

our understanding of processes of Romani identity formation and transformation, and their relationship to issues of social justice in contemporary Europe. The chapter is based on interviews with the artists Delaine and Damian Le Bas who have, for more than a decade now, been two of the leading figures in the contemporary European Romani art movement. The interviews are about their histories, beliefs and desires, and were conducted mostly in June 2012, five years before Damian Le Bas's unexpected death at the age of 54 on 9 December 2017, causing shock to and beyond the European Romani art world. The chapter is primarily dedicated to the larger question of the relevance and impact of the Romani art movement – or better, *movements* in the plural – but is also meant as a special tribute to the life and work of Damian, to what he created on his own and also to what he created and developed over the years together with Delaine, his wife and ultimate partner in artistic production. The chapter is in three parts. First, it looks at art as emancipatory and a way to connect with others about the lived experiences of inclusion and exclusion. For Delaine and Damian Le Bas, throughout their lives as artists, 'identity politics' first and foremost meant something emancipatory, based on learning about oneself and one's position in and beyond one's own community, in order to better understand others and relationships with them and, thus, to transform the personal into the political. Gayatri Spivak (2012) has suggested that their work shows the 'fragile staging of Roma life and history' in which theory and art practice merge in the act of making visible and staging, and thus where theory could be considered as a kind of theatre. The second part of the chapter looks at how the exhibitions of works by Damian and Delaine Le Bas have created space for relationships and social change. It discusses how their very presence at their exhibitions and their direct engagement with their audiences has been instrumental to their art as activism, and how the kinds of artwork they have produced are often interactively situated, as public art, in dialogue with mainstream Roma and Gypsy representations as well as with their audiences, by inviting them explicitly 'to Gypsyland' as an imagined space of interpersonal exchange. Finally, the chapter looks at the constraints of the art and social world, and how structural barriers and the politics of labelling can obstruct the work Romani artists strive to create.

We, the editors of this volume, have dedicated this book to Damian Le Bas and his legacy. The chapter by Annabel Tremlett and Delaine Le Bas ends with Damian's wish to initiate an alternative to the Roma pavilion of the 2007 Venice Biennale: what he imagined to be a Roma Biennale. In collaboration with several artists, and curated by Delaine le Bas and Hamze Bytyçi, this first Roma Biennale, entitled 'Come Out Now!', was finally realized in April 2018, after Damian's death and thus in his memory. During the Biennale, the theatre play *Roma Armee* (Roma Army) was also performed again, following

its premiere on 14 September 2017 in the presence of Damian. For this play, directed by Yael Ronen & Ensemble after an idea of the Romani actors Sandra and Simonida Selimović, Delaine and Damian Le Bas produced the theatrical sceneries and costumes.

To complete the circle, we will start this volume with our first chapter in which *Huub van Baar* reflects on some of the key themes in Damian's oeuvre, including those that are clearly present in the sceneries he made for *Roma Armee*.

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the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, honoured Kóczé with the Ion Ratiu Democracy Award for her interdisciplinary research approach, which combines community engagement and policymaking with in-depth participatory research on the situation of the Roma. She is a co-editor of *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2019, with Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanović and Enikő Vincze).

Notes

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1. This struggle for the recognition of the Romani Holocaust was a difficult and long-lasting one against the denial of racially motivated and genocidal violence against Roma (see, for instance, Rose 1987; Margalit 2002; for the ambiguities of this struggle, see von dem Knesebeck 2011; van Baar 2011a, 2015a).
2. *RomArchive* is a large digital archive for Roma arts and cultures. It archives works from all genres, and augments them with contemporary documents and scholarly appraisals. More information about the archive is available at <https://www.romarchive.eu/en/>.
3. The framing of the situation of Roma in terms of the 'refugee/migration crisis' should not be analysed in isolation from the much broader proliferation of crisis narratives ('economic crisis', 'financial crisis', 'debt crisis', 'crisis of the Euro-zone' or 'banking crisis') that, at least since 2007, have been mobilized to manage societal problems and processes in and beyond Europe (New Keywords Collective 2016: 8–15). In many countries across Europe – and Central and Eastern Europe in particular – the European and domestic 'financial crisis' has been mobilized to legitimate various drastic measures that have affected Roma negatively, ranging from evictions to harsh, racializing labour market policies (van Baar 2012, 2017a, this volume; Grill 2018; Kóczé, this volume; Szalai, this volume).
4. The case is known as 'M.H. and Others against Slovakia', and was lodged on 19 March 2018 under application number 14099/18 of the European Court of Human Rights. The applicants are eight Slovak nationals, who live in Moldava nad Bodvou, and are represented by the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest.
5. 'Reasonable antigypsyism' (van Baar 2014) is the kind of anti-Roma racism in which racial reversibility has become prominent, and which follows a logic whereby one would rightfully be entitled to act against Roma and treat them differently, based on the idea that not 'we', but 'they' violate rights and fail in their duties (ibid. 30).
6. Of course, the ways in which just one volume can deal with complex issues of identity and identity formation are limited; therefore, we do not want to suggest

that we cover the field comprehensively. Some key dimensions of present-day Roma-related identity formation and struggles for identity – such as, most notably, those connected with religion and the emergence of new religious affiliations and movements – are underrepresented in our analysis.

7. In Michael Stewart's (2017: 127) recent attempt both 'to retrace the history of Romani Studies' and to assess what postcolonial studies, feminist critique, intersectionality and critical race theory have contributed to Roma-related scholarship, remarkably enough he does not include the contributions of Willems or others who have discussed the societal position and imagery of Roma through the lens of manifestations of orientalism. However, this exclusion seems to be based on Stewart's narrow understanding of postcolonial studies and theorizations of intersectionality as primarily preoccupied with 'questions of identity' and of the 'authority to speak' (ibid.: 127, 128). Although we should be wary of manifestations of the tribalization of either 'white' or 'black' people (or for that matter, group reifications based on class, gender or other categories), any suggestion that the theorizations in postcolonial studies, feminist critique, intersectionality or critical race theory tend to reify identity and, therefore, contribute to questionable forms of identity politics or troublesome mixtures of activism and scholarship, misses the point of what 'reigning deities, such as Spivak and Chakraborty [*sic*]' (Stewart 2017: 128), as well as later postcolonial authors, have tried to argue. Moreover, Stewart's identification of recent scholars (who have used one or more of the mentioned theoretical lenses to analyse the position of Roma) with those who are predominantly preoccupied with issues of identity and activism, creates artificial boundaries between academic and activist work (ibid.: 127, 137–44), between different generations of scholars (127), between Romani and non-Romani scholars, and also between more established and newly developed conceptual or methodological scholarly paradigms.
8. In his review of Coates's *We Were Eight Years in Power*, Cornel West has accused him of such tribalization: 'Coates rightly highlights the vicious legacy of white supremacy – past and present. He sees it everywhere and ever reminds us of its plundering effects. Unfortunately, he hardly keeps track of our fightback, and never connects this ugly legacy to the predatory capitalist practices, imperial policies (of war, occupation, detention, assassination) or the black elite's refusal to confront poverty, patriarchy or transphobia. In short, Coates fetishizes white supremacy. He makes it almighty, magical and unremovable . . . Note that his perception of white people is tribal and his conception of freedom is neoliberal. Racial groups are homogeneous and freedom is individualistic in his world . . . It is clear that his narrow racial tribalism and myopic political neoliberalism has no place for keeping track of Wall Street greed, U.S. imperial crimes or black elite indifference to poverty' (West 2017).
9. Similarly, this dialectic was also missing in Willems's analyses. To remain with Said's terms, while Willems (1997) was primarily focusing on the role of orientalism and orientalist Gypsy identity formations, he largely overlooked the simultaneous formation of occidentalist European identities through (for Said, fundamental) occidentalism. We return to an even more substantial critique of Willems's work below.
10. Willems (1997: 82–83) suggested that we could assess various historical and contemporary uses of Romani vocabularies primarily in terms of something like argot and, thus, not as the dialects of an existing, practised language. For a valuable critique, see Matras (2004: 63–68), who, in turn, overemphasizes the importance of

Willems' view on language to invalidate several of the latter's important insights on other key issues (see van Baar 2011a: 75–149).

11. For similar reasons, Thomas Acton has suggested that Matras's 'common-sense positivistic search for a magic epistemological bullet to kill off sloppy scholarship is fundamentally a mistaken approach' (Acton 2008: 33). In the first volume to Berghahn's book series *Romani Studies*, and in the context of activism, Ana Ivasiuc (2018: 6) has likewise problematized views that all too strictly distinguish between 'neutral', 'objective' knowledge claims and forms of knowledge production that would be 'contaminated' by 'political' or 'activist' preoccupations, and which, therefore, are less reliable.

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