

# Historicizing Roma in Central Europe

In Central Europe, limited success in revisiting the role of science in the segregation of Roma reverberates with the yet-unmet call for contextualizing the impact of ideas on everyday racism. This book attempts to interpret such a gap as a case of epistemic injustice. It underscores the historical role of ideas in race making and provides analytical lenses for exploring cross-border transfers of whiteness in Central Europe. In the case of Roma, the scientific argument in favor of segregation continues to play an outstanding role due to a long-term focus on the limited educability of Roma. The authors trace the long-term interrelation between racializing Roma and the adaptation by Central European scholars of theories legitimizing segregation against those considered non-white, conceived as unable to become educated or “civilized.” Along with legitimizing segregation, sterilization and even extermination, theorizing ineducability has laid the groundwork for negating the capacity of Roma as subjects of knowledge. Such negation has hindered practices of identity and quite literally prevented Roma in Central Europe from becoming who they are. This systematic epistemic injustice still echoes in contemporary attempts to historicize Roma in Central Europe. The authors critically investigate contemporary approaches to historicize Roma as reproducing whiteness and inevitably leading to various forms of epistemic injustice. The methodological approach herein conceptualizes critical whiteness as a practice of epistemic justice targeted at providing a sustainable platform for reflecting upon the impact of the past on the contemporary situation of Roma.

**Victoria Shmidt** is Senior Researcher at the University of Graz in Austria. Her main interest is to deepen the approaches toward race science and racial thinking as agents and structures of nation-building in Central Eastern European countries.

**Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky** is Associate Professor of sociology at Masaryk University in the Czech Republic. Her current research focuses on media coverage of refugees, border narratives and the migration-populism nexus.

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Between Critical Whiteness and Epistemic Injustice

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and Epistemic Injustice

**Victoria Shmidt and  
Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky**

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# Abbreviations

## Archives

*Archiv Akademie Věd České republiky* Archive of the Academy of Sciences (AAV)  
Archive of the Group of Anthropology Department of Biology, Biotechnical  
Faculty, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia (AGA)

*Archiv Karlovy univerzity* Archive of Charles University (AUK)

*Archiv Muzea romské kultury* Archive of Museum of Romani Culture (MRK)

*Archiv Národního musea, Praha* Archives of the National Museum, Prague (ANM)

*Archiv Univerzity Komenského* Archive of Comenius University (UK(A))

*Archiv Ústavu antropologie Přírodovědecké fakulty Masarykovy Univerzity* Archive  
of the Institute of Anthropology, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Masaryk University  
(AUA)

*Národní filmový archiv, Praha* National Film Archive, Prague (NFA)

*Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni* State Regional Archives in Třeboň (SOA in Třeboň)

*Štátny archív v Košiciach* State Archives in Kosice (SaK)

# Introduction

## *A longue durée* of segregation against Roma: inside of whiteness

In 1783, Heinrich Grellmann brought forward an analogy between “Gypsies” and African American slaves in order to stress the power of Europeans to civilize those considered non-white: “It may be hoped, that while we are endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of our African brethren, the civilisation of the Gipseys, who form so large a portion of humanity, will not be overlooked.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1897, Leopold Glück offered linguistic and anthropological grounds for differentiating the “Gypsy” populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose language evidenced their common Indian origin, but whose historical traces varied and led to two different “Black” and “White” profiles:

While the first remain half-nomadic and continue travelling during the warmer time, the latest are sedentarized. The Black Gypsies practice their religion, their women walk undressed, and they speak their own language. The White, sedentarized, Gypsies have rejected their religion, dress their women and adapt the rules of the regions where they settle.<sup>2</sup>

In 1943, Eva Justin opened her dissertation aimed at providing a solid argument against the previous politics of assimilation, and in the theoretical grounds for forced sterilization of Roma, she compared them to “white trash,” one of the target groups for the U.S. eugenic agenda: “The whole society does not want to continue more than one-hundred years of dangerous state policy, and we all claim right now: ‘No Gypsy trash!’ [*Nicht-Zigeuner-Gesindel*].”<sup>3</sup>

In 1960, Eva Bačiková, an expert for the Ministry of Education and Culture in Czechoslovakia, directly criticized the previous trend to equate African Americans with Roma, typical of the socialist public discourse:

Led by positive intents to demonstrate that Gypsy children are successful too, able to achieve something too, our teachers present their Gypsy students as trained animals in the circus and sometimes they piggyback on the Gypsy topic. “Look, what our Gypsy children could do!” – our teachers say. At school, they are taught to sing their Gypsy songs as if they are a compliant choir of black slaves. Also, Gypsy children know neither Czech and Slovak folk music nor the pioneer songs.<sup>4</sup>

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In 1970, Milena Hübschmannová<sup>5</sup> interpreted the outcomes of her qualitative survey among non-Roma respondents by comparing their approaches towards the “Gypsy issue” with the practices of segregation against indigenous populations and African Americans:

The Gypsy issue has a world analogy. Its general character stems from the compatibility of the status of the minority group with the dominant society. History persuades us that the approaches which the dominant society applies to solving the issue of minorities in different places of the Earth are compatible.<sup>6</sup>

Her own approach to reject the labeling of Roma as asocial criminals also stemmed from the compatibility between Roma and savages, namely, the description of the Gabon tribe by Schweitzer:

In his book, *On the edge of the primeval forest*, Albert Schweitzer shares a very interesting example, namely, that the Gabon tribal people do not accept theft by those who do not belong to their tribe as an immoral act. The action, which is defined by “whites” as “lifting” is as natural for the Gabon as taking the fruits of Nature. I suppose that the same approach to evaluating theft was relevant for those Roma sentenced to the most extreme isolation.<sup>7</sup>

In 1976, the Czech educator Josef Štěpán, who was responsible for retraining socialist teachers in schools for Romani children, stressed the potential of comparing Roma and savages: “It would be interesting to think about the analogy between the ethnic group of Gypsies and the ethnic groups [tribes living on the island of Celebes, now known as *Sulawesi*], living at a low level of social development.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1993, the Hungarian psychologist Tamás Bereczkei applied the controversial approach by Philippe Rushton to exploring the reproductive strategies of Hungarian Roma. Rushton had ascribed to African Americans the predominance of an r-strategy of selection more compatible with animals than with white individuals, to whom Rushton prescribed a K-strategy.<sup>9</sup> Later, this approach was reproduced by Serbian and Czech scholars.<sup>10</sup>

In 2004, Bob Hepple proclaimed a “second wind” for the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, which had overturned the segregation of African Americans, applying the terms of the case to strategic litigation for the rights of Roma in Europe because “the ‘rights of man’ or ‘civil rights’ are a common inheritance of humanity.”<sup>11</sup>

The analogies between Romani and non-white populations – mainly African Americans and the indigenous groups of America and Australia – has a long historical tradition in shaping arguments in favor of either segregation or integration. Further, looking upon Roma as a non-white “race” established one of the core channels for translating whiteness to Europe. However, discussing the issues concerning Roma in Central Europe in terms of critical whiteness remains

fragmented, or even more, an unwelcome theoretical pathway because of the multiple in-betweenness of Central European identity, as Ondřej Slačálek explained in his imaginary dialogue with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak:

Dear Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, you asked whether we were also postcolonial. It seems that you were looking to the post-communist countries for partners in experience, dialogue and solidarity. We are very sorry, but you will not find what you were looking for in Central Europe. Your question may cast light on some features of the post-socialist experience, but when we pose it rigorously we find barriers to the transfer of concepts at the analytical level, and in terms of the development of solidarity, on the level of political action. The basic barrier is that the fundamental anxiety of Central European countries is fear of being expelled from the West and put on to the same level as the colonised countries.<sup>12</sup>

Building upon the ideas of Slavoj Žižek, we might say that in the background of this fear, it is possible to recognize the identification of Central Europe with the West and with whiteness, not “imaginary,” but “symbolic” – autonomous from the prescriptions to be aligned with Europeanness through experiencing and negating European identities.<sup>13</sup> While “imaginary identification” involves identifying “with the image of the other inasmuch as we are ‘like him,’”<sup>14</sup> “symbolic identification” aims to emancipate from such desirable but adopted patterns, through experiencing the identification with the other “at a point at which he is inimitable.”<sup>15</sup> A part of this process, the ambivalent attitudes toward each of its former masters, has led Central Europe to sublimate the past and practice “reverse racism” – against those seen as barbarian colonizers.

Being in line with Western (white) standards also includes the contemporary equation of progress with human rights, offering the option of labeling both the Nazi and the Soviet regimes as barbarian and anti-European, especially with regard to the politics concerning minorities. This double opposition, barbarian colonizers vs. “masters” who aimed to enlighten, and Central Europe vs. the colonies of the Western world, inclines scholars to measure the region’s own history of segregation in contrast to the extreme transgressions of the Nazi regime and to avoid accepting historical responsibility for the politics concerning minorities, which are measured against the atrocities of the Nazis. Among other driving forces, avoiding the reflection of such historical continuities aggravates the overdetermination of racism in the various realms of life for those relegated to proving their whiteness – namely, Roma.<sup>16</sup>

Following Levine-Rasky, we could say that in response to the threat of its loss, the identity of postcolonial Central Europe continues to be reproduced through mass education, popular culture, urbanization and migration.<sup>17</sup> In the case of Roma, the argument in favor of injustice and segregation in education continues to play an outstanding role due to a long-term focus on the limited educability of Roma. Over the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ineducability operated as a key theorized argument in favor of the most extreme forms of

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segregation, including forced sterilization and even extermination. Along with legitimizing segregation, theorizing ineducability laid the groundwork for negating Romani capacity as subjects of knowledge, which hindered practicing their identity and quite literally prevented Roma in Central Europe from becoming who they are.<sup>18</sup>

Due to its sacralized role in emancipation from a colonial past, the whiteness of Central Europe seems to be not only invisible but untouchable with regard to overcoming epistemic injustice – fostering a long-term deficit of credibility to those outsider groups whose knowledge has no status<sup>19</sup> and limiting or even blocking access to collective interpretative resources, which places Roma at an unfair disadvantage when it comes making sense of their social experience.<sup>20</sup>

### **Critical whiteness as the only option for epistemic justice for Roma in Central Europe: methodological grounds**

Miranda Fricker views epistemic justice as a regulator of the production and consumption of knowledge. While testimonial justice nurtures an economy of credibility, hermeneutical justice allows access to collective hermeneutical resources. Introducing these two interrelated types of justice immediately leads Fricker to a particular way of historicizing injustice as the output of practicing identity power, directly dependent upon shared social-imaginative conceptions of social identities.<sup>21</sup> As a socially situated capacity to control the actions of others, power produces the prejudices that represent a historical-constitutive form of “bad epistemic and moral luck” – for those who segregate as well as those who become the objects of applying such power.<sup>22</sup> This core concept in Fricker’s approach prescribes accepting historical responsibility rather than attributing blame:

There have always been prejudices . . . but the prejudices that may be in the air at any given time change with history. We need a conception of human beings as formed by the attitudes of their time yet capable too of taking a critical stance towards those attitudes.<sup>23</sup>

Historicizing epistemic injustice calls for recognizing the cultural-historical setting of prejudices as opposed to abstract transhistorical conceptualization. Contextualizing prejudices provides the grounds for a further step, namely, recognizing historically available and unavailable critical concepts in order “to distinguish exceptional moral judgements from routine ones, producing injustice, and to explain how a piece of moral progress – the move away from a practice . . . is possible.”<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the task of differentiating routine and exceptional judgements faces a potential vacuum of hermeneutical resources for recognizing injustice: “[D]ifferent groups can be hermeneutically disadvantaged for all sorts of reasons, as the changing social world frequently generates new sorts of experience of which our understanding may dawn only gradually.”<sup>25</sup> The inevitability of postponing hermeneutical justice provides the grounds for better understanding the power of prejudices which “can control our actions even despite our beliefs.”<sup>26</sup>

In this way, epistemic justice revises one of the central issues of historicity, “the tension between stability or continuity on the one hand and change or development on the other,”<sup>27</sup> and one of the palpable risks of historical narration is sacrificed to “a paradox consisting of explicit skepticism of modernization and implicitly ascertained criticism of the past.”<sup>28</sup> While historicizing should be led by the mission to overcome the extant routine of social interpretative habits that continue to serve injustice, the genetic narrative of injustice maps the practices aimed at reestablishing justice through revising the impact of whiteness. Comparing Fricker’s approach with two other ways of conceptualizing the role of knowledge in segregation – the violence of knowledge (Edward Said) and the collision of recognition vs. redistribution (Nancy Fraser, Jürgen Habermas and Axel Honneth) – points to the potential of epistemic justice for historicizing whiteness in Central Europe.

Originally, the violence of knowledge has concentrated on the postimperial realm of social knowledge. Jeffrey Guhin and Jonathan Wyrzten<sup>29</sup> explore different but overlapping forms of the violence of knowledge: the *violence of essentialization*, *epistemic violence* and the *violence of apprehension*. The *violence of essentialization* decontextualizes local and personal experience, opposing it to global notions mostly drawn from the Western “cultural archive.” Stressing the contrast between the right progressive values and local approaches claimed to be “dangerous” due to their “backwardness,” *epistemic violence* relegates the knowledge of locals to the margins of the Western academy, destroying and preventing its production. The adherents of Said tend to indict the violence produced even by knowledge that is not essentialist in its origin, but from particular contexts, arguing that such violence of knowledge reinforces segregation. For instance, “knowledge about local culture, society, or religion often not totally inaccurate . . . was then used to produce markers of native identity, the purpose of which was to reinforce a hierarchy between European colonizer and native colonized.”<sup>30</sup> Labeling this type of violence as the *violence of apprehension*, Guhin and Wyrzten focus on those who abuse their power by using such static categories of native identity. Relevant examples can be found in the practice of the removal of children from indigenous populations because of the ostensive inability of their parents to ensure a proper education – according to the opinion of child protection services.<sup>31</sup>

While this matrix is fruitful for mapping epistemic injustice, its focus on the opposition between postimperial and local knowledge represents the inevitable risk of transforming any knowledge into a tool of epistemic injustice: “[I]f culture can stand up against the State and not only add to its power, then there is some possibility for more or less accurate knowledge that does not immediately contribute to the three violences we describe.”<sup>32</sup> Prescribing this pathway toward social knowledge not only misses the task of recognizing hermeneutical resources suitable for restoring epistemic justice but also ignores the specifics of the violence of knowledge produced in postcolonial Central Europe, where theories affiliated with the Western academy remain seemingly untouchable for critical revision. Indeed, attachment theory or racial assimilationism, elaborated by the scholars of Central Europe, are still seen in opposition to the pressure of Soviet dogmatic pseudoscience. The deconstruction of these theoretical arguments requires not

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only applying the violence of knowledge matrix but also recognizing the historical wrongs of these theories concerning minorities – in terms of whiteness – and accepting responsibility for their reproduction.

The limits of the violence of knowledge concept reverberate with an important dilemma: the consistent negation of injustice vs. the risk of producing trivial knowledge that embeds the case of Central Europe in a range of contexts limited by understanding biopolitics as “a specific modern form of exercising power.”<sup>33</sup> The recently disseminated trend to recognize in the knowledge produced by anthropologists or eugenicists in Central Europe an instrument of biopolitics “calls into question the topology of the political.”<sup>34</sup> For instance, the shift from an organicist concept of biopolitics as the intention of the state to be aligned with biological laws to racist biopolitics aimed at designating an “authoritarian, hierarchically structured, and racially homogeneous community of people’s body”<sup>35</sup> has varied from country to country due to different political backgrounds, including the vicissitudes of the colonial experience and the scenarios of deliberation.

The collision of redistribution vs. recognition emphasizes another dilemma in historicizing epistemic injustice as the grounds for restoring justice: the inevitable asymmetry between the intention to be a virtuous hearer (and to stop producing testimonial injustice) and the impossibility of avoiding the pressure of shared stereotypes. Opposing redistribution (social equality, access to social rights) to recognition (various practices of acceptance and tolerance) is often seen through the lens of the complex relationship between justice and democracy.<sup>36</sup>

A very early approach developed during the “golden age” of the welfare state sets forth the role of social rights in promoting democratic rights, but changes in the global labor market and migration have transformed the role of citizenship and brought into focus the role of democratic rights for promoting social rights. Also, this approach faces the issue of recognition – accepting Otherness even within limited access to social rights. Honneth and Fraser offer two ways to cope with this dilemma. While Honneth emphasizes the role of social rights for ensuring recognition, in the late 1990s Fraser had stressed the prerequisite of recognition for practicing democratic rights but also opposed them to social rights.<sup>37</sup> In this dichotomy, she mentions post-socialism in particular as a primary factor in reproducing the dilemma of recognition vs. redistribution.<sup>38</sup> Later, Fraser reinforces the role of the political in exploring possible ways toward justice. In an interview given to George Yancy in 2015,<sup>39</sup> Fraser reconstructs this argumentation by introducing another dichotomy, expropriation vs. exploitation, which differentiates “laborers” and “slaves.” She easily transforms the question asked by Yancy (“In what specific ways must capitalism, because it is always already linked to racism, be restructured?”) into “Is it possible to abolish racial oppression without abolishing capitalism?” answering in terms of ideological affiliations:

Contra traditional understandings of socialism, an exclusive focus on exploitation cannot emancipate working people of any color; it is necessary also to target expropriation. . . . By the same token, contra liberal and “progressive” anti-racists, an exclusive focus on discrimination, ideology and law, is not



the royal road to overcoming racial oppression. . . . Both projects require a deeper radicalism – one aimed at structural transformation of the overall social matrix, at overcoming both of capitalism’s exes [expropriation and exploitation] by abolishing the system that generates their symbiosis.<sup>40</sup>

The theoretical dualism between structure and culture has led Fraser’s critics to rearrange the relations between economic and interpersonal drivers of injustice to emphasize the multilevel contradictions palpable at the micro-institutional and local levels, in contrast to the macro-structural approach offered by Fraser. According to Judith Butler, the polarization of economic and cultural justice as analytically distinct does not reflect the complex political realities and intersections of justice claims.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, what are the prerequisites for being able to practice recognition? How can we ensure the production of the knowledge indispensable to practicing recognition? These questions mark the main critical point in the debates between Fraser and her critics, regarding what the “proper” historically situated knowledge of modern society is, and who produces this knowledge. The recent attempts to apply Fraser’s matrix to the issue of Roma inevitably emphasize neo-liberal politics as a main factor in reproducing structural violence against Roma<sup>42</sup> and neglect the task of specifying the historical continuity between (1) the long-term history of applying analogies with non-white people to Roma and (2) contemporary moral campaigns against Roma stemming from the migrant “crisis.”

Fricker, who consistently interlinks epistemic injustice with other types of injustice, introduces a solid argument in favor of reflecting the various factors leading to recognition as a part of practicing epistemic justice. The core driving force of epistemic injustice – identity power – “typically operates in conjunction with other forms of social power. Consider a social order in which a rigid class system imposes an asymmetrical code of practical and discursive conduct on members of different classes.”<sup>43</sup> While epistemic injustice reestablishes the relationship among social settings, the position of a single hearer or producer of knowledge directly depends on social status: “[H]ermeneutical marginalization *entails* marginalization of a socioeconomic sort, since it entails non-participation in professions that make for significant hermeneutical participation (journalism, politics, law, and so on).”<sup>44</sup> Applying this approach to Central Europe allows us to revise simplistic views of the socialist period as a period of economic equality and to deepen our understanding of particular forms of structural injustice established and fixed during that period. In this turn, the impact of historical continuities on reproducing injustice calls for recognizing the driving forces behind structural violence – with a focus on whiteness as an agent and a structure of nation-building in Central Europe.

### **Remapping postcolonial Central Europe: the book’s structure**

As long as whiteness operates as an invisible but influential framework for injustice, including unequal access to producing and disseminating knowledge concerning segregation against minorities, historicizing Roma in Central Europe calls

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for redefining the formation of postcolonial Central Europe as orchestrated by the desire to obtain whiteness. This book aims to solve two interrelated tasks: (1) to deconstruct the contemporary obstacles to accepting the legacy of whiteness in the history of Roma in Central Europe and (2) to retell the history of Roma as a genetic narrative of whiteness in the region. The book consists of two parts. Part I aims to fix the entire apparatus of collective social meaning effectively geared toward keeping the obscured experience of whiteness out of sight.<sup>45</sup> Part II explores the ineducability of Roma as a structuration of whiteness, a product of practices racializing Roma and one of the core arguments made by those who produced whiteness – scholars and public experts.

The first part of the book, “Whiteness: the never-ending story of epistemic injustice,” redefines whiteness as a key source of the ongoing reproduction of epistemic injustice against Roma in Central Europe, even amid attempts to restore access for Roma to provide testimonies and produce collective hermeneutical resources concerning their experience. It is thematized according to three main post-socialist pathways in historicizing injustice against Roma that moderate the exchange of testimonies: (1) pathologizing the past of Roma; (2) normalizing (whitening) Roma by embedding their history in transnational and transhistorical concepts such as human rights; and (3) remarginalizing collective and individual memories of Roma concerning the daily practices of survival as the core for understanding the historical continuities in injustice and the attempts to overcome them.<sup>46</sup>

We focus on the outward and inward commensurability of each of the pathways with injustice in terms of whiteness and options for achieving justice. While these pathways have moved beyond the frontiers of academia and started to influence public discourses concerning Roma, including massive visualization efforts in films, exhibitions, museum expositions and memorials, we examine them as either providing or blocking the options for restoring epistemic trustworthiness to Roma, ensuring two distinct components – competence and sincerity – as well as the frameworks for emancipating scholars from the pressure of whiteness.

Part II, “The (in)educability of Roma: Central Europe between overt and enlightened racism,” historicizes the idea of the (in)educability of Roma in line with its dual role in producing whiteness. Recognizing justice as a process aimed at radically negating injustice, rather than a maximally abstracted rational idealization of human beings, calls for a clear criterion of historically significant events that initiate or constitute ruptures, mutations or, more generally, transformations in social forms of injustice.<sup>47</sup> By exploring different approaches to theorizing the (in)educability of Roma and their historical interrelation, we revise the racialization of Roma as a process of “layering” (the partial renegotiation of some elements while leaving previously established elements in place) and “conversion” (using existing practices and discourses in the service of new goals)<sup>48</sup> of the theorized arguments and the practices that led to multilevel segregation of Roma as non-white, including the negation of their capacities as the subjects of knowledge about themselves and their past.

The main sources for this analysis include academic journals, as well as materials housed in the State Archives in Košice, Slovakia (SaK); the Archive of the Group of Anthropology, Department of Biology, Biotechnical Faculty, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; the Třeboň Regional Archives, Czech Republic; the Archive of the Museum of Romani Culture, Brno, Czech Republic; the Archive of the Institute of Anthropology, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic; the Archive of the National Museum in Prague; and the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague.

The retrospective analysis in the four chapters comprising Part II collocates chronological and thematic approaches to historical narration that represent four interrelated time-space realms that have infiltrated education with whiteness: (1) one of the earliest attempts to establish the politics of enforced assimilation of Roma during Maria Theresa's reforms, reflected in an essay by Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann (1756–1804); (2) the application of recapitulation theory to defining the status of postcolonial Central Europe in the global racial order and using the argument regarding the presence of “White Gypsies” either in favor of or against defining Central Europe among whites; (3) the interrogation of two main approaches for institutionalizing a racialized approach to Roma between the 1920s and 1940s and constructing Roma as an ineducable ethnic group at high risk for social security: either mixing with “lower” racial groups or, conversely, the lack of biological drift; and (4) the growing meta-racism during the postwar period, explored through deconstructing the politics aimed at ensuring inclusion of Roma and revising the crystallization of the international community of racially minded experts.

Cynthia Levine-Rasky stresses the importance of understanding how the meaning of whiteness has been constructed in the social imagination in particular times and places. While “philosophical, theological, and scientific thought converged to produce a comprehensive rationale for the distinction between whiteness and all deviations from this ideal,”<sup>49</sup> our historical responsibility cries out for comprehensive deconstruction of this pathway.

## Notes

- 1 In 1807, Grellmann's thesis was translated into English and published in London. Stylistically, and in terms of content, this English translation fully reproduced the original German version of Grellmann's text. We used this translation – without changing the orthography and syntaxes. Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann (1807) *Dissertation on the Gipseys: Representing Their Manner of Life, Occupations and Trades, Marriages and Education, Sickness, Death and Burials, Religion, Sciences, Art*, London, William Ballintine, p. 99.
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  - 16 Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2013) *Whiteness Fractured*, Surrey, Ashgate, p. 13.
  - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
  - 18 Miranda Fricker (2007) *Epistemic Injustice: Power & the Ethics of Knowing*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
  - 19 Levine-Rasky, p. 11.
  - 20 Fricker, p. 1.
  - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
  - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
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- 44, 2, pp. 195–216, 209; Doron Avraham (2013) The “Racialization” of Jewish Self-Identity: The Response to Exclusion in Nazi Germany, 1933–1938, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 19, 3, pp. 354–374.
- 36 Veronika Lipphardt (2008) *Biologie der Juden: jüdische Wissenschaftler über “Rasse” und Vererbung 1900–1935* [*The Biology of Jews: Jewish Scholars about “Race” and Inheritance 1900–1935*], Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Klein-Pejšová, p. 144.
- 39 Roger I. Simon (2013) The Public Rendition of Images Médusées: Exhibiting Souvenir Photographs Taken at Lynchings, in Ranjan Ghosh and Ethan Kleinberg (eds.) *America in Presence: Philosophy, History, and Cultural Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, pp. 79–102, 83.
- 40 Celia Donert (2017) *The Rights of the Roma: The Struggle for Citizenship in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 5.
- 41 Ibid, p. 4, emphasis ours.
- 42 For instance, the attempts by some sedentarized Roma, targeted for assimilation, to be released from obligatory monitoring, or the numerous legal cases of Slovak Roma who wished to return to Slovakia after spending several months in Bohemian dispersion programs, do not figure as examples of fighting for rights.
- 43 Donert, p. 216.
- 44 Victoria Shmidt (2019) *The Politics of Disability in Interwar and Socialist Czechoslovakia: Segregating in the Name of the Nation*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- 45 Donert, p. 29.
- 46 The historical inaccuracy of Donert in prescribing to Malá a central role in launching anthropological research on Roma in the early 1960s, who was too young (26 years old) for such a position, and instead mentioning the leader, Jaroslav Suchý, a former doctoral student of Malý and supervisor of Malá, reflects the lack of systematic attention to the role of race science in legitimizing the segregation of Roma in postwar Czechoslovakia.
- 47 Donert, pp. 169–170.
- 48 Both Schultz and Malý elaborated the issue of Roma, with the first articles by Malý about the “Gypsy issue” appearing during the Protectorate period.
- 49 Donert, p. 229.
- 50 Targeted at recognizing how the necessity to meet science in their argument against scientific racism limited anti-racist African American scholars, Stepan and Gilman elaborate three pathways for internalizing dominant, racial, discourse: cannibalization, disarticulation and reassemblage. See Nancy Leys Stepan and Sander L. Gilman (1993) Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism, in Sarah Harding (ed.) *The “Racial” Economy of Science toward a Democratic Future*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp. 170–193, 179.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Hallvard Fossheim (2019) Past Responsibility: History and the Ethics of Research on Ethnic Groups, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, pp. 73, 38.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Miranda Fricker (2007) *Epistemic Injustice: Power & the Ethics of Knowing*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 1.
- 56 bell hooks (1989) *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, Boston, South End Press, p. 113.

- 1 Jan Foll (1995) Dotočí Petr Václav svůj celovečerní debut Marian? Outsideri na vedlejších kolejích [Will Petr Václav Make His Feature Debut Marian? Outsiders on the Sidelines], *Lidové noviny*, 11.10.1995, s. VIII, č. 238.
- 2 Filmová a televizní fakulta Akademie múzických umění v Praze (Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague).
- 3 Jan Šikl and Petr Václav (1993) *Marian Námět, synopse, literární scénář* [*Marian: Theme, Synopsis, Literary Script*], Národní Filmový Archiv, Knihovna.
- 4 *Requiem pro panenku* [Requiem for a Maiden] by Filip Renč (1991) and *Kolja* by Jan Svěrák (1996) are the clearest examples of this trend in early post-socialist Czech film.
- 5 Correctional institutions.
- 6 *Diagnostický ústav*, or in the Czech slang definition, *past'ák*, refers to residential care institutions aimed at providing the most appropriate placement for children in conflict with the law. The word *past'ák* originates from the Czech *past*, meaning trap but also *pastýř*, meaning shepherd or pastor.
- 7 Šikl and Václav 1993.
- 8 5 otázek pro Jana Šikla [5 questions for Jan Šikl], Film 1996 14.1–15.11. s.35.
- 9 Foll, s. VIII.
- 10 Jan Jaroš (1996) Slibný debut Petra Václava [The Promising Debut of Petr Václav], *Reflex*, 49, p. 26.
- 11 Eva Kucová (1995) Chytilová žádala radnici o peníze na film pro kolegu [Chytilová Asked the Town Hall for Money for a Film by Her Colleague], *MF Dnes*, 4.10.1995, 1.VI No 232.
- 12 In the original, the word used is *cikáně*, which is consonant with the word for puppy – *štěně*.
- 13 *Večerník*, Jeden z Marianů [One of the Marians], Praha, 20.02.1997, s. 13.
- 14 Alena Prokopová (1997) Marian -příběh o tíze osudu [Marian – The Story of the Weight of Fate], *Lidové noviny*, 15.01.1997, s. 30.
- 15 Jaroš, p. 26.
- 16 Even in 2011, the report of the European Roma Rights Centre concerning residential care for Romani children was titled “Life Sentence,” although the content and conclusions were not so dramatic. It mainly attacked the discontinuity among different stages of social intervention with Romani families.
- 17 Pavelčíková (2004) *Romové v českých zemích v letech 1945–1989* [*Roma in the Czech Lands, 1945–1989*], Praha, Úřad, p. 9.
- 18 *Ibid*, pp. 134, 135.
- 19 Nina Pavelčíková is a historian from the University of Ostrava, who has gained a reputation as one of the key experts concerning the history of Roma.
- 20 *Ibid*, p. 136.
- 21 *Ibid*, p. 104.
- 22 Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2002) *Working through Whiteness: International Perspectives*, Albany, State University of New York Press, p. 16.
- 23 Probably, the most persistent echo of pathologizing Roma is the series of recent psychological surveys among Romani and non-Romani parents aimed at elaborating the fundamental differences between their approaches to parenthood in order to explain the complications of the educational system through such differences. For instance, in the 2003 publication, *Romové v české společnosti: jak se nám spolu žije jaké má naše soužití vyhlídky* [*The Roma in Czech Society: How Do We Live Together, What Are the Perspectives for Our Co-Existence*, Pavel Navrátil [ed.] Praha, Portal], a collection of essays written by Czech psychologists, some experts compare Romani mothers with gardeners, while Czech mothers are like pot makers – because of either their passive or active role in raising children (pp. 106–107). Generally, all these experts emphasize the need to elaborate collective rather than individual specifics of Roma as different; because of their shared experience, their

experiences were often labeled as spiritual dying or spiritual death, and the inability to maintain individuality due to such traumatic events as the *Porajmos* or socialist surveillance (p. 58).

- 24 Pavelčíková, p. 14.
- 25 Ibid, p. 13.
- 26 Ibid, p. 14.
- 27 Nira Yuval Davis (1997) *Gender and Nation*, London, Sage.
- 28 Levine-Rasky, p. 16.
- 29 Miranda Fricker (2007) *Epistemic Injustice: Power & the Ethics of Knowing*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, p. 154.
- 30 Wendy Brown (1997) The Impossibility of Women's Studies, *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 9, 3, pp. 79–101, 87.
- 31 Nira Yuval Davis (2010) Theorizing Identity: Beyond the 'Us' and 'Them' Dichotomy, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44, 3, pp. 261–280.
- 32 Wendy Brown (2005) *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics*, Princeton, NJ and Oxford, Princeton University Press, p. 32.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Julia Sardelić (2018) In and Out from the European Margins: Reshuffling Mobilities and Legal Statuses of Romani Minorities between the Post-Yugoslav Space and the European Union, *Social Identities*, 24, 4, pp. 489–504, 491.
- 35 Ibid, p. 492.
  - 1 Jörn Rüsen (1997) Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason, *History and Theory*, 26, 4, pp. 87–97.
  - 2 Cornel West (1982) A Genealogy of Modern Racism, in Cornel West (ed.) *Prophecy Deliverance! Towards an Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity*, Philadelphia, PA, Westminster Press, pp. 47–68, 53–54.
  - 3 For example, the conference “Romové a majorita: k výchově zdravých vztahů mezi lidmi” [“Roma and the Majority: Towards Cultivating Healthy Relationships Among People”], patronized by Jarosláv Balvíin, one of the most influential historians of Czech education, held in Kladno in December 1996, was targeted at equipping teachers in special schools with new competencies for working with Romani students.
  - 4 Rüsen, p. 89.
  - 5 Celia Donert (2017) *The Rights of the Roma: The Struggle for Citizenship in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
  - 6 Rüsen, p. 90.
  - 7 Nira Yuval Davis (2010) Theorizing Identity: Beyond the 'Us' and 'Them' Dichotomy, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 44, 3, pp. 261–280, 266.
  - 8 Györgz Csepeli and Dávid Simon (2004) Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-Identification, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30, 1, pp. 129–150, 132.
  - 9 Věra Sokolová (2008) *Cultural Politics of Ethnicity: Discourses on the Roma in Communist Czechoslovakia*, Stuttgart, Ibidem-Verlag.
  - 10 The casting of both films reflected the intention of the film director to make the films attractive to the audience. In *Kdo se bojí utíká*, the most popular actors of that period were recruited. *Radikální řez* employed non-professional Romani actors together with popular Czech actors.
  - 11 Zuzana Mojžišová (2014) *Premýšľanie o filmových Rómoch* [Thinking About the Roma in Films], Bratislava, Vysoká škola múzických umení Bratislava, Filmová a televízna fakulta.
  - 12 It is reasonable to mention Czech films that included Roma in the narration, such as *Dobré svetlo* [A Good Light, Karel Kachyňa, 1986] and *Skalpel, prosím* [Scalpel, Please, Jiří Svoboda, 1985], which both introduced Roma as supporting characters in a positive manner.

- 13 Sokolová, p. 49.
- 14 Ibid, p. 66.
- 15 West, p. 49.
- 16 Sokolová, p. 103.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Michal Frankl and Miloslav Szabó (2015) *Budování státu bez antisemitismu? Násilí, diskurz lojality a vznik Československa [Building the State Without Anti-Semitism? Violence, Discourse of Loyalty and the Appearance of Czechoslovakia]*, Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 306.
- 19 Davis, p. 268.
- 20 Roy Bhaskar (2005) *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences*, London, Routledge, p. 41.
- 21 Ibid, p. 36, emphasis ours.
- 22 Muriel Blaive (2001) *Promarněná příležitost. Československo a rok 1956 [A Missed Opportunity: Czechoslovakia and the Year 1956]*, Praha, Prostor.
- 23 Martin Schulze Wessel (2018) *Pražské jaro: Průlom do nového světa [Prague Spring: Breakthrough into a New World]*, Prague, ARGO.
- 24 Pavel Kolář and Michal Pullmann (2016) *Co byla normalizace? Studie o pozdním socialismu [What was Normalization? Studies of Late Socialism]*, Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny; Michal Pullmann (2011) *Konec experimentu. Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu. [The End of the Experiment: The Transformation and Crush of Communism in Czechoslovakia]*, Praha, Scriptorium.
- 25 Rüsen, p. 92.
- 26 Kolář and Pullmann, pp. 16–17.
- 27 Donert, p. 16.
- 28 Matěj Spurný (2011) *Nejsou jako my: Česká společnost a menšiny v pohraničí (1945–1960) [They Are Not Like We Are: Czech Society and Minorities in the Border Zone (1945–1960)]*, Praha, Antikomplex, p. 281.
- 29 The book was published in English: Matěj Spurný (2019) *Making the Most of Tomorrow: A Laboratory of Socialist Modernity in Czechoslovakia*, Prague, Carolinum.
- 30 Sandra Harding (1997) Is Modern Science an Ethnoscience? Rethinking Epistemological Assumptions, in Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (ed.) *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 45–70, 54.
- 31 Spurný (2011), p. 248.
- 32 Ibid, pp. 240, 246.
- 33 In 2009, Barbora Šebová defended her masters thesis, “Škola Míru” v Květušíně 1950–1954 (a její pokračování na Dobré Vodě u Prachatic) – kritická reflexe v historickém kontextu 50 [“The School of Peace” in Květušín 1950–1954 (and its Continuation at Dobrá Voda u Prachatic) – a Critical Reflection on the Historical Context of the 1950s], which revealed the consistent practice of educators to hide the letters sent by parents from their children. Diplomová práce, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, Ústav jižní a centrální Asie Seminář romistiky.
- 34 Spurný (2011), p. 263.
- 35 Tomáš Kudrna (2015) *Zatajené dopisy [Suppressed Letters]* production of Studio OmeU D.
- 36 Jaroslav Balvín (2016) *Etika učitele jako zápas [The Ethics of the Teacher as a Fight]*, *Speciální pedagogika*, 26, 1, pp. 60–74.
- 37 Ibid, p. 66.
- 38 Rüsen, p. 92.
- 39 Kateřina Nedbálková and Kateřina Sidiropulu Janků (eds.) (2015) *Doing Research, Making Science: The Memory of Roma Workers*, Brno, Masaryk University, p. 27.
- 40 Kateřina Sidiropulu Janků (2015) *Khatar san? Jak slovenští Romové přišli do českých zemí za prací a co se dělo potom (katalog k výstavě) [Khatar San? How Slovak Roma*

- Came to the Czech Lands for Work and What Happened Next (Exhibition Catalog)*, Brno: Masarykova univerzita, p. 12.
- 41 Lenka Jandáková (2015) *Zatajené dopisy: Dokument o experimentu s romskými dětmi* [*Suppressed Letters: Documentary about the Experiment with Romani Children*], available online at [www.romea.cz/cz/kultura/film/zatajene-dopisy-material-pro-dilnu-lidskosti](http://www.romea.cz/cz/kultura/film/zatajene-dopisy-material-pro-dilnu-lidskosti).
  - 42 Kateřina Sidiropulu Janků (2013) Marginalizovaní pamětníci, marginalizované vzpomínky. Romští dělníci vzpomínají na příchod do českých zemí za prací po druhé světové válce [Marginalizing Narrators, Marginalized Memories: Roma Workers Remember Their Arrival to the Czech Lands for Jobs after World War II], in Petr Bednařík, Blanka Soukopová and Helena Nosková (eds.) *Paměť – Národ – Menšiny – Marginalizace – Identity I*, Praha, Kosmas, pp. 143–153, 148.
  - 43 Šebová, pp. 101–102.
  - 44 Sidiropulu Janků, p. 147.
  - 45 For example, Sidiropulu Janků stresses her intention to avoid any affiliation with labeling the history of Roma as a “cultural holocaust.”
    - 1 Nancy Ley Stepan (1986) Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science, *Isis*, 77, 2, pp. 261–277.
    - 2 Wim Willems (1997) *In Search of the True Gypsies: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, London, Routledge, pp. 36–37.
    - 3 Katrin Ufen (1996) Aus Zigeuner Menschen machen. Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann und das Zigeunerbild der Aufklärung [Constructing Gypsies: Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann and the Image of Gypsies during the Enlightenment], in Wulf D. Hund (ed.) *Zigeuner: Geschichte und Struktur einer rassistischen Konstruktion* [*Gypsies: The History and Structure of One Racist Framework*], Duisburg, DISS, pp. 67–90.
    - 4 Willems, p. 40.
    - 5 Nicholas Saul (2007) *Gypsies and Orientalism in German Literature and Anthropology of the Long Nineteenth Century*, London, Legenda, p. 6.
    - 6 Marion Bonnino (2000) *Zigeunerpolitik im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918* [*Gypsy Politics in the German Empire 1871–1918*], Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p. 19.
    - 7 Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann (1807) *Dissertation on the Gipseys: Representing Their Manner of Life, Occupations and Trades, Marriages and Education, Sickness, Death and Burials, Religion, Sciences, Art*, London, William Ballintine, p. 66.
    - 8 Viviana A. Zelizer (1985). *Pricing the Priceless Child*, New York: Basic Books, Inc.; Nancy Folbre (2008) *Valuing Children: Rethinking the Economics of the Family*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
    - 9 Shulamith Shahar (2017) *Religious, Vagabonds, and Gypsies in Early Modern Europe*, available online at <https://brewminate.com/religious-vagabonds-and-gypsies-in-early-modern-europe/>.
    - 10 Grellmann 12, emphasis in original.
    - 11 Philippe Descola (2005) *Beyond Nature and Culture, Radcliffe-Brown Lecture in Social Anthropology*, available online at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.470.4920&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
    - 12 Grellmann, p. 31.
    - 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
    - 14 *Ibid.*
    - 15 *Ibid.*
    - 16 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
    - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
    - 18 *Ibid.*
    - 19 *Ibid.*
    - 20 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
    - 21 Nathan Ron (2018) Erasmus’ Ethnological Hierarchy of Peoples and Races, *History of European Ideas*, 44, 8, pp. 1063–1075, 1064.

- 22 Ibid, p. 1065.
- 23 Grellmann, p. 95.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Justin Smith (1997) *Nature, Human Nature and Human Difference Race in Early Modern Philosophy*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, p. 53.
- 26 Grellmann, p. 99.
- 27 Ibid, p. 100.
- 28 Panikos Panayi (2000) *Ethnic Minorities in 19th and 20th Century Germany: Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others*, New York, Routledge.
- 29 Karl von Heister (1842) *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner [Ethnographic and Historical Comments about the Gypsies]*, Königsberg, Verlagsort, pp. 146–147.
- 30 Londa Schiebinger (1993) *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press.
- 31 Smith, p. 116.
- 32 Ibid, p. 124.
- 33 Grellmann, p. 11.
- 34 Steve Fenton (2003) *Ethnicity*, Malden, MA, Polity Press, p. 2.
- 35 Sara Ahmed (2007) Phenomenology of Whiteness, *Feminist Studies*, 8, 2, pp. 149–168, 154.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Grellmann, p. 34.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid, p. 65.
- 40 Ibid, p. 46.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid, p. 66.
- 43 Ibid, emphasis in original.
- 44 Ibid, p. 12.
- 45 Willems, p. 209.
- 46 Grellmann, p. 16.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid, p. 25.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid, p. 26.
- 51 Jennie Jacobs Kronenfeld (2006) Gender and Health Status, in Janet Saltzman Chafetz (ed.) *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, Houston, TX, Springer University of Houston, pp. 459–481, 461.
- 52 Grellmann, p. 104.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid, p. 106.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Stepan, p. 264.
- 58 Grellmann, p. 101.
- 59 Ibid, p. 58.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 David Theo Goldberg (2004) The End(s) of Race, *Postcolonial Studies*, 7, 2, pp. 211–230, 213.
- 62 In line with Bauman's concept of liquid modernity, the idea of liquid racism sheds light on combining overt racism with cultural signifiers that are not necessarily racist into powerful structures of racist thinking, which are difficult to negate.

- 63 Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1873) *Smyrna: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die geographischen, wirtschaftlichen und intellectuellen verhältnisse von Vorder-Kleinasien* [*Smyrna: With Special Attention to the Geographical, Economic and Intellectual Conditions of Middle East Asia*], Wien, Holder, p. 68.
- 64 Heister, p. 18.
- 65 Ibid, p. 19.
- 66 Alexandros Geōrgious Paspatēs (1870) *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman* [*Studies on the Gypsies or Bohemians of the Ottoman Empire*], Constantinople, Antoine Koroméla, p. X.
- 67 Viktor Lebzelter (1922) Anthropologische Untersuchungen an serbischen Zigeunern [Anthropological studies on Serbian gypsies], in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* [*News of the Anthropological Society in Vienna*], Band 52, Wien, Im Selbstverlage der Gesellschaft, pp. 23–42, 26.
- 1 Marij Avčín (1913–1995) was a prominent physician, who, while simultaneously participating in the survey of Roma, had a fellowship in Denmark for studying genetics and social pediatrics.
- 2 The massive multidisciplinary measurement of Roma between 1960 and 1961 was organized by an interdepartmental team of Slovenian scholars and financially supported by the foundation of Boris Kidrič, which operated between 1953 and 1970, and aimed at elaborating the natural sciences in Slovenia.
- 3 Marij Avčín (1969) Gypsy Isolates in Slovenia, *Journal of Biosocial Sciences*, 1, pp. 221–233, 225.
- 4 The data concerning Roma in France were provided within the Human Adaptability Program (HAP), continued in the 1960s as the International Biological Program (IBP), the interdisciplinary network targeted with charting human biological variation around the world.
- 5 Brigitte Fuchs (2003) *Rasse, Volk, Geschlecht Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850–1960* [*Race, People, Gender: Anthropological Discourses in Austria between 1850 and 1960*], Frankfurt and New York, Campus Verlag.
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- 10 David Theo Goldberg (2004) The End(s) of Race *Postcolonial Studies*, 7, 2, pp. 211–230, 212.
- 11 Adam Kuper (2019) Civilization, Culture, and Race: Anthropology in the Nineteenth Century, in Warren Breckman and Peter Gordon (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Modern European Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 398–421.
- 12 Wells, p. 136.
- 13 Fuchs (2003), p. 64.
- 14 Ibid, pp. 61–62.
- 15 Brigitte Fuchs (2011) Orientalizing Disease: Austro-Hungarian Policies of “Race,” Gender and Hygiene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1874–1914, in Christian Promitzer, Sevasti Troumpeta and Marius Turda (eds.). *Health, Hygiene, and Eugenics in South-eastern Europe to 1945*, Budapest, CEU Press, pp. 57–85, 63.
- 16 Frank Spenser (ed.) (1997) *History of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 2, New York and London, Garland Publishing, p. 110.
- 17 Fuchs (2003), pp. 121–122.
- 18 For a more in-depth view on the interrogation between race science and folk racism, see Chris Manias (2013) *Race, Science and the Nation: Reconstructing the Ancient*



- Past in Britain, France and Germany, 1800–1914*, London and New York, Taylor & Francis.
- 19 Jean-Christophe Coffin (1992) Le thème de la dégénérescence de la race autour de 1860 [The Theme of the Degeneracy of the Races in the 1860s], *History of European Ideas*, 15, 4–6, pp. 727–732.
  - 20 Eve Rosenhaft (2008) Black Germans, in Prem Poddar, Rajeev Patke and Lars Jensen (eds.) *Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures: Continental Europe and its Colonies*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 211–212.
  - 21 Andrew D. Evans (2010) Science Behind the Lines: The Effects of World War I on Anthropology in Germany, in Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti and Monique Scheer (eds.) *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones*, Bielefeld, Transcript Histoire, pp. 99–122, 110.
  - 22 John Beddoe (1885) *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*, Bristol, Arrowsmith.
  - 23 John Beddoe (1870) *The Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles*, London, Asher and Co.
  - 24 Fuchs (2003).
  - 25 Rudolf Virchow (1874) Die ursprüngliche Bevölkerung Deutschlands und Europas [The Native Population of Germany and Europe], in Die vierte allgemeine Versammlung der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte zu Wiesbaden am 15. Bis 17. September 1873 [The Fourth General Assembly of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory in Wiesbaden, September 5–17, 1873], in *Nach stenographischen Aufzeichnungen redigirt von Dr. A. v. Frantzius in Heidelberg* [Edited and recorded by Dr. A. v. Frantzius in Heidelberg], Braunschweig, Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, pp. 45–54, 45.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
  - 27 Paul Weindling (1989) *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 39.
  - 28 Rudolf Virchow (1885) Gesamtbericht über die Statistik der Farbe der Augen, der Haare und der Haut Schulkinder in Deutschland. [General Report on the Statistics of the Color of the Eyes, Hair and Skin of Schoolchildren in Germany], in *Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. 16. Jahrgang. 1885* [Correspondence Sheet from the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory, 16th century, 1885], Redigirt von Professor Dr. Johannes Ranke in München [Edited by Professor Dr. Johannes Ranke in Munich], München, Akademische Buchdruckerei von F. Straub, pp. 89–100.
  - 29 Andrew Zimmerman (1999) Anti-Semitism as Skill: Rudolf Virchow's Schulstatistik and the Racial Composition of Germany, *Central European History*, 32, 4, pp. 409–429, 419.
  - 30 *Ibid.*
  - 31 *Ibid.*, p. 420.
  - 32 Evans, p. 104.
  - 33 Fuchs (2003), p. 159.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
  - 35 Christopher M. Hutton (2005) *Race and the Third Reich: Linguistics, Racial Anthropology and Genetics in the Dialectic of Volk*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press, p. 50.
  - 36 Marsha L. Rozenblit (2005) Sustaining Austrian "National" Identity in Crisis: The Dilemma of the Jews in Habsburg Austria, 1914–1919, in Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (eds.) *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books, pp. 178–191.
  - 37 Zimmerman, p. 410.
  - 38 Evans, p. 116.
  - 39 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

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- 57 Christian Promitzer (2004) The South Slavs in the Austrian Imaginations: Serbs and Slovenes in the Changing View from German Nationalism to National Socialism, in Nancy Wingfield (ed.) *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books, pp. 183–216, 185.
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- 59 Evans, p. 115.
- 60 Promitzer, p. 208.
- 61 Evans.
- 62 Promitzer, p. 197.
- 63 “Undesirable aliens” was a concept disseminated among the U.S. public and racially minded scholars, concerning migrants from Latin America and Central Europe. In 1929, this concept was the basis for the Undesirable Aliens Act or Blease’s Law.
- 64 Sandra Harding (2006) *Science and Social Inequality: Feminist and Postcolonial Issues*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, pp. 29–30.
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- 70 Young, p. 430.
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- 73 Grant, p. 56.
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- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 80 Monroe (1907), p. 90.
- 81 Will Monroe (1900) *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.
- 82 Alexander Barder (2019) Scientific Racism, Race War and the Global Racial Imaginary, *Third World Quarterly*, 40, 2, pp. 207–223, 210.
- 83 Grant, p. 59.
- 84 Joseph Deniker (1913) *The Races of Man: The Contemporary Science Series. An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*, London, Walter Scott Publishing.
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- 86 Deniker, p. 126.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 325.
- 89 Virchow (1885), pp. 90, 95.
- 90 Deniker, p. 8.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 345.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 94 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
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- 96 Fuchs (2003), p. 129.

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- 119 Ibid.
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- 140 Glück (1897), p. 409.
- 141 Tihomir Đorđević (1903) *Die Zigeuner in Serbien: ethnologische Forschungen [Gypsies in Serbia: Ethnologic Studies]*, Wien, Thalia, p. 3.
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- 4 Ibid, pp. 132–133.
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- 31 Ibid.
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- 33 Robert Gaupp (1925) *Die Unfruchtbarmachung geistig und sittlich kranker und Minderwertiger* [*The Infertility of the Mentally and Morally Ill and Inferior*], Berlin, Julius Springer Verlag. A rigorous exploration of the inception and further transfer of the stigma of the “bastard” is presented in Christine Kunst (2009) Kontinuitäten der Stigmatisierung von “Mischlingkindern” und “Farbigen” am Beispiel der “Rheinlandbastarde” [Continuities of the Stigmatization of “Mixed-Race Children” and “Colored People” Through the Example of the “Rhineland Bastard”], in Stefanie Westermann et al. (eds.) *Medizin im Dienst der “Erbgesundheit”: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eugenik und “Rassenhygiene”* [*Medicine in the Service of “Hereditary Health”: Contributions to the History of Eugenics and “Racial Hygiene”*], Berlin, Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, pp. 109–126.
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- 38 In his letters to Matiegka, Štampach complained about the workload at school, which was described as an obstacle to his research interests. Additionally, Ritter had to leave his first job after one year due to conflicts with superior colleagues.
- 39 Štampach used two different words for defining police, *četnictví*, relevant to the Austro-Hungarian period, and *policie*, introduced after 1918.
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- 76 Steiner, p. 60.
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 František Štampach (1931) *Tělesný a duševní vývoj cikánského dítěte* [The Physical and Mental Development of a Gypsy Child], in *Čtvrtý sjezd pro výzkum dítěte V Bratislavě 25.-27. října 1930*, Prague, Výbor pro pořádání sjezdů pro výzkum dítěte, pp. 174–177, 177.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

- 80 Olga Holub (1933) První cikánské děti v dívčí výchovné české zemské komise pro péči o mládež v Jilemnici [The First Gypsy Children Under the Care of the Regional Board of Care for Youth in Jilemnici], *Úchylná mládež*, IX, pp. 45–47.
- 81 Shmidt (2019) *The Politics of Disability*.
- 82 Justin, p. 35.
- 83 Ibid, p. 32.
- 84 Ibid, p. 32.
- 85 Ritter (1937) *Ein Menschenschlag Erbärztliche*, p. 21.
- 86 Justin, p. 50.
- 87 Stefan Kühl recognized the direct impact of such family surveys on German eugenics: “National Socialists enthusiastically adopted the stories of the Jukes and Kallikaks in order to legitimize their own sterilization program”; see Stefan Kühl (2002) *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 41.
- 88 Justin, p. 37.
- 89 Ibid, p. 50.
- 90 Ibid, p. 49.
- 91 Ibid, p. 47.
- 92 Ibid, p. 33.
- 93 Ibid, p. 42.
- 94 Ibid, p. 54.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid, p. 52.
- 97 Ibid, p. 49.
- 98 Ibid, p. 33.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid, p. 52.
- 102 Ritter (1937) *Mitteuropäische Zigeuner*, p. 52.
- 103 More about the role of Weltzel in Porajmos can be found in Eve Rosenhaft (2008) Exchanging Glances: Ambivalence in Twentieth-Century Photographs of German Sinti, *Third Text*, 22, 3, pp. 311–324.
- 104 Hanns Weltzel (1938) The Gypsies of Central Germany, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 24, pp. 73–77, 73–74.
- 105 Ibid, p. 74.
- 106 Alexander Petrović (1940) Contributions to the Studies of the Serbian Gypsies, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, XIX, 1–2, p. 99.
- 107 Alexander Petrović (1940) Review on *Les Migrations Humaines: etude de Vesprit migratoire* [Human Migration: Study of the Migration Mind], Ragnard Numelin with preface de Edward Westermarck, Paris, Payot, 1939, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, XIX, 1–2, pp. 53–57, 55.
- 108 Wouter Van Wijk (1948) *A Classificatory Account of the Gypsies Mainly Based on Material Accumulated in the “Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society.”* Leiden, Eduard Ijdo Ltd, p. 250.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid, p. 129.
- 111 Ibid, p. 250.
- 112 Ibid, p. 252.
- 113 Moravek, pp. 12–13.
- 114 Andrej Kotljarchuk (2016) *Roma and Travellers in Sweden during World War II: Registration, Experts and Racial Cleansing Policy-Making in a Transnational Context*, Working Paper presented at the 2016 Nordic Conference on Romani Studies, Södertörn University, p. 6.

- 115 Andrej Kotljarchuk (2019) State, Experts, and Roma: Historian Allan Etzler and Pseudo-Scientific Racism in Sweden, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, DOI: 10.1080/03468755.2019.1668476, p. 6.
- 116 Judith Okely (1983) *The Traveler-Gypsies*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 20.
- 117 Ibid, p. 17.
- 118 Ibid, pp. 19–20.
- 119 Varsza, p. 119.
- 120 Ibid, p. 126.
- 121 Helena Malá and Josef Klement (1980) *Antropologie druhu Homo sapiens a variabilita současného lidstva* [*Anthropology of Homo Sapiens and the Variety of Contemporary Humans*], Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, pp. 99–100.
- 122 Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (1997) *Race, Nation, Class: Les identites ambiguës*, Paris, La Decouverte, p. 36.
- 123 Ibid.
- 1 Michael Stewart (1997) *The Time of the Gypsies: Studies in the Ethnographic Imagination*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, p. 246.
  - 2 Stewart's writings were recommended by influential donors such as the Soros Foundation, who elaborated the issue of educating Romani children within special schools, and reviews of his texts mainly stressed the unique and new option for looking at the situation from the position of Roma. For instance, Tone-Kristin Lone defined the study "as a well written ethnography of the way Gypsies think and feel about themselves and 'others,' and how they order their lives in relation to these beliefs" (Tone-Fristin Lone [1999] Lone on Stewart, "The Time of the Gypsies," available online at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/21311/reviews/21573/lone-stewart-time-gypsies>).
  - 3 Michael Stewart (2013) Roma and Gypsy "Ethnicity" as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42, pp. 415–432, 423.
  - 4 Michael Stewart (2004) Remembering without Commemoration: The Mnemonics and Politics of Holocaust Memories among European Roma, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 10, 3, pp. 561–582, 577.
  - 5 Etienne Balibar (2005) Difference, Otherness, Exclusion, *Parallax*, 11, 1, pp. 19–34, 24.
  - 6 Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (1997) *Race, Nation, Class: Les identites Ambigues*, Paris, La Decouverte, p. 18.
  - 7 Stewart (2004), p. 275.
  - 8 Michael Mack (2003) *Anthropology as Memory: Elias Canetti's and Franz Baermann Steiner's Responses to the Shoah*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 31.
  - 9 Ibid, p. 88.
  - 10 For instance, Malinowski, one of the main apologists of functionalism, consistently differentiated the position of anthropologist and colonizer. Such clear differentiation between the "practical man" of the colonial administration and the "disinterested" anthropologist who only wanted to work out a scientifically justified view of "savage life" without mingling in the colonial context, is often seen as the absence of interest in undermining attitudes that help to justify colonialism. See Mack, p. 93.
  - 11 Frédéric Max (1946) Le sort des Tsiganes dans les prisons et les camps de concentration de l'Allemagne Hitlerienne [The Fate of Gypsies in the Prisons and Concentration Camps of Hitler's Germany], *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 25, 1–2, pp. 24–35, 31.
  - 12 During World War II, the mass extermination of Roma in German-occupied territories occurred not only at the hands of Nazis but also by local authorities. The systematic genocide of Roma in Yugoslavia and in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was organized and implemented by locals; more in Michael Zimmermann (1996) *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung der Zigeunerfrage* [*Racial Utopia and Genocide: The National Socialist "Solution to the Gypsy Question*], Hamburg: Christians.

- 13 Ibid, p. 33.
- 14 Ibid, p. 27.
- 15 Henriette Asséo (2005) L'avènement politique des Roms (Tsiganes) et le genocide. La construction mémorielle en Allemagne et en France [The Appearance of the Politics Concerning the Genocide of Roma (Gypsies): The Construction of Memories in Germany and France], *Le Temps des medias*, 2, 5, pp. 78–91.
- 16 Karola Fings (2013) A “Wannsee Conference” on the Extermination of the Gypsies? New Research Findings Regarding 15 January 1943 and the Auschwitz Decree, *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*, 27, 3, pp. 174–194, 183.
- 17 Matéo Maximoff (1946) Germany and the Gypsies: From the Gypsies Point of View, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, pp. 104–108.
- 18 Ibid, p. 105.
- 19 Hermann Arnold (1965) *Die Zigeuner: Herkunft und Leben im deutschen Sprachgebiet* [The Gypsies: Origin and Life in the German-Language Area], Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau, Walter-Verlag, p. 277.
- 20 Ibid, p. 268.
- 21 Tellingly, in the 1960s, this dichotomy was heavily criticized in the reflections of the Holocaust and the impact of long-term, anti-Jewish propaganda in Germany, e.g., Alexander Bein (1965) Der Judische Parasit: Bemerkungen zur Semantik der Judenfrage [The Jewish Parasite: Comments on the Semantics of the Jewish Question], *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 13, 2, pp. 121–149.
- 22 Tobias Portschy (1938) *Die Zieugenfrage: Denkschrift des Landeshauptmannes für das Burgenland* [The Gypsy Issue: Memorandum of the Governor for Burgenland], Eisenstadt, Burgenländische Landesbibliothek, 3827-B.
- 23 Kurt Pastenaci (1951) *Diagnose unserer Zeit* [Diagnosis of Our Time], Berlin, Dunker Humblot, p. 38. Pastenaci was a German writer and journalist who had received acclaim during the Third Reich period as the author of *The National History of Germans* as well as historic novels with strong nationalistic motives. After 1945, he continued his successful career as a researcher of comparative culture with a particular focus on East and West.
- 24 Frank Sparing (1997) Von der Rassenhygiene zur Humangenetik – Heinrich Schade [From Racial Hygiene to Human Genetics – Heinrich Schade], in Michael G. Esch (ed.) *Die Medizinische Akademie Düsseldorf im Nationalsozialismus* [The Medical Academy Düsseldorf under National Socialism], Essen, Klartext, pp. 341–363.
- 25 Nevenko Bartulin (2014) *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia: Origins and Theory*, Leiden, Brill, p. 179.
- 26 Heinrich Schade and Georgina Pilaric (1961) Antropologischer Bericht über Zigeuner in Jugoslawien, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage der Brachycephalisation [Anthropological Report on Gypsies in Yugoslavia, Also a Contribution to the Question of Brachycephalization], *Homo*, 12, 4, pp. 185–193.
- 27 UNESCO (1950) The Race Question, in *UNESCO and its Programme*, available online at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000128291>, pp. 1–10, 7.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Michelle Brattain (2007) Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public, *The American Historical Review*, 112, 5, pp. 1386–1413, 1395.
- 30 Accusations of racism remained among the main public discourses within Soviet propaganda against the United States.
- 31 Jaroslav Sus (1961) *Cikánská otázka v ČSSR* [The Gypsy Issue in Czechoslovakia], Praha, Státní nakladatelství politické literatury, p. 11.
- 32 Ibid, pp. 24–25.
- 33 M.S. Plisecky (ed.) (1957) *Rasovaya problema i obschestvo* [The Race Issue and Society], Moscow, Innostrannaya Literature.

- 34 Jaroslav Suchý (1957) quoted in Helena Malá and Josef Klement (1980) *Antropologie druhu Homo sapiens a variabilita současného lidstva* [*Anthropology of Homo sapiens and the Variability of Contemporary Humanity*], Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, p. 117.
- 35 Jan Štrup and Eva Bacíková (eds.) (1960) *Zkušenosti z práce mezi cikánským obyvatelstvem 1. sborníček* [*The Experience of Working among Gypsies: First Part*], Praha, Osvětový ústav v Praze [The Institute of Enlightenment], p. 3.
- 36 Ministerstvo školství [Ministry of Education] (1974) *Předškolní a školní výchova cikánských dětí Dlohodobá koncepce* [*Pre-School and School Education of Gypsy Children Long-Term Concept*], Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- 37 Balibar and Wallerstein, p. 21.
- 38 Jane Schuch (2017) Negotiating the Limits of Upbringing, Education, and Racial Hygiene in Nazi Germany as Exemplified in the Study and Treatment of Sinti and Roma, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 20, 5, pp. 609–623.
- 39 One of the most visible traces is the formulation of a list of “asocial” families living in Prague by Josef Apetaur, child psychiatrist, in response to a request made by the principal physician of Prague, Viktor Kindermann; more in Victoria Schmidt (ed.) (2019) *The Politics of Disability in Interwar and Socialist Czechoslovakia: In the Name of Segregation*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, pp. 116–117.
- 40 More about lionization of the Czech race science can be found in Victoria Schmidt (2018) The Legacy of Eugenics in CEE Countries: The Limits and Options for Historical Consciousness, *Working Papers of the Centre for Advanced Studies in Sofia*, 10, pp. 1–53, 18–19.
- 41 Uwe Hossfeld and Michal Šimůnek (2008) *Die Kooperation der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena und der Deutschen Karls-Universität Prag im Bereich der “Rassenlehre,” 1933–1945* [*The Cooperation between the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena and the German Charles University in Prague in the Field of “Racial Studies,” 1933–1945*], Erfurt, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen.
- 42 While the Institute of Social Anthropology and People’s Biology at the Faculty of Philosophy (Institut für Sozialanthropologie und Volksbiologie an der Philosophischen Fakultät), under the supervision of Karl Valentin Müller, focused on the issue of the Germanization of the Czech population (more in Eduard Kubů [2004] “Die Bedeutung des deutschen Blutes im Tschechentum”). Der “wissenschaftspädagogische” Beitrag des Soziologen Karl Valentin Müller zur Lösung des Problems der Germanisierung Mitteleuropas [What German Blood Means for the Czech People: The “Scientific” Contribution of the Sociologist Karl Valentin Müller Towards Solving the Problem of How to Germanize Central Europe], *Bohemia* 45, 1, pp. 93–114), Schultz conducted his own research targeted with tracing mixed Czech-German families (several boxes with the results of anthropometric measurement of the offspring of mixed Czech–German couples were revealed by the staff of the Museum of Man).
- 43 Jiří Malý (1939) Něco o cikánech [Something about Gypsies], *Naší přírodou*, III, pp. 197–198, no VIII, pp. 314–315, 198.
- 44 Paul Weindling (1989) *Health, Race, and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, p. 57.
- 45 Arnold (1967), p. 277.
- 46 František Štampach (1945) The Letter to the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Charles University, 18.07.1945 AUK Osobní fond Jiří Malého.
- 47 Jan Beneš (1974) The Letter to Jaroslav Suchý 12.02.1974, AUA, Personal archive of J. Beneš, Inv. č. 21, Masaryk University, Brno.
- 48 Marie Nováková (1969) Les Tyiganes D’Autrefois de la Tchécoslovaquie [Former Gypsies of Czechoslovakia], *Anthropologie (1962–)*, 7, 2, pp. 41–43.

- 49 Miroslav Dědič (1975) *Cikánské děti a mládež ve výchovně vzdělávacím procesu* [Gypsy Children in the Educational Process], *Pedagogika*, 2, pp. 177–187, 178.
- 50 Name of village where the survey was conducted.
- 51 Jan Beneš: Undated, untitled document. AUA, Personal archive of Jan Beneš, Inv. č. 21. The original orthography has been maintained.
- 52 The document should be dated between 1989 and 1990 – according to the event mentioned by Beneš – the exhibition of Rudolf Dzurko, an artist of Romani origin, organized in 1989. Also, in his correspondence with Harvard University’s administration before his visit, Beneš offered this topic as a possible contribution.
- 53 In his curriculum vitae for submitting applications for international projects, Beneš described his major academic interests as follows: “Cultural, social and biological adaptability of ethnic minorities in Europe (Lusatian Serbs, Gypsies). Adaptability and variability of past and present populations. Some bioecological and cultural aspects of evolution of Man. Human ecology.” Archive of the Institute of Anthropology, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Masaryk University, Personal archive of Jan Beneš Inv. č. 13, Box XXI.
- 54 The “Gypsy issue” as a topic for presentation was not approved, and, finally, Beneš made the presentation “The role of universities in Czechoslovakia’s Velvet Revolution.”
- 55 Beneš commented on the studies conducted by him and his colleagues in favor of demonstrating the ineducability of Roma in following way:

The data quoted here were established in schools for Gypsy children. They are attended by children from badly situated Gypsies. It cannot be excluded that Gypsy children from accultured families attending schools for the majority population exhibit different parameters. So far they are unknown.

(Jan Beneš: Undated, untitled document)

- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Viewing Roma as a self-isolated group was not exceptionally a Central European approach. In their report on the study among Roma living in Stockholm, Lars Beckman and John Tackman stressed:

The Swedish Gypsies appear to have been rather isolated from the Swedes as well as from other European Gypsy groups. Consanguineous marriages seemed to be rather frequent, for according to the census questionnaires 40 individuals (or about 10 per cent) were the offspring of cousin marriages. In 1913 more than 80 per cent of the Swedish Gypsies were illiterates. At present the number of Swedish Gypsies can be estimated to approximately 1000. Most families are settled, special schools for children and adults have been created and the Gypsy population is in the process of being assimilated into the Swedish society.

See Lars Beckman and John Tackman (1965) *On the Anthropology of Swedish Gypsy Population*, *Hereditas*, 53, 1, pp. 272–280, 272.

- 58 Tellingly, in his post-socialist writings, Beneš started to use the definition of *ethno-transformation*, “aiming at a gradual decline of ethnicity proper and, finally, at accepting the ethnographical features of the surrounding population” (Jan Beneš: Undated, untitled document).
- 59 Another important factor in reproducing the view on Roma as a self-isolated group was increasing interest in this explanatory scheme among Western scholars. In the 1950s, several surveys aimed at tracing the racial assimilation of African Americans to the white population established a negative attitude toward self-isolation among racially minded Western scholars; see, for example, the article by Bentley Glass and Ching Chun Li (1953) *The Dynamic of Racial Intermixture – An Analysis Based on the American Negro*, *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 5, 1, 1–20. The article was disseminated among Yugoslav scholars immediately after publishing.

- 60 Marij Avčin (1969) Gypsy Isolates in Slovenia, *Journal of Biosocial Sciences*, 1, pp. 221–233, 222.
- 61 Letter of Zlata Dolinar to Božo Škerlj 17.VI.1961 AGA, Personal archive of Škerlj, Box 14.
- 62 Marijan Hovčar (1964) *Die Verteilung der Blutgruppen bei einem Zigeunerisolat* [*The Distribution of Blood Groups in a Gypsy Isolate*], Proceedings of Tenth Congress of International Society of Blood Transfusion, pp. 312–319.
- 63 Z. Dolinar, A. Pogačnik, B. Sever, and V. Siftir (1962) *Izolati Ciganov in Kalvinistov v Prekmurju* [*Isolates of Gypsies and Calvinists in Prekmurje*], Manuscript AGA, unsorted collection.
- 64 Helena Malá, Personal profile, AUK.
- 65 One of the first publications addressed a Western audience: Jaroslav Suchý and Helena Malá (1968) The Physical Features of Gypsy Youth, *Rivist di Antropologia Roma*, LVI, pp. 31–43.
- 66 Helena Malá (1956) The Letter to Škerlj 12.04.1956, AGA, Personal archive of Škerlj, Box 11.
- 67 Both Škerlj and Malý were doctoral students of Matiegka and they started their informal cooperation during the interwar period. Both were involved by Matiegkato in the campaign against Racial Hygiene and German race science in the mid-1930s. After the war, until the death of Malý, they exchanged new methods of anthropological measurement through letters. After the death of Malý, his wife and daughter continued regular communication with Škerlj until his death.
- 68 More can be found in Victoria Shmidt (2020) Race Science in Czechoslovakia: Serving Segregation in the Name of the Nation, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 79.
- 69 On October 24, 1948, *Vprašanja naših dni* [*Issues of our Days*], the newspaper of the Communist Party in Slovenia, published a translation of Lysenko's speech "The Situation in Biological Science," delivered during the session of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Slovenian biologists and geneticists felt confident enough to provide a direct rebuff to communist pressure. Moreover, being a former prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp, Škerlj could not be accused of sympathizing with "racist science," the label ascribed by Lysenkoism to genetics. He chose the popular newspaper *Osveta* [*Enlightenment*] in order to attack Lysenkoism, publishing several articles in favor of genetics. His response to Soviet pressure aligned with his intention to deepen cooperation with Western science. He obtained long-term academic fellowships in several Western European centers of genetics and physical anthropology, including Harvard University in 1952, the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1953 and the Anatomical Institute in Lund in 1956.
- 70 William Dejong-Lambert and Nikolai Kremontsov (2012) On Labels and Issues: The Lysenko Controversy and the Cold War, *Journal of the History of Biology*, 45, 3, pp. 373–388, 385.
- 71 Jirásek was referring to the anthropological communities in Prague, Brno and Bratislava, which had maintained strongly contested relations since the interwar period.
- 72 A. Jirásek (1960) Dopis Jiráska Suchemu 18.1.1960 [Letter of Jirásek to Suchý], AAV, Osobní fond Jirásek Arnold, Sig. II.b Inv.
- 73 In the early 1970s, when the political tension between different Yugoslav nations reached a peak, scholars were asked to adopt international, anti-racist rhetoric for devaluating the national aspirations of different Yugoslav nations as racially determined. See Zlata Dolinar and Anton Pogačnik (eds.) (1972) *Rasna Diskriminacija i oblici borbe za njeno suzbijanje* [*Race Discrimination and the Forms of Combating It*], in *Referati za naučni skup Sveska II* [*Papers for the Scientific Conference Volume II*], Sarajevo, Univerzitet u Sarajevu.

- 74 For instance, Slovenian anthropologist Zlata Dolinar, the successor to Božo Škerlj, published the survey, based upon data collected by Croatian anthropologists; see Zlata Dolinar (1963) Prispěvek k dednosti spastične familiarne paralize na otoku Krku [A Contribution to the Problem of Inheritance of the Spastic Familiar Paralysis on the Island of Krk], *Biološki vestnik XI Biološka sekcija prirodoslovnega društva Ljubljana* [Biological Bulletin XI Biological Section of the Natural History Society of Ljubljana], Ljubljana, Tiskarna Toneta Tomsiča.
- 75 Miloš Macura provided a rigorous comparative context concerning Central European demographic policy in his 1974 article “Population Policies in Socialist Countries of Europe” *Population Studies*, 28, 3, pp. 369–379. For a comprehensive historical overview of demographic policy in Yugoslavia, see Dušan Breznik (1982) The Dynamics of Population in Yugoslavia *Eastern European Economics*, 20, 3/4, pp. 215–249.
- 76 World Population Conference Belgrade 30 August–September 10 1965, Opening Statement Philippe de Seynes, Under Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, p. 2.
- 77 In 1966, and for next six years, Miloš Macura, who led the Department of Population Studies at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences and organized the UN Conference in Belgrade, became the Director of the Population Division.
- 78 Miloš Macura (1986) What Role for the UN in Population? *European Journal of Population/Revue Européenne de Démographie*, 2, 1, pp. 1–4.
- 79 World Population Conference, Belgrade, 1965.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Helena Malá (1984) *Výchova, vzdělávání a biologický vývoj cikánských dětí a mládeže v ČSR* [Education, Upbringing and Biological Growth of Gypsy Children in Czechoslovakia], Praha, Univerzita Karlova, p. 41.
- 82 Svatopluk Cenek (1970) *Návrh dlouhodobé koncepce školní výchovy cikánských dětí* [Draft of the Long-Term Conception for the Education of Gypsy Children], Výzkumný ústav pedagogický v Praze. Arhiv Muzea romské kultury, Osobní fond M.Dědiče, Box 26.
- 83 Hermann Arnold (1967) Zur Frage der Fruchtbarkeit von Zigeunern, Zigeuner Mischlingsgruppen und anderen sozialen Isolat. [About the Issue of Fertility among Gypsies, Gypsy Mixes and Other Social Isolates], *Homo*, 18, pp. 85–90.
- 84 Balibar and Wallerstein, p. 19.
- 85 World Population Conference, Belgrade, 1965, p. 6.
- 86 H. Bentley Glass (1954) Genetic Aspects of Adaptability, *Genetics and the Inheritance of Integrated Neurological and Psychiatric Patterns*, XXXIII, pp. 367–377, 367.
- 87 Aleš Hrdlička was one of the first promoters of adaptability as a possible mainstream for the sustainable development of physical anthropology; more in Aleš Hrdlička (1918) Physical Anthropology: Its Scope and Aims; Its History and Present Status in America, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 1, pp. 3–23.
- 88 William Leonard (2018) Centennial Perspective on Human Adaptability, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 165, 4, pp. 813–833.
- 89 Paul Weiss (1949) The Biological Basis of Adaptation, in John Romano (ed.) *Adaptation*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, pp. 1–22.
- 90 Glass, p. 368.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid, p. 369.
- 93 U.S. Participation in the International Biological Program, Report No. 1974, p. 69.
- 94 Ibid, p. 73.
- 95 Ibid, p. 76.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid, p. 70.
- 98 Ibid, p. 82.



- 99 Ibid, p. 74.
- 100 Ibid, p. 83.
- 101 Doubravka Olsakova (2018) The International Biological Program in Eastern Europe Science: Diplomacy, Comecon and the Beginnings of Ecology in Czechoslovakia, *Environment and History*, 24, 4, pp. 543–567.
- 102 Czechoslovak National Committee for the International Biological Program (1968) *The Czechoslovak Contribution to the International Biological Program*, Prague, Czechoslovak Academy of Science.
- 103 Shmidt (2020).
- 104 Helena Malá and Jaroslav Suchý (1970) The Anthropological Research on Gypsy Children and Youth in Czechoslovakia, *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Jugoslavije*, 7, pp. 39–61, 54.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Helena Malá (1973) Body Characteristics of New-Born Gypsies from Bohemia, *Glasnik antropološkog društva Jugoslavije*, 11, 1/2, pp. 53–55. Ten Romani children were described as shorter and lighter than their non-Romani peers.
- 107 U.S. Participation in the International Biological Program Report, No. 1974, p. 70.
- 108 Ibid, p. 73.
- 109 Under the auspices of the IBP, the Institute of Experimental Biology and Genetics at the Czechoslovak Academy of Science in Prague conducted independent research on the Eastern periphery aimed at estimating the genetic load in human populations and contributing to the knowledge of the latent genetic load. In the focus was the endogamy dating as far back as the eighteenth century in the mountainous part of East Slovakia. The following data were collected: personal data of couples, pedigree, duration of married life, place of residence as stated in the marriage register, outcomes of all pregnancies, whether abortion or a live birth, sex, age and parity of the children, whether living or dead, incidence of hereditary diseases and defects, and ABO blood group data. Two villages situated in East Slovakia were studied through collecting demographic data and blood analysis for inbreeding, ABO, MNS, Rh, Kell-celano, the Duffy blood group system, Gm and Hp blood serum system. The sample of consanguineous families was ascertained through the marriage registers of the Catholic and Orthodox Episcopal Churches and control families were selected in each of the visited villages.
- 110 Helena Malá and Jaroslav Suchý (1970) The Anthropological Research on Gypsy Children and Youth in Czechoslovakia, *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Jugoslavije sveska*, 7, pp. 39–61, 59–61.
- 111 Anton Pogačnik (1968) *Antropološke in morfološke karakteristike ciganov v prekmurju* [*The Anthropological and Morphological Characteristics of Gypsies from the Prekmurje Region*], Dissertation, Slovenska Akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Oddatak za prirodoslovne vede, Ljubljana, p. 7.
- 112 Ibid, p. 9.
- 113 Malá (1984), p. 5.
- 114 Pogačnik, p. 10.
- 115 U.S. Participation in the International Biological Program, Report No. 1974, p. 100.
- 116 Grammar and syntax presented as in original.
- 117 Jan Beneš (1970) Letter to A. Pogačnikovi 13.01.1970, AUA, Personal archive of J. Beneš, Inv. č. 21, Masaryk University, Brno.
- 118 Jan Beneš (1970) Letter to L. Beckman 29.01.1970, AUA, Personal archive of Beneš, Inv. č. 21, Masaryk University, Brno.
- 119 Beckman and Takman.
- 120 Pogačnik, p. 12.
- 121 Eric Sunderland (1930–2010), the Welsh anthropologist and geneticist, was the author of *Genetic Variation in Britain* (1973) and *Genetic Markers in Welsh Gypsies* (1977), published in the *Journal of Medical Genetics*, 14, 3, pp. 177–182. In

his monograph *Elements of Human and Social Geography: Some Anthropological Perspectives* (Pergamon Press, 1973), Sunderland deepened the argument in favor of investigating “primitive” self-isolated groups:

[B]iological adaptability of humans is not as directly brought about as it is in other organisms since cultural factors obtrude in such a way as to stand between man and the full rigors of direct environmental pressures. . . . Perhaps the most direct interaction of man and the environmental factors most concerned [are] to be witnessed in simpler societies of the world.

(pp. 59–60)

- 122 Helena Malá (1970) Letter to Jan Beneš 13.03.1970, AUA, Personal archive of Beneš, Inv. č. 21, Masaryk University Brno.
- 123 U.S. Participation in the International Biological Program, Report No. 1974, p. 100.
- 124 Eric Sunderland (1980) The Population Structure of the Romany Gypsies, in Michael H. Crawford and James H. Mielke (eds.) *Current Developments in Anthropological Genetics: Ecology and Population Structure*, New York and London, Plenum Press, pp. 125–138, 127.
- 125 Jan Beneš (1974) Letter to J. Suchý 09.09.1974, AUA, Personal archive of Beneš, Inv. č. 21, Masaryk University Brno.
- 126 Anna Lorencová and Jan Beneš (1976) Industrial Population in Moravia (CSSR): A Study in Variability and Adaptability, *Folia F.S.N U.J.EP. Brunensis*, XVII, 5, pp. 1–137.
- 127 Balibar and Wallerstein, p. 19.
- 128 U.S. Participation in the International Biological Program, Report No. 1974, p. 84.
- 129 Malá and Klement, p. 95.
- 130 Ministerstvo školství [Ministry of Education] (1974) *Předškolní a školní výchova cikánských dětí Dlohodobá koncepce Státní pedagogické nakladatelství [Pre-School and School Education of Gypsy Children Long-Term Concept]*, Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, p. 11.
- 131 Helena Malá and Jaroslav Suchý (1976) Bodily Development of Gypsy School-Children in Children’s Homes, *Folia Morphologica*, XXIV, 2, pp. 197–198.
- 132 Malá (1984), p. 5.
- 133 Ibid, p. 35.
- 134 Ibid, p. 73.
- 135 Ministerstvo školství, p. 10.
- 136 Schmidt (ed.) (2019).
- 137 František Vavruška (1971) Dokumenty k boji proti kriminalitě mládeže [The Training Materials of the Institute for Retraining Educators for the Fight against Youth Criminality], p. 3–12, Krajský seminář k problémům delikvenci dětí a kriminality mládeže v Jihočeském kraji [Regional Workshop on the Issue of Delinquent Children and Criminal Youth in the South Czech Region] Sborník materiálu Krajská odborová rada Jihočeský krajský národní výbor KV ČOS pracovníků školství a vědy [Regional Board of Workers in Education and Science] Krajský pedagogický ústav v Českých Budějovicích 1972 SOA in Třeboň. Krajský pedagogický ústav Kabinet speciální pedagogiky [The Collection of the Regional Pedagogical Institute, Subdivision of Special Education], Box 6.
- 138 The term “metodist” was adopted from the Soviet system of professional retraining for teachers; in the U.S.S.R., the centers in each region for retraining educators were named *metodicheskie centry*.
- 139 In the 1970s, Dědič established the Subdivision for Retraining the Educators Who Teach Roma Students (Cabinet pro výuku a výchovu cikánských dětí) within the Center for Educator Training in České Budějovice (Bohemia), and Štěpán – in Jičín

- (Moravia). Both operated as the key channels for connecting practitioners with experts until the end of socialist period.
- 140 Josef Štěpán (1976) Postavení cikánského mentálně retardovaného žáka v etnicky heterogenní skupině [The Status of the Mentally Retarded Gypsy Student in an Ethnically Heterogeneous Class] Zápís ze semináře, konaného ve dnech 12. a 13. listopadu 1976 v Brně na téma “Problémy výchovy cikánských dětí v dětských domovech a výchovných ústavech” [The Issues in Education of Gypsy Children in Children’s Homes and Residential Care Institutions] Bulletin č. 29. Národní sdružení dětských domovů FICE v ČSSR pp. 27–34, MRK, Personal archive of M. Dědiče, Box 26.
  - 141 Subdivision of the education for Gypsy children (1972) *Zpráva: Seminář pro ředitele dětských domovů a zvláštích škol internatních Středočeského kraje* [The Minutes: Workshop for the Principals of Children’s Homes and Boarding Schools of the Central Bohemian Region] Krajský Pedagogický ústav v Praze, 4.10.1972, SOA in Třeboň, The Collection of The Regional Pedagogical Institute, Subdivision of Education for Gypsy Children, Box 7.
  - 142 Miroslav Dědič (1973) Zpráva o jednání na mateřské škole ve Strunkovicích nad Blanicí, které bylo uskutečněno dne 3.dubna 1973 [Report about the Negotiation at the Kindergarten in Strunkovici nad Blanicí, 03.04.1973] SOA in Třeboň, The Collection of The Regional Pedagogical Institute, Subdivision of Education for Gypsy children, Box 7.
  - 143 An English summary and synopsis is available online at [www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/396166/my-friend-the-gipsy](http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/396166/my-friend-the-gipsy).
  - 144 František Tichý (1896–1961) was a Czech artist who represented the Czech avant-garde; one of the main motifs was Roma and circuses.
  - 145 Rick Altman (2008) *A Theory of Narrative*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 104.
  - 146 Ibid, p. 100.
  - 147 Antonín Malina (1955) Můj přítel Fabian, *Obrana lidu*, 07.01.1955, p. 2.
  - 148 *Lidová demokracie* (1955) Můj přítel Fabian, 07.01.1955.
  - 149 Altman, p. 123.
  - 150 A synopsis is available online at [www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/397528/who-is-afraid-flees](http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/397528/who-is-afraid-flees).
  - 151 One of the delighted critics entitled his review “Jak učitelé nepřicházejí o iluze” (“How Do Teachers Not Lose Their Illusions”), which reproduced the title of the second part of *Básníci*: “Jak básníci přicházejí o iluze” (“How Poets Lose Their Illusions”).
  - 152 Pavel Jiras (1985) Interview with Dušan Klein, *Kino*, 6, 1985.
  - 153 Altman, p. 104.
  - 154 Ibid.
  - 155 Ibid, 90.
  - 156 Ibid.
  - 157 Ibid, p. 125.
  - 158 The premiere of the film took place in Krumlov, the town where Dědič and a few of his former students lived; they were invited to attend the premiere and to share their feelings after watching the film. Klein directly reproduced their reaction as an argument in favor of the film: “One of the students, who had become a special educator and defended her dissertation, shared her story that if there would be no ‘Dad,’ we would be unable even to write.” See Josef Řežáč (1987) Hledání tolerance a porozumění Rozhovor s režisérem Dušanem Kleinem [Looking for Tolerance and Recognition with Film Director Dušan Klein], *Film a doba*, 6, pp. 303–308, 306.
  - 159 *Radikální řez* [A Radical Cut, 1983], a detective story about a murder, in which the investigation reveals prejudices against Roma, was the first film by Klein dedicated

to the “Gypsy issue.” A synopsis is available online at [www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/397408/a-radical-cut](http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/en/film/397408/a-radical-cut).

- 160 Jiras.
- 161 Altman, p. 119.
- 162 For instance, in the late 1970s, Bulgarian authorities accepted the concept of enforced assimilationism developed by Czech experts for practicing surveillance over Roma. Some of the Czech texts were translated in order to equip practitioners with advanced methods.
- 163 Sandra Harding (2006) *Science and Social Inequality: Feminist and Postcolonial Issues*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, p. 21.
- 164 Balibar and Wallerstein, p. 22.
- 165 Ibid, p. 23.
- 166 Altman, p. 263.
- 167 Ibid, p. 264.
  - 1 Gabriele Griffin with Rosi Braidotti (2002) Whiteness and European Situatedness, in Gabriele Griffin and Rosi Braidotti (eds.) *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies*, London and New York, Zed Books, pp. 221–246, 227.
  - 2 Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (1997) *Race, Nation, Class: Les identites ambiguës*, Paris, La Decouverte, p. 19.
  - 3 Nira Yuval Davis (1997) *Gender and Nation*, London, Sage, p. 53.
  - 4 Colin Salter (2013) *Whiteness and Social Change: Remnant Colonialisms and White Civility in Australia and Canada*, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
  - 5 Stephan Hopgood (2014) The End of Human Rights, *Washington Post*, available online at [www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-end-of-human-rights/2014/01/03/7f8fa83c-6742-11e3-ae56-22de072140a2\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-end-of-human-rights/2014/01/03/7f8fa83c-6742-11e3-ae56-22de072140a2_story.html).
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  - 7 Ibid, p. 70.
  - 8 Marek Jakoubek and Lenka J. Budilová (2018) Fifty Years Researching Roma: Interview with Will Guy, *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia*, 1, pp. 147–163.
  - 9 Langford, p. 75.
  - 10 Roy Bhaskar (1991) *Philosophy and the Idea of Freedom*, Oxford, Blackwell.
  - 11 Ibid.
  - 12 Annabel Templett (2014) Making a Difference without Creating a Difference: Super-Diversity as a New Direction for Research on Roma Minorities, *Ethnicities*, 14, 6, pp. 830–848.
  - 13 Etienne Balibar (2002) *Politics and the Other Scene*, London, Verso, p. 8.
  - 14 Will Guy (1975[1998]) Ways of Looking at Roma: The Case of Czechoslovakia, in D. Tong (ed.) *Gypsies: A Book of Interdisciplinary Readings*, New York, Garland Publishing, Inc., pp. 13–48 [reprinted from F. Rehfisch (ed.) (1975) *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*, London, Academic Press].
  - 15 Davis, p. 54.
  - 16 Ibid.
  - 17 Sandra Harding (2006) *Science and Social Inequality: Feminist and Postcolonial Issues*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, p. 21.
  - 18 Ibid.
  - 19 Alexandra Oprea (2017) Towards the Recognition of Critical Race Theory in Human Rights Law: Roma Women's Reproductive Rights, in Jacqueline Bhabha, Andrzej Mirga et al. (eds.) *Realizing Roma Rights*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 39–57, 52.
  - 20 Ibid, p. 56.

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- 22 Bhaskar.
- 23 Franz Baermann Steiner (1999) *Orientpolitik, Value and Civilization*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books, p. 16.
- 24 Sara Ahmed (2007) Phenomenology of Whiteness, *Feminist Studies*, 8, 2, pp. 149–168, 158.
- 25 Salter, p. 61.
- 26 Ondřej Slačálek (2016) The Postcolonial Hypothesis: Notes on the Czech “Central European” Identity, *ALPPI Annual of Language & Politics and Politics of Identity*, 10, pp. 27–44.
- 27 Sean Creaven (2002) The Pulse of Freedom? Bhaskar’s Dialectic and Marxism, *Historical Materialism*, 10, 2, pp. 77–141, 80.
- 28 Salter, p. 31.
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