


Introduction

Roma are always the last to count, but we won first prize. We would not settle for second or third place.

—Maria, Roma dancer, interview with the author, 2009

I've worked hard. When you look at me, you can see that I've succeeded through my voice, not my looks.

—Viorica, Roma singer, Romanian reality TV show *Clejanii*, December 2012

Moderator: Why is there tension between Roma and Romanians?

Roma activist: First of all, you should not use these terms; you should speak of Roma and non-Roma, as all Roma [in Romania] are Romanian citizens.

—Talk show on Romanian national TV channel Realitatea, December 2007

According to Maria, dance was the only avenue of success available to her as a Romni.¹ High rents and unemployment had driven Maria and her family to Pod,² a settlement where people squatted in improvised lodgings and collected recyclables from a nearby refuse site. Living in difficult conditions, without infrastructure or medical facilities and far away from schools, Roma in Pod could be mistaken for refugees in a camp, even though they were citizens of Romania. Local media looked down on Roma from Pod and often described them as poor, dirty and lazy. A far cry from such stereotypes, thirty-five-year-old

Maria – always impeccably dressed in modern clothing – lived with her family in a wooden house, one of several wooden and brick houses that some residents had managed to build in Pod with the money they made from scavenging on the refuse site. She had been a member of a Roma dance group that was formed and active during the first post-socialist decade; she showed me her dance costumes, which included long, colourful skirts, scarves decorated with coins, and high-heeled shoes. Sitting in her spotlessly clean living room, Maria, dressed in jeans and a T-shirt, proudly reminisced about her dance group's success in competitions: 'When they heard that we were coming, they were surprised, and the last ones to come ended up winning first prize. Roma are always the last to count, but we won first prize. We would not settle for second or third place.' She told me that even though sometimes they were looked at with suspicion because they were Roma, their performances always earned them praise.

At the opposite end of the social spectrum, Viorica, a famous Roma singer from the band *Taraful din Clejani*, explains that her successful musical career is the result of hard work, not looks. With her musician partner and two children, Viorica featured on *Clejanii*, a reality show on Romanian television portraying their daily life. The quotation in the epigraph is from the third episode, in which she and her daughter Margherita pay a visit to a designer. When the designer offers Margherita a modelling job (a way for the designer to gain publicity through the reality show) and asks her to lose a little weight for the purpose, Viorica – blonde, slightly overweight and in her late thirties – tells her daughter: 'Yes, make sure you do not end up like me. Once you've gained weight, it's hard to lose it.' Then she turns to the camera: 'Thank God I did not make my living that way. I succeeded through hard work, through my voice.' Viorica expresses her relief at being successful because of her musical abilities when most female artists in Romania are evaluated for their image and appeal as sex objects. She is one of very few female Roma musicians to have enjoyed success in a field where Roma men reign. And yet, despite their success and prosperity, famous Roma musicians such as Viorica are not considered part of the nation in Romania; indeed the reality show trod a fine line between admiration and mockery of Viorica and her family.

The final quotation in the epigraph is from a discussion between a non-Roma moderator and a Roma activist during a 2007 talk show on Romanian national television. The moderator refused to refer to Roma as Romanian citizens, even though most Roma in Romania have Romanian citizenship. Two Roma activists – a man and a woman – were the only Roma on this talk show, which focused on the question 'why is there tension between Roma and Romanians?' and featured five other guests. The moderator, a non-Roma woman, did not seem to understand why the activists were insisting that Roma were Romanian citizens, and she proceeded to call them 'Țigani' even after the activists had told her that the term was not acceptable and she should use 'Roma' instead.

These three examples illustrate what this book defines as the citizenship gap for Roma: the distance between legal citizenship, which most Roma hold, and actual citizenship,³ which the majority of them cannot access fully. Actual citizenship is the ability to take advantage of the citizenship rights that have been gained through legal citizenship but which, if ‘understood as private “liberties” or “choices”, are meaningless, especially for the poorest and most disenfranchised, without enabling conditions through which they can be realized’ (Yuval-Davis 1997b, 18). Actual citizenship encompasses both cultural citizenship, ‘the right to belong while being different’ (Rosaldo 1994, 402) – with material and symbolic consequences – and basic citizenship rights such as the right to medical facilities, running water and so on.⁴ In this book I argue that all Roma experience a citizenship gap to different degrees, depending on class, gender, occupation, age, geographical location and so on, despite the visibility of Roma post-1989 as performers or as victims of poverty and discrimination, in Romania and beyond. Even though they were recognized as an ethnic minority in 1991, Roma in Romania continue to be seen as foreigners, while most Roma see themselves as both Roma and Romanian. Viorica and the Roma activists discussed above experienced the citizenship gap in terms of cultural citizenship and belonging; in addition to the deficit in cultural citizenship, Maria and numerous other Roma, in Pod and elsewhere in Romania, who live in poverty and face eviction and discrimination on a daily basis, also lack basic citizenship rights, despite new measures officially designed to improve their situation. I argue that all Roma face a cultural citizenship gap in post-socialist Romania, and many Roma also experience a complete citizenship gap with regard to both cultural belonging and basic citizenship rights.

Indeed, this book shows that Roma are denied cultural citizenship not only in Romania, but also in most other European countries; and, at the same time, many of them suffer discrimination and abuses of their basic rights. I argue that policies and social programmes for Roma need to be linked to interventions in the official and symbolic definitions of citizenship, which are not captured by a focus on legal citizenship or poverty alone. This book intervenes in current debates on Roma and citizenship in Europe (see Sigona and Trehan 2009; van Baar 2011; Sigona 2015; Hepworth 2015) by introducing (the lack of) cultural citizenship as a key concept for understanding the lack of access to citizenship for Roma.

Numerous reports by international NGOs have brought to global attention the discrimination and abuses Roma suffer across East Central Europe. From Albania to the former Yugoslavia and Ukraine, many Roma lack access to public services, experience violence and are denied basic human rights.⁵ Even though minority rights for Roma were high on the agenda of Eastern European countries’ EU accession negotiations, which have seen thirteen additional states join the EU over the last ten years, the situation of many Roma in these countries has

not changed significantly. Furthermore, police violence against Roma in Western Europe, including the fingerprinting of Roma in Italy in 2008 and the expulsions of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma from France from 2010 onwards,⁶ have brought to light the struggles of Roma across Europe. Both the forced eviction of numerous Roma to places like Pod, inside Romania, and the expulsions and police violence targeting Roma in France, Italy and elsewhere in Europe, can be regarded as state-sponsored attacks on Roma, who are not treated as equal citizens by their governments. Hepworth (2015) discusses Romanian Roma living in camps in Italy who were deported to Romania, despite their legal status, as ‘abject citizens’ in the EU. Sigona (2015) coins the phrase ‘campzanship’ for the status of refugee and migrant Roma in Italy, while van Baar (2017) proposes the concept of evictability to underline the internal biopolitical border within Europe. At the same time that Romanian Roma, who were EU citizens, were being expelled from Western Europe, impoverished Roma in Pod were literally and metaphorically being pushed to the margins of Romanian society through evictions, poverty and joblessness. I show how the precarious status of migrant Roma in the EU is predicated on the citizenship gap they experience in their countries. In Romania these expulsions failed to cause widespread outrage, as most non-Roma did not identify with those who were being expelled; media coverage condemned the migrants rather than the expulsions, reinforcing the citizenship gap for Roma. Furthermore, the Romanian government collaborated with its French counterpart in the repatriation process. There was widespread frustration in Romania at perceived anti-Romanian sentiments in France in the aftermath of the expulsions, and members of Romanian parliament proposed to replace the name of the ethnicity ‘Roma’ with ‘Țigani’, supposedly to avoid further conflation between Roma and Romanians – as if Romanian Roma were not Romanian citizens. Such instances reveal the lived reality of the citizenship gap for Roma on the one hand, and the symbolic and actual reinforcement of this gap by many non-Roma, including politicians and state employees, on the other.

Staging Citizenship shows that the citizenship gap for Roma has persisted because official recognition has not granted Roma the same status as other, ‘legitimate’ minorities in Romania. I argue that the Romanian state has not changed its hegemonic definitions – which equate citizenship with ethnic Romanians and draw on ethnicity-based paradigms of citizenship, national culture and history – and has thus maintained the citizenship gap for Roma. In this book I use performance paradigms and examine how different Roma have negotiated and resisted the citizenship gap and claimed citizenship and belonging through music, dance, activism and everyday encounters. Drawing on more than a decade (2001–2012) of ethnographic research among Roma living in or touring cities in Romania and Western Europe, this study is the first to address at length the perspective of the urban and rural impoverished Roma who are part of the mass exodus to the margins of society, in places like Pod.⁷ This book

discusses ethnoculture in relation to political economy, gender and history. It engages with disenfranchised urban Roma – most of them with part-time careers as amateur dancers or musicians – in the squat settlement of Pod, Transylvania, and with Roma artists, intellectuals and activists; it also discusses concerts, fairs, cultural performances and activist training sessions. *Staging Citizenship* explores the proliferation of a wide range of Roma performances and representations, from live music to TV soaps and reality shows, and the rise of Roma activism in the post-socialist period, examining the citizenship gap that all these different Roma experience to different degrees.

Market expansion to the east, in the context of EU enlargement, and the corresponding import of civil society and democracy, including a focus on the Roma minority, have led to the recent ubiquity of Roma music and dance performances, both in the West and in Romania. The figure of the passionate Gypsy has become one of the latest sources of exoticism in the West. Marketed as timeless and exotic, Roma bands from Romania and other Balkan countries feature in international festivals; DJs play ‘Gypsy music’; Gypsy dress parties have spread, from London and Paris to New York and Houston. In Romania, Roma dance and music groups have proliferated, while new TV soaps about Roma (acted by non-Roma) and reality shows featuring famous Roma musicians (such as *Clejanii*, featuring Viorica) have become increasingly popular. However, the visibility of Roma music and dance performance has not translated into Roma being recognized as citizens, despite the fact that Roma express cultural citizenship through these media.

This book uses performance to theorize the racialization of Roma, which leads to their misrecognition in everyday life, onstage and in media representations. At the same time, I show how Roma claim a form of cultural citizenship through these media, which goes unrecognized in official and mainstream understandings of citizenship. The book traces how divergent or parallel definitions of ‘culture’ – from the Romanian state’s definition of national culture in exclusively ethnic terms, to the authenticity criteria promulgated in EU definitions of Roma culture, to the commodified versions of culture promoted in commercial media – constitute the grounds upon which Roma continue to be denied full citizenship, cultural and otherwise. The absence of Roma from Romanian theatre is one illustration of how Roma have been excluded from the institutionalized, state-supported version of national culture. If national theatre is a reflection of the nation as imagined by its cultural producers, playwrights and so on, Roma – who have been made invisible in theatre – have instead populated other performance spaces, especially music spaces, and have become symbols of the nation while being denied their own culture. Taking its cue from performance studies scholarship on citizenship (Joseph 1999; Shimakawa 2002; Nield 2006; Roxworthy 2008; Kim 2014), on Travellers (Wickstrom 2012), and on performance ethnography (Conquergood 2002; Madison 2005, 2011;

Johnson 2003) and work in Romani studies, anthropology, ethnomusicology and media studies (Lemon 2000; Beissinger 2007; Silverman 2007 2012; Imre 2009, Seeman forthcoming), this book uses performance to analyse Roma cultural production across the genres where Roma have become most visible: in music, dance and television in relation to the citizenship gap. I also analyse the representations of Roma in these media – which are usually commercial and controlled by non-Roma – in relation to the performative aspects of the racialization of Roma in everyday life.⁸ I situate these performances, in the wider structural constraints, both socio-economic and discursive/policy-related, and show how they confirm or challenge the citizenship gap. Performance, understood as “making, not faking”,⁹ in its multiplicity of occurrences—from everyday life to the stage and screen—represents a privileged lens into exploring the citizenship gap for Roma as a process, and it also brings into focus the limitations and radical potential of the new visibility of Roma artists and artefacts.

Through this book I argue that Roma in Romania are jettisoned as ‘not us’, a gesture that maintains the citizenship gap at the social and discursive levels for Roma, and the privilege of the majority through monoethnic paradigms of nation and citizenship. This jettisoning is also evident in the cultural representations and racialized hierarchies that assign low- and popular-culture roles to Roma artists and performers while maintaining their status as Other. I analyse the representations of Roma promoted through official state recognition and commercial media in relation to Romania’s dominant racial, gendered and cultural hierarchies framed by monoethnic nationalism.¹⁰ I present a diversity of Roma voices and performances, some of which have become more prominent, such as those of Roma activists, politicians and artists, while others have been overlooked, including the voices and performances of impoverished Roma, which I see as alternative performances of citizenship that resist dominant racial hierarchies and the citizenship gap for Roma.

In the rest of this introduction I provide a detailed description of the main threads of the book’s argument, followed by a brief overview of the history of the Roma in Romania and wider region, a discussion of the book’s methodology, and a chapter outline.

Performance and the Citizenship Gap

In this book I focus on performances by and about Roma – in the media, onstage, in schools and at international and local festivals – in relation to the citizenship gap and to symbolic and tacit understandings of who is included in the nation and the collective ‘we’. I show how these representations influence the perception and racialization of Roma among non-Roma, including in everyday encounters, cultural events, and social programmes organized by state institutions and NGOs. I examine the citizenship gap in the everyday lives of Pod residents, and the ways they resist that citizenship gap through dance and performance, which

I analyse as expressions of cultural citizenship. I draw out the tensions between the state's definitions and recognition of the Roma on the one hand, and Roma activists and NGOs who resist or inadvertently accept the citizenship gap on the other. I analyse: the newly successful Romanian television soaps *Gypsy Heart* (*Inimă de Țigan*), *The Queen* (*Regina*) and *State of Romania* (*State de România*), in which non-Roma actors play Roma characters; reality shows on Romanian television, such as *Clejanii*, which features famous Roma musicians; and music and dance performances, including *manele*, a controversial and extremely popular music genre played almost exclusively by Roma musicians in Romania. I also discuss internationally acclaimed Roma artists and young amateur performers in Pod, the very few television programmes by Roma in Romania (such as the weekly programme *Roma Caravan – Caravana Romilor*) and the presence of Roma activists on mainstream Romanian talk shows and television programmes.

This book analyses performances as expressions of belonging and cultural citizenship for Roma, transmitted across generations through what Diana Taylor (2003) calls the 'repertoire', and absent from institutionalized forms of culture in Romania. At the same time, the association between Roma and performance, especially music performance, has been a staple of perceptions and stereotypes of Roma (Okely 1983; Stewart 1997; Lemon 2000a; Silverman 2012). For centuries, Roma musicians in Russia and the countries of East Central Europe were considered mere vehicles of the genius of those nations, and as lacking a culture of their own. Roma were excluded from national culture and folklore in Romania, and Roma musicians' contribution was seen to be merely the transmission of Romanian folklore. The visibility of Roma as the exotic Other onstage and in works of literature and art by non-Roma was accompanied by constant monitoring and repression by the police and authorities across centuries.

The current visibility of Roma onstage and in the media relies upon the recycling of lucrative old stereotypes about Roma (see Silverman 2012; Imre 2009; Imre and Tremlett 2011) and, at the same time, I argue, it creates a Roma counterpublic. Like Trehan (2009), I see the Roma counterpublic as subaltern, following Nancy Fraser (1992)¹¹: the Roma counterpublic's existence is denied by the state's equation of citizenship to Romanian ethnicity. However, I focus here on the transformative potential of counterpublics, conveyed by Michael Warner's definition, as 'spaces of circulation in which it is hoped that the poesis of scene making will be transformative, not replicative merely' (Warner 2002, 88). Viewed in this way, Roma counterpublics, which resist the citizenship gap and challenge the hegemony of ethnic nationalism,¹² have the potential to include non-Roma and Roma alike. Through performances analysed in this book, Roma articulate belonging to Romania, imagining Romania as a pluralistic, diverse nation and proposing alternative views of citizenship that do not equate the nation with an ethnic group. While I identify these counterpublics as Roma, non-Roma may share the same views, just as the hegemonic public can

be both non-Roma and Roma. For example, in the reality show *Clejanii*, Viorica identifies herself as a hard-working woman who does not conform to commercially promoted standards of feminine beauty that objectify women. She appeals to a counterpublic who understand and appreciate the labour behind her successful musical performances as a Roma artist.

Another example of performance of citizenship addressing a Roma counterpublic is the August 2010 edition of the television programme *Roma Caravan*, dedicated to the expulsions of Roma from France. In this programme, Daniel Vasile, vice-president of the Roma Party for Europe, and George Răducanu, Roma activist, accused both French and Romanian governments of racism and criticized the treatment of Roma Romanian citizens as second-class citizens. They spoke to a Roma counterpublic and pointed out that the forceful expulsions and evictions of Roma in France and Romania, respectively, reflected the French and Romanian governments' similar attitudes towards Roma. This was one of the rare instances where unequivocal criticism of the expulsions was broadcast on Romanian television and media in general.

The Citizenship Gap in Pod: Basic Citizenship Rights and Cultural Citizenship

Pod, the settlement near the refuse site where I conducted ethnographic research with poor Roma, represents the materialization of the gap between legal and actual citizenship: the space, erased from official maps, where Roma with legal Romanian citizenship are de facto non-citizens and experience a complete failure of their citizenship rights. I see the spatial reality of the citizenship gap as a variation of Giorgio Agamben's (1998) camp. The camp, according to Agamben, is where refugees live as non-citizens, a place for *zoe* or 'bare life.' From the state's point of view, Pod has been reduced to a gap; however, my ethnographic research brings into focus the subjectivities of Pod's inhabitants – not unlike Sigona (2015), who uses the term 'campenization' to discuss the status of Roma living in camps in Italy (see also Sigona and Trehan 2009; Hepworth 2015).

This book shows how neoliberal economic policies – including large cuts in social security, the disappearance of low-skilled jobs and work opportunities for Roma, and evictions from formerly nationalized properties that were returned to their owners after 1989 – have disproportionately affected Roma. I discuss everyday experiences of the citizenship gap for Roma from Pod, such as the enrolment of Roma children in a school for children with learning disabilities, and mistreatment by the police; I also discuss how Roma in Pod have resisted the citizenship gap through dance performances and their own claims to belong in Romania. Pod and other similar places, contrary to media representations, are connected to Romanian society through a series of informal networks of relatives, acquaintances and new arrivals. Pod residents express these affective ties to Romania when they speak of 'our country, Romania', 'our politicians' and 'our language', the latter sometimes being Romani and sometimes Romanian. Their

views on belonging echo those expressed by prominent Roma activists, whose strategies in the media and cultural events aim to raise public awareness about Roma history and Roma contributions to culture and society.

Using ethnographic evidence from Pod and elsewhere, I show that Roma continue to be racialized on the basis of external markers, a process that perpetuates the citizenship gap for Roma.¹³ Throughout this book, I treat Roma as an ethnicity, as no immutable signs mark one as Țigan/Țigancă or Roma, despite widespread misconceptions that all Roma are dark skinned, for example.¹⁴ I also focus on racialization processes: while ‘race’ as a classificatory term is a social construction which masquerades as truth and uses biology to do so, it is an important term that captures the reality of racism, which Roma continue to experience. Through performative processes of gendered and classed racialization and misrecognition, Roma fail to access actual citizenship, either materially or symbolically. Roma who are unmarked may pass as the majority, their Roma ethnicity erased, while Roma values are appropriated by the ethnic nation;¹⁵ others fail to pass – for example, Roma in Pod are classified as abject Țigani, while Roma musicians and performers are seen as exotic Țigani. Paraphrasing Stuart Hall (1980), I argue that poor Roma in Romania experience their class as race and are racialized into Țigani.¹⁶ Some Roma are able to escape the racialization of poverty in some contexts but not in others (see Emigh and Szelényi 2000; Stewart 2002; Ladányi and Szelényi 2006).¹⁷ I show the limits of the relative fluidity in the racialization of Roma; and I argue that the markers of class can include an association with a specific location, such as Pod, in addition to external markers of low socioeconomic status, such as clothing and overall appearance or darker skin tone.

‘Roma Culture’ Clashes: The State, the EU and Roma NGOs

The Romanian government’s ten-year National Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (NSISR), 2001–2010, funded in large part by the EU,¹⁸ failed to acknowledge that Roma were first and foremost Romanian citizens.¹⁹ The NSISR was a public policy document focused on several guiding principles, including decentralization, consensus, equality and identity differentiation. It prioritized ten development directions: community development and public administration, housing, social security, healthcare, justice and public order, child protection, education, culture and religion, communication, and civic participation.²⁰ The official recognition of the Roma minority did not lead to legislative power for Roma, unlike for other ethnonational minorities in Romania. In 2010 there was one Roma politician from the Roma Party for Europe in the Romanian parliament, representing up to two million Roma²¹ in Romania, while a similarly sized Hungarian minority had twenty-two members of parliament in the Hungarians’ Democratic Union Party.²²

This citizenship gap has been maintained through the historical appropriation and erasure of Roma culture, which in Romania has resulted in the perception of the Roma as cultureless (a situation exacerbated by the former socialist regime's complete denial of Roma as an ethnocultural minority). Despite official recognition of Roma culture, in post-socialist Romania Roma are seen as both uncultured – individually and collectively – and lacking folklore (a proper tradition) or high culture.²³ On the one hand, the Romanian state recognizes Roma ethnoculture, but on the other it does not provide Roma with the kinds of ethnocultural institutions that support ethnic minorities of a similar size. For example, national minorities such as Hungarian and German Romanians enjoy state-sponsored ethnocultural institutions, including schools and theatres. There are no state-sponsored ethnocultural institutions for Roma in Romania, with the exception of the National Agency for Roma (the most recent iteration of the only government institution explicitly charged with coordinating public policies for Roma, which was founded in 2004) and the recently opened Museum of Roma Culture, an important and long-overdue institution.²⁴

I define Romania's state-sponsored multiculturalism as normative monoethnic performativity, which includes the cohabitation of separate, non-intersecting ethnocultures, as illustrated by the Hungarian minority's successful lobbying for an autonomous education system (see Vincze 2011). The dominant essentialist understandings of identity create a system of non-intersecting cultures and parallel worldviews modelled on monoethnic nationalism and favouring ethnocultures that are also nationalities, such as Hungarian or German; this system continues to appropriate and erase Roma culture, failing to treat Roma culture as equal to other ethnocultures. One becomes Romanian or Hungarian by attending monoethnically denominated Romanian or Hungarian schools and dance ensembles, whereas Roma children from Pod, for example, continue to be stigmatized, and many attend special schools for students with learning disabilities.

During post-socialism Roma culture has resurfaced as a paradigm for Roma ethnicity, but not through public cultural policies. Instead, Roma culture has become visible in commercial and NGO representations, and neoliberal approaches to culture have converged with nationalism and xenophobia in the commodification of identifiable Roma cultural aspects that do not challenge nationalist paradigms.²⁵ The official recognition of Roma culture has thus become a mechanism of exclusion based on authenticity criteria that pigeonhole Roma into stereotypical images.

Current policies for Roma have promoted narrow definitions of culture that exclude the most impoverished. Cultural and social programmes for and about Roma focus on what makes Roma stand out from the majority: traditional occupations such as tin making, spoon making and playing music. For example, the 2002 Roma Fair held outside the Museum of the Romanian Peasant, in Bucharest, featured Roma demonstrating a range of traditional occupations, few

of which are practised today. Such exotic images of Roma tradition and ahistorical cultural paradigms directly influence who is recognized as Roma under EU-guided neoliberal social policies. Official definitions of Roma communities, such as those used in EU programmes for social change among Roma, conceive of Roma in these terms, failing to take into account the current lives of most Roma, including the poorest. Poor Roma in Pod, for example, express and take pride in Roma culture, despite not fitting into officially sanctioned definitions of authentic Roma crafts, occupations or attire.

Social programmes sponsored by the EU and NGOs function as spaces of misrecognition for many poor Roma, and recycle Țigani stereotypes: Roma are recognized by the state as activists if they possess the high culture Roma are supposed to lack, and if they can fashion themselves into self-sustaining individuals showing self-reliance.²⁶ Paradoxically, even as they recycle underclass stereotypes, social programmes for Roma are training activists in ‘civility’.²⁷ The process of NGO training has turned activists into neoliberal subjects and cast some Roma, like those in Pod, as inauthentic. Obligated to operate within paradigms that equate Roma culture with tradition and authenticity, Roma activists are called upon by the state to demonstrate their own modernity by casting ‘authentic’ Roma as timeless and traditional and distinguishing them from the undeserving poor. In this way, poor Roma have been constructed as the abject Other, while exotic Roma have gained a new popularity that sits easily next to existing stereotypes.

In order to close the citizenship gap for Roma, monoethnic national paradigms, cultural policies and the official writing of national history need to be changed to include them. While I show that NGOs often contribute to maintaining the status quo of monoethnic performativity, the mushrooming of Roma NGOs – which Trehan defines as the ‘NGO-ization of Roma rights’ (2009, 56) – allows possibilities, albeit limited ones, for a critique and redefinition of citizenship. I use the term ‘NGO historiography’ for the alternative historical narratives that have foregrounded Roma, challenged ethnic-based definitions of Romanian citizenship and have been produced or disseminated through NGO events, institutions and initiatives. NGO historiography has to compete with the hegemony of the monoethnic nationalism promoted and supported by state institutions. It produces narratives that function as minor histories²⁸ (Stoler 2009) that challenge and cut across simplistic, victimized versions of the nation; national histories in the region have emphasized the negative effects of powerful empires and the annexation of national territories. I analyse the work of Roma activists under the constraints of neoliberalism and nationalism, and document their attempts to change hegemonic national paradigms to include Roma, regardless of class, gender or occupation, in definitions of citizenship and national history.

Roma in Romanian and European History: Stereotypes and Erasures

A nation-state since 1918, Romania has been home to numerous ethnic minorities. The appropriation and erasure of Roma culture has historical roots in definitions of the Romanian nation and in larger geopolitical realities; in the same way, today, the situation of the Roma in Romania can only be understood in relation to the wider EU context. While the Romanian nation has always been marginal in relation to the West, Roma within Romania, as a non-territorial, disenfranchised ethnic minority, have symbolically threatened national identities through abjection.²⁹ Romanian nationalism was modelled on Western Europe, and ‘the West’ continues to be an integral component of every discussion and definition of Romanian national identity. The Othering of Țigani – reflected in ongoing racism and the racialization of poverty in Romania – echoes Romania’s subaltern position in relation to Western Europe: the Romanian nation is ‘not quite European’ and is in danger of contagion, of becoming like its abject Other, the Țigani. At work here are nesting relationships of marginality, with the Romanian nation being marginal in relation to the West, and the Roma threatening national identity through abjection.³⁰

Today, non-Roma mainly learn about Roma through media representations, TV soaps and music, and all of these are for the most part controlled by non-Roma. Ian Hancock (1987), a prominent Roma scholar, points out that when other nations are portrayed as stereotypes, the school curriculum provides the necessary information to help students distinguish between fact and fiction. However, there is widespread amnesia about the past with regard to Roma, and very little information about Roma on mainstream school curricula, either in Romania or beyond. Artworks and fictional representations by non-Roma have for a long time been the only sources of information about Roma available to the public at large. Non-Roma works featuring stereotypical representations have created a whole field of signifiers similar to Orientalism, defined as stereotypical representations of Asia and the Middle East in the West (Said [1978] 1994; see Lemon 2000). These stereotypes continue to be quoted, recycled and perpetuated, to the extent that Roma use and quote them themselves.

Literary critic Katie Trumpener (1992) has eloquently argued that in Western literature, Gypsies function as triggers of memory and nostalgia, as a people without history, and as memory keepers for other nations. Other scholars have shown that ‘literary Gypsies throughout Europe figure nationalist nostalgia – they are envisioned as a kind of time capsule for storing national forms (music, folklore, traditions) and a simpler past’ (Lemon 2000a, 41). Trumpener argues that the mythologization of Gypsies as timeless preservers of the past is ambiguous, as it veils their marginalization in forgetfulness: ‘The function of nostalgia is to restore innocence, by covering up other memories, harsher realities of tension and hostility and fear’ (Trumpener 1992, 853). Gypsies have played this role in

literary works from Mérimée's novella *Carmen* to Virginia Woolf's novel *Three Guineas*. Given how little known Roma are as a people with a history beyond the stereotypes, in this section I provide an overview of Roma history in relation to Roma representations in the arts.

It is not widely known in Romania or elsewhere that Roma – the self-ascription of most individuals using the Romani language, and of other groups identifying as Țigani, Rudara, Sinti and so on across Europe – share a common ancestry with the tribes that migrated from India in the twelfth century. Their language, Romani, which derives from Sanskrit and shares characteristics with today's South Asian languages, is the strongest evidence of this migration (Hancock 1987). Even though Roma were mentioned in official documents from the territories of today's Romania as long ago as 1385, many non-Roma in Romania see Roma as foreigners. Roma are probably the most heterogeneous among the different populations in Romania's territories, mainly because no state-sponsored Roma nation-building process has institutionalized Roma ethnocultural identities, as has been the case with Romanian, Hungarian and more recently Jewish ethnocultural identities.³¹

Most scholars divide Roma in Romania into several groups, based on traditional occupations, structures of social organization, family configuration and religion. The majority of Roma in Romania are Vlach (Vlax), one of several Roma denominations, which encompasses several smaller groups (*natsija* or *vitse*) including Vatrash ('assimilated' Roma, employed in agriculture), Lăutari (musicians), Kelderara (coppersmiths), Argintari (silversmiths), Boldeni (flower sellers), Lovara (horse traders), Ursara (bear handlers), Ciurara (knife makers), Pieptanara (comb makers), Fierari (smiths), Rudara (goldsmiths, later wood-carvers) and Karamidarja (brick makers). In Transylvania, a large number of Roma are Romungre (musicians), influenced by Hungarian culture and not Vlach. However, as anthropologist Alaina Lemon argues:

No single, organic, segmentary Romani social structure exists; thus there can be no single way to name social relationships or categories. This does not mean that there are no Romani social orders or structures. It does mean that Romani rifts and affiliations have multiple historical causes – they are not the result of a single, internal principle (such as pollution or 'tribal law') that generated an ordered fission. (Lemon 2000a, 90)

These differences are determined by a variety of factors, including geographical location, gender and descent. Several dialects of Romani can be found across Europe and beyond, and the literary, standardized Romani, based on the Kelderari dialect, is familiar to most Roma.

Contemporary Romania's territory covers several historical provinces (Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Dobrudja, Bucovina and so on), and the

history of the Roma across these regions varies accordingly. For example, in Moldavia and Wallachia Roma were slaves until 1856; while in Transylvania a very small number of Roma were slaves, mostly in areas previously part of Moldavia and Wallachia (Achim 1998, 44). For Roma, ethnicity overlapped with low socioeconomic status during slavery, when the terms ‘Țigan’ and ‘slave’ were synonymous. ‘Țigan’ meant ‘slave’ in Moldavia and Wallachia until 1856, and the two terms were used interchangeably until the second half of the nineteenth century, when slavery was abolished. In Transylvania ‘Romanian’ signified one of the ethnicities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while in the principalities it meant the majority ethnicity of various social classes, including serfs. The term ‘Țigan’ has preserved its connotations of lower social status into the present. The origins of Roma slavery represent a point of contention in Romanian historiography, and by extension in Romanian politics, as I show in Chapter 1.

In nineteenth-century Romanian literature, the Țigani – as Roma were known at the time – played similar roles to Gypsies in Western literature. Ion Budai Deleanu’s *Țiganiada* is a comic epic that parodies the fate of the Romanian people under the mask of Țigani; written between 1800 and 1812, it was first published in 1875. Both Țigani and Romanians were minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to which Transylvania belonged, and Budai Deleanu used Țigani to reflect the oppression of subaltern Romanians. However, Budai Deleanu’s background included Roma ancestry, and this work is often cited as an example of early literature by Roma. Vasile Alecsandri, an aristocrat, abolitionist, author and revolutionary from Moldavia, draws on autobiographical details to portray a Țigan slave from a slave owner’s point of view in his short story *Vasile Porojan*, published in 1880. The tragic fate of a female Roma slave, Zamfira, is also a subplot in his other work, *Story of a Golden Coin* (1844). Alecsandri’s short stories represent the best-known literary representations of Roma slaves.

The literary and visual portrayal of Roma in the arts in the Romanian territories fit in the larger European mythology of the noble savage. Exceptions include Gheorghe Asachi’s 1847 play *Țigani*, which describes the emancipation of privately owned slaves and imagines Roma and Romanians becoming one nation (Szeman 2017, forthcoming). In the early twentieth century most representations of Roma recycled old stereotypes; while during socialism the state denied the existence of an ethnocultural Roma identity, and as a result Roma were absent from the arts. Roma artists and intellectuals were assimilated into the nation, and their ethnic background was never mentioned officially.

Persecution and Erasures in the Twentieth Century

Between the two world wars, the unification of several territories into Greater Romania was marked by the Romanian state’s increased attempts to assimilate other ethnicities (Livezeanu 1995). Roma activists and intellectuals in organizations such as the General Association of Țigani in Romania and the General

Union of Roma worked to establish a public Roma presence and to craft a modern identity – one based on integrating Roma through an emphasis on their Christian values (Potra, 1939). Despite the fact that Roma were recognized as an ethnicity, they were not included in the constitution, and the majority of Roma were impoverished and uneducated.

Perhaps the darkest period for Roma across Europe was the Roma Holocaust during World War II. Alongside Jews and homosexuals, Roma were the target of Nazi and fascist extermination campaigns. In Romania, Marshal Ion Antonescu sent around 25,000 Roma to concentration camps in the territories of today's Ukraine.

While slavery and the Holocaust were extreme examples of the marginalization of Roma, their state-sanctioned marginalization has operated as a veiled or explicit policy across different historical periods. For five decades during socialism in Romania, the Roma were treated as a social problem, their culture was not recognized or even mentioned in official documents and they were the target of assimilation campaigns. Through assimilation policies Roma and their contribution were appropriated by the nation and erased, while the stereotypes of the abject Țigani persisted and were unofficially used to refer to Roma who failed to assimilate. From 1965 to 1989 Romania was ruled by Nicolae Ceaușescu, whose regime started with a few years of relative freedom before turning into a dictatorship that aggressively controlled the population. In this period ethnic nationalism flourished in Romania (Verdery 1991), and most Roma failed to assimilate. The socialist regime recognized 'cohabitating nationalities' (excluding Roma), and officially fostered a multinationalism in which majority and minority institutions coexisted but did not intersect – a system that continues today, and which in this book I term the normative monoethnic performativity of ethnocultural identities. Stereotypes about Țigani as thieves, criminals and outcasts proliferated, despite the Communist government's official suppression of Roma identity. Roma became scapegoats for the majority, because of the alleged benefits that socialist propaganda claimed they received. Another effect of the Communist assimilation policies was the proletarianization of a large number of Roma through their employment in low-skilled jobs in factories or collective farms and their access to public housing. During socialism, the term 'Țigan' was emptied of any positive or romantic connotations and became a synonym for the underclass. The stereotype of the poor Țigani, however, presupposed the existence of the extremely rich traditional Țigani. Despite their lack of success, Communist assimilation policies had lasting effects at the cultural, political, social and economic levels, all still visible in the context of post-socialist Romania.

The effects of various socialist cultural policies regarding the Roma in countries of the former Eastern bloc are also visible today in the preponderance of distinct stereotypes about Roma in each country, against a common background of marginalization and discrimination. Romania did not produce any films or

cultural products identified as Roma or Țigani in the five decades of socialism. In contrast, in nearby Hungary, despite similar policies, the resurgence of a Roma cultural movement and the presence of self-identified Roma musicians onstage allowed the Roma to be considered cultural agents (Kovalcsik 2010; Stewart 1997), something that Roma in Romania were denied. In socialist Yugoslavia, to mention another example, Roma were recognized as having a culture, even if not on a par with other nationalities, and they were represented, albeit stereotypically, in many films, including Aleksandar Petrović's *I Even Met Happy Gypsies* (1967) and Emir Kusturica's *The Time of the Gypsies* (1987). Kusturica's films and Goran Bregović's music were popular in Romania, but they did not change the general perception of local Roma – not even in the sense of producing romantic stereotypes.

The economic-political changes of the transition to neoliberalism affected most Roma profoundly, especially those working on collective farms, which were dismantled, or in low-skilled jobs in plants and factories that were closed down. Social security was also significantly reduced. Roma found themselves with a recognized ethnicity, but holding fewer economic rights and placed outside national and European citizenship. However, some of these changes benefited the nomadic or semi-nomadic Roma, most of whom had been unemployed during socialism and who recovered some of their goods and valuables confiscated by the socialist state.

Despite the change in paradigm in relation to Roma, from a social problem during socialism to an ethnoculture during post-socialism, the majority of Roma continue to experience marginalization, and their economic condition has worsened. However, while the majority of Roma are poor, there is a burgeoning middle class of Roma activists, intellectuals and successful entrepreneurs. Affluent Roma spark resentment and are associated with and blamed for the negative effects of the transition to a market economy. Because of long-standing suspicion against Roma, Roma success, whether in the entertainment industry or in business, is often resented by the majority and perceived as illicit.

Methodology

This is a multisited ethnography that brings together different sites, people and performances in productive tension. I spent a total of seventeen months conducting fieldwork in Romania between 1999 and 2007, and I made a few more visits there between 2008 and 2012. The main vantage point for this ethnography is that of Pod. Pod's story is not unique, and similar Roma settlements can be found across Romania. Roma's reliance on recycling practices and their dispersion within Romania have been widespread phenomena over the last two decades (Zoon 2001). These settlements expanded within Romania after 1989, as many Roma lost their unskilled or low-skilled jobs and sought informal work, recycling from and living next to waste sites on the outskirts of urban areas.

Over the eleven years I visited Pod, its landscape changed considerably. Some of the improvised huts I saw in 2001, piled with rubbish, some out of sight of passers-by, had been replaced by 2008 with fully built houses proudly set on the main road. These constructions testified to the lucrative side of the informal collection of recyclables, and to some Pod residents' efficient management skills. Most of the intra-community economy circulated through informal arrangements, which often involved a main collector for whom others collected recyclables in exchange for goods or credit. Living conditions did improve during the 2000s for some Roma in Pod; but some things did not change. In 2001, there was no running water or electricity, and virtually no medical facilities. Residents collected water from a broken pipe, and powered electrical equipment with batteries. They had no access to healthcare, and many children either did not go to school or else attended special schools for children with disabilities. This situation had not improved much by 2012. For example, despite the existence of a medical facility built with European funds, no medical staff were available and it was closed down.

As a 'co-performative witness' (Conquergood 2001; Madison 2011, 25) in Pod, I got to know the complexity of people's lives, and not only the hardships and struggles. As Madison aptly puts it: 'Performative witnessing is also to emphasize the political act (responsibility) of witnessing over the neutrality (voyeurism) of observation.' (2011, 25) Inside their homes, which I visited often, residents built a safer world of 'normalcy.' My co-performative witnessing sometimes involved performing together at dances and celebrations, events that were both frequent and necessary: they made life worth living. At celebrations, guests were not allowed to pay, and were expected to be served. Tables full of food and drinks greeted visitors at these special times, even when the goods were being paid for with credit from the better-off Roma.

As a co-performative witness in Pod and elsewhere, I accompanied my Roma friends and acquaintances to state institutions, on doctor's and social services appointments, and I went on field trips with Roma school mediator Armando to visit Roma students who were struggling academically. I engaged and built connections with many different people in Pod: I got to know adults and children, young Roma who were studying in schools for the disabled because of their ethnicity, and undocumented adults. Elsewhere I met Roma and non-Roma activists and artists, young people and school staff. I conducted formal and informal interviews, and I attended school performances, concerts and festivals, fairs and exhibitions, in different parts of Romania and abroad in London and Paris. In many of these instances I could gauge how Pod residents' everyday experiences of citizenship differed from or resembled my own. I experienced, for example, how Roma performances abroad were often received by non-Roma audiences as expressions of national folklore that excluded Roma even as the latter were performing onstage.

Throughout my fieldwork in Romania I consumed and engaged with different types of media, from television and radio to newspapers, with an eye to how Roma were represented. This was a frustrating experience, given the racism and sexism of mainstream media, the misrepresentation of Roma and the lack of Roma voices. Roma in Pod engaged with different media, mainly television, and they reappropriated some of the cultural products for which they felt an affinity. When watching daytime North American and Latin American soaps, literate residents read subtitles aloud to small groups of (mostly) women gathered around small black-and-white television sets. More recently, television sets in Pod often played music by both Roma and non-Roma from the *manele*-focused music channel Taraf, identified as a ‘Țigani’ channel. Roma in Pod appreciated ‘Gypsy soaps’, even though these represented *gadje*’s³² exoticized projections of Gypsiness.

Aside from my own analysis, when I discuss media representations of Roma, including in the television soaps, I will present Pod residents’ views of these productions. In the early years I watched North American soaps with Pod residents, and in the later years I discussed Gypsy soaps with several Roma from Pod in both formal and informal interviews, which changed my own perception of the soaps. In mapping the reception of the soaps and music performances, I also use audience comments from soap websites and YouTube. My media ethnography is situated between a fully embedded reception analysis (Abu-Lughod 2005) and one focused on audience members who participate in or comment on programmes through social media (di Leonardo 2012; Imre and Tremlett 2011). While Roma have rarely been analysed as consumers of media, including television (see Tremlett 2013), I engage with both the majority’s consumption and the readings of a Roma counterpublic that identified with or challenged the images of Roma presented in these cultural productions.

I am a *gadgi* (non-Roma) and Romanian citizen of mixed Romanian-Hungarian descent, with a Ph.D. gained in the United States and currently working in the United Kingdom. Some of my non-Roma Romanian friends and acquaintances rolled their eyes upon hearing about my research topic, and worried that I would reiterate or add to many Westerners’ mistaking of Romanians for Roma; some asked me ‘please don’t make us all look like Țigani.’ My Western location at the time of my fieldwork in Romania, being the United States and, after 2005, London, bestowed upon me a certain cachet among some of my informants: one of the Romnja in Pod decided I was Spanish, a nation to which she felt connected; one Romni from the village of Clejani called me a ‘foreign *gadgi*’, as opposed to a local, Romanian *gadgi*. At times the perception of my identity shifted – for example, when a lawyer asked me whether I was a Romni friend’s daughter, even though we were both in our thirties. This instance, when I was taken for a Romni by a non-Roma, was a shocking (for me but not, as it turned out, for my Romni friend) reminder of the widespread gendered

stereotypes about Romnja as young, over-fertile mothers with dozens of children. Several times, when I accompanied friends and witnessed similar situations, the casualness of such incidents and the everydayness of racism really struck me. My shock reflected my privileged position: for my Roma friends and acquaintances these incidents were not surprising. As I show in Chapter 2, there was no shortage of such incidents: encounters in hospitals, schools, shops and police stations, and often with state employees, demonstrated this everyday racism.

In many instances my ethnographic journey involved making the familiar strange and the strange familiar. Performance and theatre scholar Baz Kershaw discusses radical theatre, which has the power to change the ideological inclination and worldviews of audiences: 'theatre which mounts a radical attack on the status quo may prove deceptive. The slow burning fuse of efficacy may be invisible' (1992, 28). I see the slow burning fuse metaphor as an apt description of the change in subjectivity that I experienced when making the strange familiar and vice versa. The slow burning fuse was started for me most likely at a Christmas celebration in Pod, when I visited with non-Roma friends. In these moments, when I was allowed into people's lives, the expected power balance was temporarily redressed; instead of only witnessing suffering and injustice, I spent enjoyable moments with Pod friends. These became turning points in the co-witnessing process of ethnography, when the initial impulse, of seeing Pod as a problem that needed a solution, receded to some extent. I started listening to people more carefully, to their music, their dances and their actions. My sense of outrage at their situation never disappeared, but it became equally important for me to document their other stories – in addition to stories about injustice and discrimination – from the way they saw Gypsy soaps to their perspectives on belonging in Romania.

From Pod, this study moves to other places within Romania, including Bucharest, and then abroad to the West, following the trajectory of 'Gypsy music'. In addition to Pod, I conducted fieldwork in Bucharest and in Clejani, the village in southern Romania from where the famous (in the West) Roma band Taraf de Haïdouks originate. In London I experienced first hand the considerable international success of 'Gypsy music': from traditional music to the ubiquitous *manele*,³³ everything had become prime material for mixing into dance music in venues such as the Barbican and clubs such as Koko and Cargo. I attended concerts at these venues, as well as other cultural events. I attended many performances of the dance group Together, composed of both young Roma and *gadje*, which initially started at a local school near Pod. My travels across Romania took me to different parts of the country, where I interacted with different Roma: Romungre, Gabors (traders and welders), Kelderara, Karamidarja and Vatrash, Lăutari, Ursara, Kelderara and Rudara, as well as activists and intellectuals.

The ethnographic material in this book focuses mainly on Roma from Transylvania and Wallachia, regions within Romania's national borders. The

distinct histories and social status of different Roma, including musicians, in Transylvania and Wallachia influence current perceptions of these musicians and the different stereotypes associated with them. Roma known as Romungre were historically Hungarian speaking, and had musical occupations during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. I met some Romungre in Pod, most of whom only spoke Romanian. Roma musicians in Wallachia were known as Lăutari; I met some Lăutari in Clejani. The repertoire and audiences of Romungre and Lăutari musicians diverged with the music and histories of Austro-Hungary and Romania respectively, until 1918, when Transylvania became part of Greater Romania. Transylvanian music and Romungre musicians were ‘rediscovered’ by the Tanchaz movement as Hungarian folk music in the 1970s. From socialism to post-socialism, Transylvania remained the repository of folk music for Hungarian musicologists and nationalists alike. *Muzica lăutărească* – the music of the Lăutari in Wallachia – had strong Turkish influences, evident today in *manele*, the most popular genre, played predominantly by Roma musicians in Wallachia. Today *manele* production is most powerful in Bucharest, and the concentration of media production and political power in the city has made certain groups of Roma, especially those in and around Bucharest, more visible in the national arena. The media brought to Pod the sounds and sights of *manele* from Bucharest, and Roma in Pod enjoyed, consumed and performed *manele* and a traditional Roma dance known locally as *csingeralas*, a type of *verbunk*, part of the Tanchaz music. However, ‘manelists’ are most numerous in the south of Romania, and *manele* are equally popular in Transylvania.

Despite the diversity that characterizes both Roma and their musical production, and despite their significant musical success, this book shows that Roma have not gained a legitimate place as a culture in the national imaginary, and they continue to be denied cultural citizenship, even when their music is praised. While Roma musicians’ performances may continue lucrative stereotypes about Roma that have existed for centuries, from the perspective of a Roma counterpublic, these performances can be read as performances of citizenship. As the advent of neoliberalism under monoethnic nationalism has maintained the citizenship gap for Roma, paying attention to the subjectivities of Roma and including them as equal partners in social and cultural programmes could be a first step for state institutions to take in bridging this gap.

Chapter Outline

Part I: Poor Roma, Roma Activists and the Romanian State

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on the lived structural constraints within which everyday performances of citizenship are enacted, while Chapter 3 addresses the discursive constraints of policy framings on the performances of citizenship for Roma.

1. *'We Will Build a Beautiful Future Together': NGO Historiography, Roma Culture and Monoethnic Nationalism*

Focusing on Roma activists' work at a 2002 Roma fair and cultural festival in Bucharest, the chapter shows that cultural events' outreach was limited by the Romanian state's hegemonic constructions of the nation and of citizenship, and as a result these events became venues for the consumption of ethnic artefacts.

2. *Living in the Citizenship Gap: Roma and the Permanent State of Emergency in Pod*

Chapter 2 is an ethnography of the impoverished urban Roma community of Pod, and focuses on the complete citizenship gap that Roma in Pod experienced. The chapter uses a performance lens to discuss the collective and individual experiences of the citizenship gap in Pod, including discrimination and abuse, and everyday experiences of racism. The chapter demonstrates how the diversity of Pod residents' cultural practices belie Romanian media's images of sameness among the Roma and stereotypes that poor Roma, or Țigani, lacked culture.

3. *'Too Poor to Have Culture': The Post-Socialist Politics of Authenticity in Roma NGO Training*

Through an ethnographic account and performative analysis of a training workshop for Roma activists, this chapter shows that programmes promoting Roma development in Romania inadvertently reproduce the stereotypical Țigani and the citizenship gap for Roma. EU-sponsored social programmes for Roma exclude the most impoverished, while claiming to aim to improve the situation of Roma.

Part II: Roma Performance and the Citizenship Gap: From Exoticism to Creative Resistance

Chapters 4 through 6 bring material, structural and discursive constraints directly into conversation with a range of settings and practices, from media to the stage, in which performances of citizenship take place.

4. *Performing Bollywood: Young Roma Dance Cultural Citizenship*

Chapter 4 focuses on a student dance group, Together, comprised of young Roma from Pod and non-Roma, who perform at festivals and schools in Transylvania and abroad. Many Roma students continue to be discriminated against in schools that boast multicultural policies and for the young Roma in this group, dance was one of their few avenues of success.

5. *Consuming Exoticism/Reimagining Citizenship: Romanian Nationalism and Roma Counterpublics on Romanian Television*

Chapter 5 combines media analysis and ethnographic research, discussing the representations of Roma by non-Roma in the hugely successful television soaps

Gypsy Heart, *The Queen* and *State of Romania*, and in talk shows and debates on current affairs programmes. It analyses Roma performances of citizenship in the media and their reception among different Roma.

6. *The Ambivalence of Success: Roma Musicians and the Citizenship Gap*

Focusing on musical performances as performances of citizenship, Chapter 6 discusses Roma musicians and their success in relation to the citizenship gap for Roma. The chapter discusses *manele* singer Florin Salam's unsuccessful attempt to represent Romania at the Eurovision Song Contest in 2010, and Viorica and Ioniță's performances on the reality show *Clejanii*, in relation to both the citizenship gap and Roma counterpublics.

Conclusion: Unlearning the Forgetting

The conclusion discusses Hungarian Roma artist Tibor Balogh's performance installation 'Rain of Tears' as a metaphor for the work that states and individuals alike need to undertake in order to close the citizenship gap for Roma.

Notes

1. All translations from the Romanian are mine, unless otherwise noted. I use the terms Rom (masculine singular), Roma (masculine plural), Romni (feminine singular) and Romnja (feminine plural) to describe individuals from this ethnic minority, and I also employ Roma as an adjective. I use Gypsy when discussing stereotypes in and from the West; Gypsy is also the term with which Roma in the United Kingdom identify, and does not necessarily denote a stereotype (Okely 1983). I use the nouns Țigan (masculine singular), Țiganca (feminine singular), Țigani (masculine plural), Țigănci (feminine plural) and the adjectival form Țigan to describe local stereotypes and the way some Roma in Romania identify.
2. 'Pod' is a fictitious name I use to protect the anonymity of this community. 'Pod' means bridge in Romanian. In addition to using pseudonyms for people, in several instances I have created composite identities.
3. See Delanty (1997) for one of the first articulations of the difference between legal and actual citizenship.
4. While a large number of Roma live in poverty, all Roma experience the citizenship gap at the level of cultural citizenship, and this has real, material consequences in their everyday lives.
5. Discrimination against Roma children in schools is still common across East Central Europe (ERRC 2004). The European Court of Human Rights ruled that there was discrimination against Roma children in the Czech Republic. In 2007, a year after an initial referral to the Grand Chamber of that court, the court found that 'the practice of racial segregation in education violated Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits discrimination, taken together with Article 2 of Protocol 1, which secures the right to education'. The court noted that 'the Czech Republic is not alone in this practice and that discriminatory barriers to education for Roma children are present in a number of European countries' (ERRC 2007).

6. In the summer of 2010 the French government initiated a virulent expulsion campaign that targeted over 300 settlements on the outskirts of cities, with thousands of Roma migrants forced to return to Romania or Bulgaria.
7. See Enikő Magyari-Vincze, 2007, who engages with Roma in similar situations.
8. Performance studies scholarship that has paved the way for a critical investigation of citizenship through a performance lens includes: May Joseph (1999) on the performative links between legal and cultural citizenship; Karen Shimakawa (2002) on Asian–American identity; Sophie Nield on performances of citizenship at the border (2006); Emily Roxworthy (2008) on the performative logic of citizenship in the United States; and Suk-Young Kim (2014) on the affective aspects of citizenship in the DMZ between North and South Korea.
9. This phrase was coined by anthropologist Victor Turner (1982, 93); Richard Schechner defines performance as ‘restored behavior’ or ‘twice-behaved behavior’ (2013), while Dwight Conquergood discusses performance as kinesis (making) in relation to minority cultures and subjugated knowledge (2002).
10. The terms used for the majority ethnicity (Romanian) and for citizenship are identical in Romania. Ethnic minorities use separate terms to refer to their citizenship and their ethnicity. Ethnic nationalism differs in principle from civic nationalism, where membership is not based on ethnic belonging; however, both types of nationalism engender racism (see Kymlicka 2000; Brubaker 1999). For example, notwithstanding claims to civic nationalism, the legal protection of racial divisions in the United States lasted for centuries; as Aiwha Ong (2003, 6) writes, ‘racial logic has always lain like a serpent in the sacred ideal of American citizenship’.
11. Nancy Fraser sees subaltern counterpublics as: ‘parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs’ (1992, 123).
12. Warner’s (2002) focus on the transformative possibilities of counterpublics signals their radical potential.
13. Judith Butler (1990) discusses the performative constructions of gender identities, while Fredrik Barth (1969) and Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014) show that ethnic and racial identities are performatively deployed in the crucible of economic and political tensions and contingent upon changing relations of power.
14. See debates on the cross-cultural use of ‘race’ in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999), Shohat and Stam (1994) and Hanchard (2003).
15. Étienne Balibar (2004, 8) defines ‘demos’ as the collective subject of representation, decision making and rights, and ‘ethnos’ as the historical communities based on ethnic belonging. When Roma pass as citizens, unrecognized as Roma, their contribution is appropriated by the ethnos, the ethnic nation.
16. Stuart Hall (1980) argues that Blacks in Britain experienced racial discrimination through class.
17. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) made similar observations about the relationship between race and class in Brazil.
18. The European Commission for Culture uses the terms ‘diversity’ and ‘interculturalism’, a version of multiculturalism that focuses on the individual rather than the recognition of groups and is closer to integration and assimilation (see http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/default_en.asp, accessed 1 December 2011). The term ‘multiculturalism’ mobilizes several meanings, from the coexistence of multiple cultures and ethnicities within a ter-

ritory, to a political ideology. Romania and its different territories have always been multicultural in the first sense. The EU does not espouse multicultural policies, even though legal, rights-based non-discrimination is intrinsic to EU legislation in an increasingly multicultural (in the first sense) EU. The few EU member states that had explicit multicultural legislation in the past, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, have replaced multiculturalism as a political strategy with measures to integrate migrants, especially Muslims.

19. The new long-term strategy, approved in December 2011, recognizes this fact in its name: 'The Strategy for the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens from the Roma Minority'.
20. Strategia Nationala de Imbunatatire a Situatiei Romilor, Capitolul VII, 2001 (see <http://www.anr.gov.ro/html/Biblioteca.html>, last accessed 22 March 2010). An official report on the strategy is available at www.publicinfo.gov.ro/library/10_raport_tipar_p_ro.pdf. Romania endorsed several other related public policies, without necessarily initiating them, including: the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015, organized by the World Bank and the Open Society Institute, which involved eight East Central European states; the Common Implementation Strategy for Social Inclusion, 2005–2010, a shared policy between the EU and Romania following the Lisbon Treaty; and the National Plan for Inclusion and Eradication of Poverty, 2002–2012, one chapter of which was devoted to Roma (Preoteasa et al., eds. 2009, 34–38).
21. The number of Roma in Romania varies, depending on the source, from half a million to two million.
22. Figures from the Romanian Parliament website (<http://www.cdep.ro/pls/parlam/structura.gp?leg=2008&cam=2&idg=&poz=0&idl=1>, accessed 12 September 2010).
23. Wendy Brown (2006) discusses how culture can be used to undermine the very identities it is supposed to highlight, which are seen as 'being culture'.
24. The existence of state-sponsored cultural institutions for Roma does not necessarily guarantee equal citizenship and inclusion in the nation: compare the ghettoization of Roma museums and theatres in the Czech Republic and Russia respectively. The current National Strategy for Roma (2012–2020) in Romania stipulates the creation of a Roma State Theatre and a Museum of Roma Culture and Civilization. So far only the latter has materialized, yet it is potentially marred by spatial marginalization as it is situated on the outskirts of Bucharest.
25. As Paul Gilroy (2000) argues, culture as a trope of neoliberalism 'compounds rather than resolves the problems associating "race" with embodied or somatic variation'.
26. Arlene Dávila (2001) defines the 'politics of suspicion' in relation to Latinos/as in the United States, where a market-dictated construction of the Latino/a identity became the norm against which people's authenticity was judged.
27. Aiwaha Ong's (2006) critique of the middle-class aspect of cultural diversity and the Comaroffs' (2009) argument that class becomes erased in the neoliberal promotion of ethnic identities are relevant here.
28. Here I borrow Ann Stoler's (2009) reworking of Deleuze and Guattari's 'minor literature' (1986). For Deleuze and Guattari minor literature is the work of minority writers who reinvent the dominant language; for Stoler minor history is made for 'cutting' across dominant historical narratives (9).
29. Julia Kristeva (1982) defines the abject Other as that which is expelled from the self in order to define the self.

30. See Susan Gal (1991) on nesting East–West dichotomies in Hungary.
31. Other ethnic minorities in the region, including Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and more recently Jews, relate their ethnocultural identities transnationally to other nation-states that support their diasporas (see Verdery, 1994).
32. A term meaning ‘non-Roma’ (plural) in the Romani language: *gadgi* (fem.; sg.) and *gadgo* (masc.; sg.).
33. Music similar to the very popular *manele* in Romania, bearing influences from an Ottoman form called *mana*, and which today extends into fusion styles, can be found across the Balkans in other ethnopop incarnations such as turbo folk and *chalga*.