for, with or instead of Roma?" In *Global Civil Society 2012: Ten Years of Critical Reflection*, edited by M. Kaldor, H. L. Moore and S. Selchow. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

##### *Optional readings:*

Acton, Thomas, and Iлона 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.

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.

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

#### **Seminar 11. Roma inclusion policies and National Roma Integration Strategies (7 December)**

##### *Required reading:*

Maeso, Silvia Rodríguez. 2015. "'Civilising' the Roma? The depoliticisation of (anti-)racism within the politics of integration", *Identities*, 22:1, pp. 53-70.

##### *Optional readings:*

Ryder, Andrew and Taba, Marius. 2018. "Roma and a Social Europe: the role of redistribution, intervention and emancipatory politics." *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 26(1): 59-75.

Fényes, Csaba. 2019. Timeo Danaos. Blaming the Victims in Roma Inclusion Policies, *Critical Romani Studies*, 2(1), 4-23

Rostas, Iulius. 2019. "Policy-making, Policy Models, and the Roma", in: *A Task for Sisyphus: Why Europe's Roma Policies Fail*, Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, pp. 49-96.

Vermeersch, Peter. 2017. "How Does the EU Matter for the Roma?", *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 219-227.