

Human Organization, Vol. 67, No. 4, 2008
Copyright © 2008 by the Society for Applied Anthropology
0018-7259/08/040417-13\$1.80/1

Life at the Crossroads of Social Change: Invigorating Romani Women's Empowerment in Post-Socialist Croatia

Nilá Ginger Hofman

This paper describes the challenges of Romani women's empowerment in the context of Croatia's rapidly changing political economy. Romani women—for the first time in Croatia's history—are positioned to reap substantial benefits from state largesse, including minority rights legislation, which promises, among other things, unprecedented educational opportunities, political participation, and greater access to the labor market. I discuss how Romani women negotiate their newfound status as beneficiaries of these social goods vis-à-vis the changing Croatian political economy. Analyzing their needs, assets and cultural capital, I offer recommendations to three different stakeholders: the Romani leadership, Croatian policymakers and legislators, and the Croatian Employment Service.

Key words: Romani women, economic empowerment, women's labor, action-based gender analysis, post-socialist Croatia

Introduction¹

Romani women's empowerment in Croatia—including the goal to provide greater access to the labor market and educational resources—is closely aligned with Croatia's democratic stabilization process, which seeks to improve the status of Romanies and promote their inclusion in all aspects of social life.² Croatia currently has two programs to help achieve those goals: the National Program for Minorities (established in 2003) and the Decade of Romanies Inclusion Agreement (2005-2015), or the Roma Decade. The latter, administered in a number of neighboring countries as well, focuses on enhancing the social standard of Romanies

by providing them with greater access to the labor market, education, health care, and housing. In Croatia, these objectives are managed through a number of Roma-only programs such as Employment Readiness, organized by the Croatian Employment Service, or the *Hrvatski Zavod za Zaposljavanje* (HZZ); kindergartens dispersed throughout the nation; stipends for students at every stage of their education; health care outreach; housing projects and other subsidies. None of these programs, however, specifically addresses the needs of Romani women.

Croatia's goal of obtaining membership in the European Union (EU) depends, in significant part, on its ability to demonstrate its willingness to promote and protect the rights and opportunities of minority groups, such as the Romani, and enjoining discriminatory attitudes and practices against minority cultures. Croatia's political motives for evincing accountability to minority communities is just one component of the broader political transformations in Croatia that have placed Romani women, like other minority women in post-socialist societies, at the crossroads of social change. Indeed, Croatian Romani women—for the first time in Croatia's history—are positioned as beneficiaries of social policies that the Croatian government must take seriously if it is to attain EU membership.³

Despite the positive attempts to change the well-being of underprivileged Romanies, the disintegration of the self-managing socialism of the former regime and the corresponding emergence of market capitalism has caused an increase in class and ethnic stratification, rising unemployment rates, and massive declines in state subsidies. For Croatian Romanies,

Nilá Ginger Hofman (nhofman@depaul.edu) is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois. Research for this article was supported in part by a fellowship from the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) with funds provided by the United States Department of State through the Title VIII Program and the IREX Scholar Support Fund. Neither of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed. This research would not have been possible without the collaboration of Romani leadership and the Croatian Employment Service, or the Hrvatski Zavod za Zaposljavanje (HZZ) in Zagreb, Croatia. I thank Ramiza and Nazif Memedi, Kasum Cana, Alija Mešić, Ivan Rumbak, Božo Nolić, Sandra Pavelić, Husein Veli, and Rozika Đurđević for their support. The HZZ advanced the research by, among other things, arranging for access to study participants and showing interest in Croatian Romani women's empowerment and employability. In particular, I thank Maria Halić, an employment specialist at HZZ. Finally, I am indebted to the anonymous reviewers whose suggestions greatly improved this paper.

who depended primarily on unskilled labor for their survival in Yugoslavia, the transition meant that many were rendered unemployable in the new market economy (Zoon and Kiers 2005), or found themselves competing in the informal economy with others living at the margins of society, including other former Yugoslavs and ethnic Croats.⁴

The picture is more complicated for Romani women, who often engage in informal economic activities that prevent them from achieving any degree of economic stability or empowerment. Romani women in Zagreb—Croatia's capital—engage in informal street activities such as panhandling and vending, which can expose them to incarceration, child abduction, and human trafficking. Their inability to participate in the mainstream labor market is directly linked to their social invisibility and political disempowerment.⁵ It is also linked to poor education, ethnic- and gender-based discrimination, and the prevailing negative perception that, despite the foregoing social, political, and economic changes, the individual lives of Romani women will never change.

Romani women's disempowerment is felt as strongly in the public as in the private sphere, where their contributions are undervalued and where they are often subjected to various forms of abuse (Hrvatić 2000; Kocze 2003; Mirković 1996). This is particularly true for recently married women who, due to prevailing patrilocal residence patterns, move into their husbands' household where they serve and are frequently commanded by their mothers-in-law. Because of the deeply patriarchal nature of the Romani social structure, daughters are the lesser investment in their mothers' perspectives, since they will leave the parental home. Mothers perpetuate a strong identification with their sons (Gilmore 1998). The ultimate goal for a woman, who is already socialized as the lesser sex, is to one day obtain the mother-in-law status so that she can exert her domestic power over her daughters-in-law and be assured that she is cared for in her old age.

Further, Romani women's disempowerment is characteristic of the broader gendered politics of the postsocialist era, which rely on the expanding market economy as a means of controlling and suppressing women's reproductive rights, social mobility, and representation (Corrin 1999; Gal and Kligman 2000; True 2003). Donald Kenrick (2001) argues that despite the disintegration of state socialism and the greater ability of Roma NGOs to organize, Romanies on a whole are worse off socially and economically. Similarly, Peter Vermeersch (2006) argues that, despite the new freedom of association in, for example, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, Romanies have not benefited from the promised political reforms and social (democratic) changes. Too often in Croatia, as in other essentialist states which have undergone ethno-nationalist reforms (Hofman 2006), Romanies are blamed for not having caught up with the rest of the society (Vermeersch 2006). Romani women, as Zoon and Kiers (2005) note, face multiple setbacks, including the notion that family life will be negatively affected if the woman works outside of her home.

Romani women's empowerment can be realized in a number of different ways. Economic empowerment, including economic self-sufficiency, is one way of boosting Romani women's self-worth and enabling them to achieve a greater sense of control over their lives. Given Croatia's rapidly changing political economy, Romani women's full and equal participation in the labor market is necessary if only because Croatian women's official unemployment rate of 19.9 percent is significantly higher than the national average of 15.7 percent (Hrvatski Zavod Za Zapošljavnje 2006). Roma women's advancement and entrance into the labor market is also necessary because, given Croatia's political climate, women's rights to self-determination and political representation can only be achieved through direct integration of Romani women in Croatian society. Moreover, Romani women are, as never before, positioned to take advantage of legislation and programs aimed specifically at raising the standard of living of Romanies.

The anthropological literature on Romanies largely has been concerned with Roma origins (Fraser 1993), language and social life, (Beck 1989; Gmelch and Gmelch 1987; Groppe 1991; Hancock 2003; Lemon 2000; Piasere 1986; Puxon 1979) and culture in general, including notions of purity, or *marime* in Romani (Fonseca 1995; Miller 1975; Silverman 1982). More recently, anthropologists and others have focused on Roma cultural politics during the emergence of the postsocialist period (Crowe 1994; Gheorghe 1991; Lemon 2000; Stewart 1993, 1997; Vermeersch 2006). Fewer studies, both in and outside of anthropology, have focused on Romani women. Many of them focus on health disparities (Kelly et al. 2004; 1992; Kocze 2003), body and symbolism (Silverman 1981; Sutherland 1986), and rural contexts and family life (Šikić-Mičanović 2005).

This paper seeks to contribute a more narrowly defined discussion to the existing literature on Romanies. It examines different contexts which currently shape the economic lives of Croatian Romani women, by focusing on the social, cultural, and political forces that influence their lives. It offers recommendations for promoting Romani women's employability and thereby one aspect of their empowerment, which are directed to three groups of stakeholders: the Romani leadership, Croatian policymakers and legislators, and the Croatian Employment Service (HZZ).

Research Methodology

I utilized action-based gender analysis to bring Romani women's lived experiences into public view. The research project was conceptualized in terms of two closely related stages at which action research and gender analysis intersect. The first stage involved the establishment of an empowerment program based on Romani women's needs and assets. Corresponding to the needs and interests of Romani women, recommendations for the implementation of the empowerment program are made to the Romani leadership, Croatian policymakers and legislators, and the Croatian Employment

Service.⁶ The second stage examined the lived experiences of Romani women in Zagreb and to situate this diverse and multi-faceted minority culture against the backdrop of the rapidly changing political economy of Croatia. The project also sought to elucidate how unemployed Romani women contribute to their household income in light of their unemployment, the refashioning of minority rights legislation, and Croatia's recent interest in the lives and plight of Romanies.

I included the action research in this project because of its emphasis on desirable social change and advocacy (Greenwood, Whyte, and Harkavy 1993). Action research is guided by locally expressed needs and political goals, and ideally involves a close collaboration with the study community (Mies 1990; Whyte 1991). In pursuing this project, I was primarily interested in assessing Romani women's needs and their relative lack of social capital in order to address these issues in the empowerment program. Action researchers have described "action" as research *for* or *with* study participants, instead of research *on* or *about* them (Brydon-Miller 2001; Reinharz 1979). My project was focused specifically on research in service of Romani women. Accordingly, I sought to recommend ways in which Romani women could benefit from, and rework, the social system in which they are positioned.

Another goal of this project was to interpret the ways in which Roma women express the meaning of their everyday existence (West and Fenstermaker 1995).

Put together, action-based gender analysis provides a particularly potent set of tools for examining how the political and economic changes following the collapse of self-managing socialism—notably, the *Brotherhood and Unity* characteristic of the former Yugoslavia—have impacted gender ideologies and the working lives of Romani women in Croatia. This methodological approach helps to disclose the ways in which women connect with their cultural communities and negotiate the social and cultural transformation of their environment. In particular, it offers a way of understanding these phenomena by revealing the wider societal and personal forces that mediate them.

Research in service of Romani women's empowerment was conducted by immersion of the researcher in the study community, through informal interviews and conversations and by means of in-depth interviews with Romani and non-Romani women in Zagreb. To elaborate, I conducted participant observation in order to get a sense of Romani women's experiences and their particular needs and assets. I spent entire days (i.e., from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.) in different Romani households. In order to get access to study participants, I worked with Romani leaders (individuals who manage Romani NGOs) who agreed to introduce me to Romani families (for more details on this process, see Hofman 2008). Gaining access to Romani women as a non-Romani researcher was difficult. Many of the women I was introduced to work in the informal economy, spend little time outside their homes, do not visit public spaces very often and are generally suspicious of outsiders, i.e., non-Romanies. The only access to

the study community was through the Romani NGO I was working with, and my relationship with its personnel was often difficult. From the outset of my research, the NGO was suspicious of my motives. They placed a number of demands on me in terms of grant writing and other forms of financial and social support. Although I was able to negotiate an agreeable arrangement with them, I remained self-conscious of my social and financial privileges throughout my research.

To ensure that I would get a realistic picture of the Romani community in Zagreb, I insisted that women from different ages, cultural backgrounds, places of origin in the former Yugoslavia, and levels of education were included.

On any given day, when visiting a particular household, I spoke with *many* Romani women. Visiting a household meant contact with anywhere from five to 15 women, many of whom were formally unemployed, underemployed, or generating income through informal means. Visiting the households and neighborhoods where Romani women live meant that I also had the opportunity to speak with and witness the living conditions of ethnic Croats and others living at the margins of society.⁷

I also had the opportunity to visit and engage in informal interviews (five of which were taped and transcribed) with Romani women through a number of different public venues, including community gatherings; meetings with community leaders; and by visiting substance abuse prevention seminars, to which Romani youth were invited.

Six in-depth interviews with Romani women—all of whom were officially registered as unemployed persons in the HZZ in Zagreb—and two in-depth interviews with women of Croatian ethnicity, who are registered with the HZZ and who have no ties to the Romani community, are included in this analysis.⁸ The latter group was added in order to explore the similarities and differences between the two groups and place Romani women within their specific social, political, and cultural contexts. The latter (control) group consisted of unemployed and poorly educated ethnic Croat women living in Croatia.

Three groups, a total of 67 Romani women, were invited by HZZ to participate in the study. Of those groups, 35 women (52%) appeared for the meeting during which the research study was introduced. Of the 35 women who were introduced to the proposed study, eight (20%) signed up for the interviews. In the end, six women were included in the interviews.⁹

In order to learn about the study participants' educational histories and labor experiences, and to better understand the lives and plights of the interviewees, I asked questions pertaining to the circumstances that prevented study participants from completing their education, finding attractive employment, and achieving a desirable standard of living. I posed questions about the nature of employment—e.g., questions as to what, for them, were the key criteria for attractive employment, their aspirations for the future, their assets and talents and what, if anything, prevented them from achieving their employment goals. Also explored during these in-depth

interviews were women's views about support systems, what constitutes success for them, and the social reality of (re) entering the labor market.

Cultural Contexts

Croatian Romanies form a diverse cultural group, which nevertheless shares similar traditions, a common language, and a shared history of brutal marginalization since their arrival in Europe some thousand years ago (Crowe 1994; Fraser 1993; Hancock 2003).¹⁰ What characterizes European Romani history is their resilience in the face of the many regimes that excluded them from full social, economic, and political participation, and their corresponding resourcefulness in employing these forces of oppression as a means of forging an existence through informal economic sectors and semi-permanent settlements. Croatian Romanies also share the opportunity to become the beneficiaries of new social policies, such as the prioritization of human rights, including an emphasis on the rights of women and minorities cultures in Croatia.

The Romanies, like many minority groups in the former Yugoslavia, were geographically reshuffled in 1991, as Yugoslavia disintegrated and the Croatian nation-state emerged. Thus, Romanies now living in Zagreb hail from myriad parts of the former Yugoslavia, bringing with them different experiences, levels of education, professions, and degrees of social acceptance and political participation. Moreover, many have had international lived experiences during the former Yugoslavia (as economic immigrants) and more recently during the war in Croatia (as political immigrants or refugees). The social characteristics of those who lived abroad and returned to Croatia in the mid-1990s include interrupted or discontinued education; lack of Croatian citizenship papers due to missed application deadlines; loss of real and personal property due to the war; and the sort of social displacement shared by migrants, immigrants, and victims of war of many nationalities.

Croatian Romanies engage in different religious and cultural practices, and enjoy different levels of social standing, economic opportunities and levels of women's emancipation.¹¹ In addition to these differences, not all Romanies living in Croatia today officially identify themselves as Romani. The last census counted about 9,500 Romanies in Croatia, but reliable estimates indicate that anywhere from 30 to 40 thousand Romanies reside there (Štambuk 2005).

More significantly, anywhere between 20 to 50 percent of Romanies are *undocumented*, which precludes them from gaining access to health care and other social services, including education and formal employment. This subgroup of Romanies exists, like their forefathers and foremothers, at the margins of society. Without documentation, they have few rights and hardly any opportunities for advancement. Other Romani subgroups—e.g., those with membership in the working and middle classes of Croatian society who have been stationary for many generations—face different

problems in terms of employability, competition in the free market, political representation, and discrimination. Both of these groups—in contrast to so-called white-Romanies who are assimilated, economically more stable, and, perhaps most importantly, the offspring of intermarried Romanies and therefore more white looking—face discrimination on the basis of their race. In a society such as Croatia, which is racially almost homogenous, the Romani I worked with stand out.

Social and Economic Contexts

Romani women face a number of barriers that prevent them from achieving their personal goals and desired standard of living. Certain impediments to achieving success were directly addressed by the study participants; others were deduced from the context in which the study participants presented themselves. There are three primary indicia of Romani women's underemployment and dissatisfaction with their quality of life: (1) gender inequity and the lack of social support systems; (2) poor to nonexistent educational opportunities; and (3) poor prospects for formal employment. These indicia manifest themselves through what I shall call the *labor of caring*—that is, the nourishment of individuals within a particular household, and the desire to obtain so-called *stable employment*.

The *labor of caring* is maintained through nuclear families and extended households. The needs and values of Romani families not only provide sustenance to the women, but, in many instances, also prevent them from achieving economic independence, and greater control over their lives more generally. This begins with cultural values that socialize little girls to serve their elders—something to which little boys are not subjected—and extends to the social hierarchies that oblige married women in a given household to serve their in-laws and devote themselves to maintaining and reproducing their families. The emphasis on the collective and the *sustenance* or *caring* for others over one's own needs and desires continues to be a common practice among Romani women from all walks of life, including those with higher levels of education.

Gender Inequity and Social Support

Romani women enjoy a variety of support systems, but also face a number of obstacles that hinder their full and equal participation in Croatian society. Many women I spoke with do not have feelings of ambiguity with respect to their household roles. Indeed, many Romani women have internalized values that prevent gender equality within their households.¹² Although they want to realize a better standard of living—e.g., adequate housing, citizenship papers, and job security—they frequently do not see their individual roles in achieving this. Rather, they view such changes as only resulting from “higher up,” from economic or political reforms, or from the male elders in their households. Accordingly, they understand their particular roles as limited to maintaining and supporting their households through the *labor of caring*.

Interestingly, when asked who of their siblings is the most successful and why, the interviewed women frequently gave examples of brothers or sisters who had “made it on their own” and who did not receive support from either government institutions or their families. Many Romani women—again, not all, since change is on the rise—do not view themselves as independent career makers or individuals who have control over their social and economic lives. To illustrate, when I asked women under 40 and as young as 26 how they envision their future, they frequently responded by insisting that their lives are already predetermined and that change is no longer realistic or even desirable, and that only the lives of their children count. This view was also articulated by community leaders, spouses and others. When I asked these women what they want most for their children, the answer was most frequently “a place to live and a secure job.” Rarely did anyone mention a better education, more gender equality and freedom, or stronger political representation for the Romani community.

Educational Opportunities and Obstacles

Croatia’s goal of increasing Romani access to the labor market through educational opportunities is a positive step toward implementing much needed social change for this minority culture. At present, the number of Romani kindergartens is on the rise and efforts have been made to include all Romani children in preschool programs. Stipends, which help finance all levels of education including at the university level, have been provided by the National Program and the Roma Decade. In addition to full tuition and living expenses, Romani university students enjoy so-called positive discrimination during the highly competitive student admissions process. As a result, 16 individuals from Romani origin currently study at universities across the country. Although this number seems low in comparison to Macedonia (which has about 200 students of Romani origin and a comparably sized Romani population but only two and one-half million citizens compared to Croatia’s four and one-half million citizens), there has been a marked increase in the number of Croatian Romani students since 2002 (Bajram Berat, personal communication, 2006).¹³ Similarly, the number of Romani students enrolled in secondary education has been on the rise, as has the number of Romani adults re-entering the basic schooling system.

Despite these positive developments, many women I spoke with did not see obtaining an education as something that would significantly alter their lives. This was particularly evident with respect to women who did not acquire an eighth grade level of education. Such women were less inclined to find themselves at the crossroads of social change through educational means than those who surpassed this level of education. Moreover, although many women learned about the value of education and frequently stressed the necessity of obtaining an education during interviews, most did little to encourage their children to complete primary education

and young girls were rarely encouraged to go beyond eighth grade. This is due in part to the fact that women bear the responsibility to their households, e.g., in terms of household duties. Obtaining a (formal) education may be viewed as threatening to the social economy of the household. Women more frequently have the experience of family-based learning, which is important to the social and cultural identity of the group. Few women were interested in furthering their own education, although some recognized the merit of education (if not for themselves, at the very least for their children). They frequently noted that they feel too old, are too ashamed, or do not see the point of completing their education as adults. These women emphasized that their lives belonged to their children and that they need to fulfill their obligation to provide for their families before even thinking about advancing their own needs. This attitude is reflected by the fact that only 25 adult Romani men and women are currently enrolled in evening classes in Zagreb in order to complete basic education.

Significantly, what women told me during interviews and in private conversations differed substantially from what they told me in public within earshot of their elders and other household members. To give an example, a soon-to-be-married 15-year-old woman said that she saw her future as a homemaker who engages in all the required activities to maintain her (now 10 member) household. In private, however, I learned that this young woman had received grades of “five” and “four” in school—five being equivalent to an “A” in United States schools—and that she is fluent in three languages. She told me that she would like to “have been” a social worker. Clearly, the “have been” qualifier, along with the notion that her life is not her own, illustrates the high price women pay for their *labor of caring* and the internalization of values that preclude gender equality.

Another example comes directly from one of my interviewees who said, during our interview with her father present, that she wanted to become a nurse aid or someone who works with sick children. Accordingly, she enrolled in the free Pуска Škola, which offers accelerated courses for adult learners, in order to complete her eighth grade education and plans on pursuing nursing school after graduating from high school. After our interview, her father told her angrily that she has unrealistic expectations and had “answered my questions incorrectly.” He insisted that the only employment his daughter is suitable for is maintenance, at best in a municipal capacity, but more likely working in a hotel or office building.

Ideas about education are passed down to Romani children, who grow up in a cultural milieu where the importance of formal education is sometimes emphasized, but rarely practiced, by the adult members of the household. Thus, children are often faced with conflicting models of behavior. I was told repeatedly that schoolbooks and secondary education are too costly for parents, yet both are subsidized by the government. I also saw little material evidence of educational materials in the households I visited, e.g., no

books or educational games, and often no suitable space in which to study. Although all households I visited had television sets—some even more than one—educational channels were rarely watched. Moreover, when asked about the last book they had read, interesting movie they had seen, or cultural event they had attended, most women remarked (with palpable irritation) that they have no time for such activities, as though they were a waste of time.

Many young Romani girls, particularly those who are *not* discouraged from marrying young and *not* encouraged to further their education, are at a great disadvantage in terms of reaching their potential for full and equal participation in Croatian society. Croatian law requires that all individuals under 15 attend school, yet many young Romanies are not in school. In all households that I visited on a regular weekday, I found youngsters at home, including young teens, who had never attended school. The unprecedented support and care of parents can at times have dire consequences. When I asked a mother why her five-year-old child is not attending a preschool program, she said because the child does not want to—as if the child has the experience and knowledge to decide what is best for him. One mother decided that her 12-year-old daughter would no longer attend school because the daughter suffered from monthly epileptic attacks; the mother believed that her daughter would not be safe outside her home. Another mother decided for her daughter not to continue her secondary education because of her disability despite the young woman's pleas. In order to continue her education, her daughter would have to attend a special school outside of Zagreb—paid for through stipends—but her mother decided that this would be too much for her; thereby preventing her daughter from achieving greater freedom and independence and realizing her educational goals. Similarly, one parent allowed her 16-year-old son, who attends secondary school, to have his 15-year-old girlfriend stay with him overnight. Knowing that they are having unprotected sex, she commented that if God will give them a child they would deal with the consequences as a family. I asked what that would mean for the education of her son and the life of his girlfriend. Notwithstanding that premarital virginity for women continues to be an important Romani cultural value, she repeated that everything was up to God's will and that she could use the help of a daughter-in-law in her household. At the same time, many Romani couples are not legally married. Marriage, culturally speaking, begins when a young woman moves in with her boyfriend. Legally, Romani marriage means co-habitation; thus, women with dependents have single parent status. Because Romani cultural norms dictate residence patterns and the young couple's economic dependence, the woman begins serving her in-laws as well as extended household members as soon as she moves into the new household. The support provided for her children by the state is shared with the entire household, which becomes dependent on the monthly supplement.

Because of household obligations, it becomes very difficult for a married woman, especially a mother, to return to

school. Despite the best of intentions, the support for mothers and their children can keep women from realizing their emancipation. To illustrate, since March 1, 2006, Zagrebean women received a substantial amount of money (3,000 to 9,000 Kuna, i.e., up to \$1,500) for the birthing of each child; for three or more children the amount is 9,000 Kuna for six consecutive years.¹⁴ The criteria for receiving aid requires proof of Croatian citizenship, and proof of having lived in Zagreb for at least five years prior to the birth of the child. Although the aid is helpful and necessary for poor families, it encourages women to remain in the traditional roles of homemakers and reproducers of more than two children per household, while excluding those women and children without citizenship papers or Zagrebean residency.

Another issue plaguing the Romani community is poor school attendance. It is hard to believe that Romanies younger than 15 have slipped through the system, yet talking to the social services center in the Peščenica-Žitnjak neighborhood in Zagreb, I learned that the center is responsible for about 11 primary and six secondary schools. In addition to their numerous administrative responsibilities, the 10 social workers employed at the Peščenica center are each responsible for 10,000 residents (the ideal is 1,500) in any incidents that require their intervention. I was told that intervention activities among the Romani population are most frequently triggered by children either not going to school or doing poorly in school.

A social worker from the Peščenica center informed me that although drug problems are on the rise in Croatian society, they are not characteristic of Romani social work intervention her caseworkers are involved in. Talking to educators from the *O. Š. Dr. Vinka Žganca* School in Kozari Bok (a neighborhood that has a high Romani population), I learned that the most frequent problem with Romani students is not showing up to school after the age of 12 and sometimes even earlier. The process of intervention for children who are not attending school begins with a call to the parents inviting them to their offices. After that, a social worker visits the family at their home. The process sometimes ends in court, but only where there are multiple violations (e.g., various forms of neglect and/or abuse). I was told that parents frequently ignore the warnings of the Peščenica center and that the center is not able to prosecute solely on the basis of non-attendance in schools.

Adding to low school retention rates is the fact that Croatian society is rapidly moving toward technological advancement and labor sectors that will require increasingly higher levels of education. Romani women who lived abroad during the war in Croatia (1991-1995) or whose parents were economic immigrants are (like the control group) at an even greater disadvantage. Interviewees expressed feeling socially distanced from their immediate surroundings, their education disrupted and lives altered too early. For many women, marriage was seen as a way out of their state of displacement and a return to something more familiar—namely, family, tradition, and the reproduction of support systems.

Employment Prospects

Romani women are most concerned about their living conditions and how to economically sustain their families. Differently put, they are most concerned with housing issues and income-generating potentials. This is evident—in part—by having averted their attention away from school abstinence of their children who in smaller or larger measures contribute to the household income at a very young age. What Romani women want most is *stable employment*, which is both a cultural norm associated with job security imagined in the previous regime and an economic reality. But what Romani women need in order to achieve this goal is greater gender equity and greater control over their lives and an understanding of the political mechanisms that can enable them to achieve this objective.

Interestingly, the control group expressed similar desires and frustrations about not being able to find *stable employment*. In interviews, Romani women emphasized that they do not want government handouts, just *stable employment*. (This sentiment is echoed by many Croatians, of all levels of education, nationality, and experience.)

One of the differences between the two groups, however, is that the control group does not have as supportive of a familial community as the former.¹⁵ This is in part because Romanians, as a historically marginalized minority, have always sought sustenance from their cultural community. Globalization and a complex intersection of other forces (which are beyond the scope of this discussion) have tended to erode these communal relationships.

Working for the collective, rather than for the individual, echoes the cultural values associated with self-managing socialism and *Brotherhood and Unity*, which are now part of Croatia's sociopolitical history. Working for the collective—in this case, the extended household—is characteristic of many marginalized peoples who hold the view that one's life, labor, and paycheck is never solely one's own, but the shared property of the collective. Emblematic of the current cultural milieu is a comprehensive downgrading of the value of the collective that is pejoratively associated with the previous regime. For Romanians—men and women alike—this new ideology presents a problem because the importance of family ties, household, and community structure functions as a resistance to what one reviewer of this paper called “neoliberal governmentalities.”

Moving closer toward free market capitalism has resulted in a more individualistic model of social relations. In particular, 80 percent of the current labor force is comprised of contingent labor (short-term employment which legally cannot exceed three years) and, to a lesser extent, seasonal labor, in which some Romani men and fewer women are employed. Only 20 percent of the labor force is in the so-called *stable employment* sector, i.e., employment that is not regulated by limits on its duration. According to HZZ, *stable employment* characterizes most government and municipal jobs. The decline of such jobs—as well as industry jobs—is

reflected in the number of individuals on social welfare in Croatia, which has risen substantially from 65,000 in the late 1980s (prior to the fall of Yugoslavia when the *stable employment* sector was greater) to 311,000 presently (Državni Zavod za Statistiku 2006). The consequences of the large contingent labor sector are reproduced in the current national unemployment rate of 15.7 percent, with alarming numbers for women (Hrvatski Zavod Za Zapošljavnje 2006). The concurrence of Croatia's recent boost in the tourist industry and the *increase* of contingent labor has resulted in a decline in national unemployment numbers, which were as high as 19 percent only a couple of years ago.

When asked about their individual assets during the interviews, women repeatedly said that what they know best is to care for their household, clean, cook and take care of their children. Fantasy jobs were always in the nurturing or *labor of caring* professions, such as social work, nursing, teaching kindergarten, working with children, cooking, cleaning at a big company (i.e., one that will not go bankrupt), and hair-dressing. They also emphasized that they view themselves as “born traders,” working alongside their husbands or parents in open air markets and other informal economic arrangements that are anything but stable.

All Romani interviewees and almost all Romani women I spoke with had experienced discriminatory hiring practices. Women often arrive at an interview after being told on the phone that the company is hiring only to be told that all positions have been filled. This was particularly distressing in instances where Romani women had completed secondary education. In the end, these women resorted to informal labor activities and worked side-by-side with women with very little education. Thus, their education hardly served as a model of inspiration for younger women. Moreover, women with children receive a substantial amount of aid from the state to help support their children, which disincentivizes formal employment.

All women who I visited, including the sick and elderly, engaged in household activities, and many participated in informal income-generating activities, a characteristic which they share with the control group. Those working in the informal sector sell clothing at the market without having obtained the permits needed to secure health and retirement benefits. As a result, they frequently have their goods confiscated and are fined and harassed by the police. They also face court appearances when caught. In some instances, they are jailed for failure to pay their fines. Other informal sector income-generating strategies include collecting iron, copper, aluminum, plastic bottles, and tires (activities all of which are common in Zagreb), as well as collecting products that are found in the forest, such as chestnuts, acorns, and herbs (a practice that exists primarily outside of Zagreb). Income-generating activities such as scrap metal collection and informal market sales were almost exclusively the domain of Romanians in the former Yugoslavia. Today, study participants explain they are competing with ethnic Croatians and others in these informal economies.

Although informal labor activities correspond in general to lower levels of education for both Romani and non-Romani women, the latter had different experiences. None of the Romani women interviewed had ever worked as babysitters—an activity they would enjoy—while the women of Croatian ethnicity found such employment through the informal sector. Because of existing stereotypes, Romani women are even discriminated against in the informal economy. When I asked them, Croatian women readily admitted that they would never hire a Romani woman to clean their home or watch their children. Moreover, inspection police at the open air markets are said to pick and choose whom they ticket, and often target Romani women as opposed to individuals of different ethnicities. Some stereotypes associated with not wanting Romani women to watch non-Romani children arise from the centuries' old myth of Romani stealing Christian children.

Roma-only and Other Discriminatory Attitudes and Practices

Interviewees complained about the futility of segregating Romanies into separate categories in preschool programs as well as in programs organized by the Employment Service. The primary school in Kuršanec in Međimurje County is an infamous case in point that received international media coverage. First grade pupils were segregated by ethnicity, creating Roma-only classes, in violation of numerous Croatian and international legal codes (European Roma Rights Centre 2005). However, segregating Romanies from non-Romanies continues to persist in different contexts. On a recent trip to Sisak, a small town about 50 miles southeast from Zagreb, I had the opportunity to directly witness deliberations about the schooling of Romani children living in a rural area that was settled illegally some 40 years ago. Up for deliberation was a little two room house turned into a space which could potentially serve as a kindergarten. Present at the meeting were administrative officers from the city of Sisak, a kindergarten teacher from a local school, a government representative from the Ministry of Education, and representatives from municipal departments, including the environmental protection and sanitation departments. It was established that the little house could not function as a kindergarten because of land right violations. Instead, a traveling kindergarten bus which would be able to absorb 10-15 kids was proposed. The plan was quickly aborted when one member pointed out that the bus would—inadvertently—segregate the Romani children from other Croatian children.

Almost no one I spoke with thought the well-intentioned programs designed to enhance job-hunting skills, the presentation of self with a potential employer, and C.V. preparation were particularly useful. Study participants complained about being segregated in Roma-only groups, which resulted in individuals with higher levels of education receiving employment advice alongside individuals with less than an eighth grade education. The Employment Service said that they had

created the Roma-only groups because they were using the support provided by the National Program and Roma Decade for programs.

Many negative stereotypes exist in Croatian society, which depict Romanies as lazy, dirty, and as people who beg and steal for a living. My ethnographic evidence shows that Romani women contribute substantially to their household income and engage in a wide array of unpaid household labor activities, including keeping their living environment meticulously clean. Concern for the cleanliness of one's surroundings and personal hygiene are strong Romani cultural values that have existed for a long time and are much discussed in the literature (Fonseca 1995; Hancock 2003).¹⁶ The view of Romanies as dirty is, on the one hand, associated with poverty (all people living in poverty with substandard hygienic conditions are less clean than those with access to, e.g., running water). On the other hand, it is associated with xenophobic and racist attitudes. Jews in Europe have often been referred to as "dirty," as have Mexican Americans living in the United States.

Although Croatia has made serious attempts to raise the social and economic standard of its Romani population in the last five years, several international reports, among them Amnesty International, the Roma Rights Center, and the United States Department of State, indicate that discriminatory practices in schools, places of employment, and societal attitudes towards the Romani persist and, in many instances, are not taken seriously by educators, policymakers, and legislators. Negative stereotypes, which cast Romani women as welfare system abusers and parasites, continue to persist. Non-Romani Croatians frequently expressed feelings of resentment toward social policies implemented for the advancement of Romanies. The view that Romani people suffer from no particular social setbacks or that they have had the same opportunities as ethnic Croatians is common. Although a smaller minority of Romanies can *pass* as ethnic Croatians, many continue to be judged based on their race, or, if Muslim, by their family name. By refusing to acknowledge the historic marginalization of Romanies, non-Romanies remain willfully ignorant of their unearned privileges (McIntosh 1988) or, in John Rawls' (1971) idiom, ignorant of the happenstance of their luck in the natural lottery. What follows are suggestions for securing a more stable and prosperous future for Croatian Romanies.

Implications for Positive Social Change

Romani women's empowerment requires the promotion of gender equity for women of all ages and levels of education, including women's rights to self-determination and political representation, and greater access to economic and educational resources. Romani women's well-being and equal integration into Croatian society depends on a number of factors. In order to counter poverty, disempowerment, and the dangers associated with informal income generating strategies, Romani women will need to enter the Croatian labor market in larger numbers despite the fact that they have

historically been successful in forging an existence through the informal economy. The proposed shift in labor market activities as opposed to their current engagement in informal labor is necessary if Romani women want to succeed in a society that is rapidly moving toward free-market capitalism and away from cultural values associated with the collective. It is also the most direct means of women's economic advancement in Croatian society and a way of counteracting the deeply entrenched patriarchy that currently keeps so many Romani women from realizing their potentials and dreams.

Poor women in Croatian society—poor Croatian Romani women, in particular—need specific programs to help them overcome their marginalization and successfully transition to the labor market. Romani women's empowerment can be conceptualized through the enhancement of life skills, health care education, self-esteem (including awareness of gender inequities and the development of strategies for the enforcement and protection of Romani women's legal rights within and outside of their households). As I have pointed out, employability is *one* aspect of Romani women's empowerment. Central to this process, is the enhancement of existing skills for the purpose of generating income, boosting self-confidence and the motivation to continue their education.

Romani women's empowerment and the empowerment of all minority cultures in Croatia requires controls and sanction for discriminatory hiring practices, and other discriminatory behaviors in the work place which currently go unnoticed by Croatian law. I conclude with recommendations for Romani leadership, policymakers and legislators, and the HZZ.

Recommendations for Romani Leadership

It has been said that women are the pillars of their households. Women are also part of another collective: their communities and society at large. By engaging in their own empowerment, women can serve as examples to their families, communities, society, and, perhaps most importantly, to other (Romani and non-Romani) women. A healthy community is a community in which *all* members have control over what is being proposed with respect to the issues that concern them. Romani leaders well know what happens when their voices are excluded from decision-making processes. Nedžakin Kamerovski, president of the Roma Forum for National Minorities for the city of Zagreb or the Vijeća Romske Nacionalne Manjine Grada Zagreba, poignantly said at a meeting organized by the Forum za Slobodu Odgoja or the Forum for the Freedom of Education: "I only ask, till when will others, non-Romanies, decide about Romanies lives?" (Nedžakin Kamerovski, personal communication, 2006). Similar words of caution go out to *all* members of the Romani community: How long will non-Roma men and women decide about the fate of Romani women? A healthy community is one in which women, and men, participate in the decision-making processes that affect them. Today, too few Romani women are visible at community meetings. Too

many women live in servitude of their in-laws, their elders, their sons, and daughters. Too frequently "women's issues," which concern the entire community, are not perceived as such. Suppressing the very values and norms that limit Romani women's advancement and prevent them from achieving greater control over their lives are not simply non-Romani issues—they are human rights issues.

I recommend that the leadership publicly honor and acknowledge the educational achievements of Romani who have completed secondary education and have obtained higher levels of education and speak out about the importance of education for *all* Romanies. The fact that only 25 adult men and women are currently enrolled in evening classes in order to complete basic education should propel community leaders to encourage their members above all else to complete their education even if they do not see the immediate benefit of doing so. This can be done by organizing motivational speaking sessions in which successful Romani women can speak to the community about how they arrived at their social positions as well as by contacting local and government officials to provide greater incentives for Romani women to pursue education and employment.

Stressing the culture of education and the importance of maintaining that culture in Romani homes is crucial for the advancement of Croatian Romanies.

I also recommend speaking out publicly in Romani communities about the need for Romani women's emancipation, and their full participation in society by acknowledging that one Romani woman's liberation positively affects the entire Romani community.

Recommendations for Policymakers and Legislators:

There are grave consequences for women who engage in the informal labor sector for an extended period of time, including the fact that women are not able to enjoy the benefits of formal employment, such as promotion, prestige, personal gratification, investment, pension benefits, and in general a more equitable position in the household. Women engaged in the informal economy often receive social welfare benefits, including health care and housing maintenance aid that are very costly for the state to maintain. Also costly for the state are the fact that women in the informal economy are frequently apprehended, ticketed, and at time even jailed by the inspection policy. Women's health is also frequently compromised as a result of their labor activities, which ultimately is more costly for the state than government initiatives that back positive discrimination for Romani women in *all* sectors of employment. Moving toward greater democratic reforms and inclusion in the EU, Romani men and women, as all national minorities, should be proportionately represented in different employment sectors. Differently put, if Romani make up a certain percentage of the total Croatian population, they should enjoy a proportionate representation in government, law enforcement agencies, universities, and other *stable employment* professions.

Croatia has made many improvements since 2000 in the arena of human rights. Its promise to substantially increase

funding for housing in 2007 is admirable. Romani women and men need adequate housing in the immediate sense. In order not to become a burden to the state financially, they also need adequate employment. On paper—e.g., in terms of Croatian minority rights legislation—Croatia looks like a model society for minority cultures. But Croatia can and *must* go further.

I recommend that policymakers and legislators provide and lobby for: the allocation of more resources for social service agencies and more time and resources that focus specifically on the restructuring of Romani women's education on all age levels, e.g., by providing special programs and empowerment seminars for women. Supporting of events organized by Romani leadership that publicly honor and acknowledge the educational achievements of individual Romani goes along with providing greater incentives for Romani women to complete secondary education, e.g., by specifically targeting them through the National Program for Roma in order to make them more competitive in the labor market.

I also recommend greater employment opportunities in all sectors of labor, especially those that require specialized training and secondary education for *all* men and women in Croatia and expanding opportunities for the next generation of Romani who complete higher levels of education in the *stable employment* sector through positive discrimination. Positive discrimination through the appointment of Romanians to political office and the representation of Romanians in law enforcement, municipal, and government bodies is crucial for the development of equal treatment and opportunities for all Croatian citizens. Lastly, an expansion and restructuring of multicultural education programs in which students enrolled in primary and secondary education are given the opportunity to critically examine and learn about the histories of *all* cultures in Croatia is needed to nourish a cultural milieu in which cultural diversity is appreciated and the integration of minority cultures such as the Roma is maintained. In such an environment, Roma-only programs become redundant.

Recommendations for HZZ

Market-based activities and the view expressed by many study participants that "we are born traders," as well as the fact that *stable employment* in Croatia is more frequently achievable through positions which require higher levels of education are realities which influence Romani women's employability. The fact that the restructuring of Croatia's political economy is moving further away from institutionalized socialism should ideally move working class Romani women (those with basic eighth grade education) into liberalizing strategies for small business enterprises. The unemployed did not give positive feedback on current workshops aimed at increasing their employability and, by its own admission; HZZ did not spend enough money in 2006 on programs specifically intended for the Romani population. At the same time, an employment specialist at HZZ's Zagreb office told

me about a number of innovative and exciting opportunities to help boost Romani women's employability. Yet the training, workshops, and employment opportunities ultimately did not succeed because HZZ could not find enough interest among its unemployed Romani population. Not all of my recommendations for the HZZ are realizable under current laws and conditions. Thus, I propose lobbying for the achievement of positive social change through the legislative process, which must begin at the level of the Romani communities and continue at the governmental level.

As such, I recommend that the management of the HZZ develop workshops in which Romani women learn how to manage a small business, apply for support for such a business, and learn about the advantages of partnership in business from successful business professionals while at the same time creating educational seminars which host small business owners and women who have successfully maintained their business. I also recommend including Romani leadership in this process. For example, the HZZ could invite Romani leaders, and Romani women in particular, to support Romani women interested in training and educational seminars organized by the HZZ.

Providing opportunities for collaboration with Romani leaders is of utmost importance for long-term success. Organizing community outreach events in which employment specialists discuss the current state of affairs by allowing for an open dialogue and community participation will help boost community involvement. Many Romani complained about having been segregated into separate (Romani-only) education seminars. I suggest organizing small workshops for Romani and non-Romani women with at least an eighth grade education, which would focus on the enhancement of existing employable skills. This way, individuals are organized around gender and education levels not ethnicity. Lastly, the HZZ could work with policymakers and legislators on developing employment for Romani with the proper credentials in the *stable employment* sectors, such as law enforcement, municipal, and government bodies.

Notes

¹Portions of this paper originally appeared in various unpublished reports prepared for the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX).

²I use "Romani" and "Roma" interchangeably. Both are *endonyms*, or terms used by Romanians themselves. Romani (singular) and Romanies (plural) are the most common adjectives in use. The word *Roma* (plural) and *Rom* (singular, meaning *man* in the Romani language) is a noun. As Ian Hancock (2003) explains, the term Roma has not been accepted by everyone because of its association with Rom, which originally meant "married Romani male." On the other hand, different Roma organizations in and outside of Croatia use the term to describe themselves.

³I refer to Croatian Romanies as individuals who self-identify as Romani, and who are either documented or undocumented and who currently reside in Croatia. Moreover, the terms "Croatian" and "Croat(s)" are not interchangeable. The first signifies citizenship or residence and the second is an ethnic designation.

⁴Aspects of Romani social and economic life in the former Yugoslavia (1945-1991) have been discussed by a number of scholars (Kenrick 2001; Lockwood 1986; Piasere 1986; Vukanović 1961). In Croatia, Romanies have suffered greatly during World War II and during the last war in the 1990s, during which they became victims in eastern Slavonia, where they were targeted as Catholics and in Kosovo where they were targeted as Muslims. Fewer scholars have written about the genocide of Romanies during World War II (Acković 1986; Kenrick and Puxon 1972) and on the history of Romanies in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941) and in earlier periods (Vojak 2005).

⁵The European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) reports in a recent web-based article, entitled "Action on Roma Women's Rights in Croatia" (January 2005), that the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has reviewed Croatia's compliance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The report concludes that discrimination against Roma women in Croatia is most significant in education, employment, and health care. The ERRC also states that lack of citizenship and political representation, together with social exclusion, continues to plague Roma women in Croatia.

⁶There were anywhere from 40 to 60 Romani NGOs in Croatia at the time of my research (2006-2007). Almost every month, a local family-run Roma NGO seemed to pop up. The organizations are run as small businesses, applying for support from a variety of foundations and the government. They are frequently in turmoil with one another competing for funds. Many of them have different interests or foci, ranging from youth recreational programs and sports organizations to those that lobby for human rights concerns. Some NGOs are organized around the establishment of a kindergarten or day-care facility. The organizations are further divided by former residence (i.e., by the part of the former Yugoslavia from which their Romani members arrived) and cultural heritage (this may include professional status and religion). Almost all NGOs are run by men. Few Romani women NGOs lobbying for women's concerns exist. I noticed only three in Croatia, one in Rijeka, and two in Zagreb, one of which had dwindled down to a one-woman, part-time organization.

⁷Zagrebean Romani live in a number of neighborhoods dispersed throughout the city of Zagreb, including Peščenica-Žitnjak, Plinarsko naselje, Petruševac, Kozari Putovi and Dubrava. Many also live in city-owned flats in the city center. Roma-only neighborhoods do not exist in Zagreb. Thus, Romani families live in all these localities alongside other economically marginalized Croatians. Some live in dwellings described as "wild" building styles—that is, structures that violate zoning and other building regulations set forth by the governing municipality (Štambuk 2005).

⁸Originally, three women of Croatian ethnicity with eighth grade education were invited by HZZ, one of whom canceled just hours before the interview. The women of Croatian ethnicity were added as a control group.

⁹One of the two women not interviewed changed her mind just hours before the scheduled interview. The other woman decided to travel internationally and was therefore not able to grant an interview.

¹⁰Romanies are divided into cultural groups based on a common lineage, characteristic trades, customs, or language. The Beas, Kalderašh, Sinti, Xoraxané are examples. Specific to the region and the former Yugoslavia were the Drobni Kovači or Koritari, who were more stationary, and lived in eastern Croatia (Slavonia) and Čergari, who were predominantly nomadic in the same region (Vojak 2005).

¹¹Romanies in Croatia are characteristically not very religious. The city draws a good number of immigrants, many from Bosnia and other parts

of the former Yugoslavia. Romanies in Zagreb tend to be from Islamic faith as opposed to their Eastern Croatian counterparts, which tend to be Christian Orthodox and Catholic. To use Herbert Gans' (1994) terminology, Zagrebean Romanies rely mostly on symbolic religiosity. Differently put, they abstain from eating pork as well as from observing Christian holidays in a religious sense, but do not practice Islamic traditions. Some households I visited had religious writings on the wall in Arabic. When I asked about them I was told that they are mostly for decoration. I also observed a Christmas tree in those households. As explained to me, that, too, was for decoration. One exception is Đurđevdan, or the celebration of Saint George in the Eastern Orthodox tradition, which I am told has been incorporated as a Romani holiday celebrating the coming of the spring in early May. Family, friends, and sometimes entire communities get together for a meal consisting of lamb, which, if possible, is ritually slaughtered and prepared the same day. Bathing and house cleaning rituals (some elaborate) take place in preparation of the holiday.

¹²Women's internalization—and, more importantly, reproduction—of patriarchy in Romani society is contrary to feminist scholarship within anthropology, which has popularized the notion of agency within rigid patriarchal structures (for example, through the writings of Margery Wolf (1986) and Kristen Ghodsee (2005)). Such scholarship emphasizes that women negotiate agency and power (hence are on some level empowered) in systems that appear inflexible. Romani scholars and others, however, criticize such scholarship as rigidly doctrinaire (Mossa 1992; Stojka 1992). My own observation in this regard is that Romani women's disempowerment is strongly felt in all spheres of social and economic life.

¹³Dr. Bajram Berat, a Romani leader in Macedonia, provided this information.

¹⁴Gradski Ured za Zdravstvo, Rad, Socijalnu Zaštitu i Braniteljstvo, or City Bureau of Health, Labor and Social Welfare, secures social aid for Zagrebean residents with children. For the first child born after March 1, 2006, parents receive 3,000 Kuna (\$500); 6,000 (\$1,000) for the second child and only once; and 9,000 (\$1,500) for all subsequent children for six consecutive years.

¹⁵The control group refers to unemployed ethnic Croatian women with little education living in Croatia. Having observed their living conditions, and discussed their economic immigration patterns and current job prospects, I conclude that these women are marginalized in their own right.

¹⁶Isabel Fonseca (1995) has described this distinction well by pointing to the distinction between an inner and outer sense of cleanliness and purity. Inner cleanliness is reserved for bodies and inside spaces (e.g., inside a house, as opposed to outer spaces, e.g., one's yard which tends not to be cared for in the same way).

References

- Acković, Dragoljub
1986 Suffering of Romas in Yugoslavia in Second World War. *Giessener Hefte für Tsiganologie* 3:1-4, 128-132.
- Beck, Sam
1989 The Origins of Gypsy Slavery in Romania. *Dialectical Anthropology* 14:53-61.
- Brydon-Miller, Mary
2001 Education, Research, and Action: Theory and Methods of Participatory Action Research. *In* From Subjects to Subjectivities: A Handbook of Interpretive and Participatory Methods. Deborah Tolman and Mary Brydon-Miller, eds. Pp. 76-89. New York and London: New York University Press.

- Corrin, Chris, ed.
1999 *Gender and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe*. London and Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass Publishers.
- Crowe, David
1994 *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. New York: St. Martin Press.
- European Roma Rights Centre
2005 *Action of Roma Women's Rights in Croatia*. URL:<<http://www.errc.org>> (November 10, 2006).
- Fonseca, Isabel
1995 *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fraser, Angus
1993 *The Gypsies*. Oxford, United Kingdom and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Gal, Susan, and Gail Kligman
2000 *The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-Historical Essay*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Gans, Herbert J.
1994 *Symbolic Ethnicity and Symbolic Religiosity: Towards a Comparison of Ethnic and Religious Acculturation*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17(4):577-592.
- Gheorghe, Nicolae
1991 *Roma-Gypsy Ethnicity in Eastern Europe*. *Social Research* 58(4):829-844.
- Ghodsee, Kristen
2005 *The Red Riviera: Gender, Tourism, and Postsocialism on the Black Sea*. Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Gilmore, David
1998 *Carnival and Culture: Sex, Symbol, and Status in Spain*. New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press.
- Gmelch, George, and Sharon Bohn Gmelch
1987 *Commercial Nomadism: Occupation and Mobility among Travelers in England and Wales*. In *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Aperia Rao, ed. Pp. 133-153. Cologne, Germany and Vienna, Austria: Böhlau Verlag.
- Gradski Ured za Zdravstvo, Rad, Socijalnu Zaštitu i Branitelje (City Bureau of Health, Labor, and Social Welfare)
2007 URL:<<http://www.zagreb.hr/Dokument.nsf/VHV/F050AE7E0CCD15BEC1256A6300568ACA?OpenDocument>> (October 24, 2008).
- Greenwood, Davyd, William Foote Whyte, and Ira Harkavy
1993 *Participatory Action Research as a Process and a Goal*. *Human Relations* 46(2):175-192.
- Gropper, Rena
1991 *Hedging the Bets: Risk-Taking among the Rom Gypsies*. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 1:45-59.
- Hancock, Ian
2003 *We Are the Romani People*. Hatfield, United Kingdom: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Hofman, Nila G.
2006 *Renewed Survival: Jewish Community Life in Croatia*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
2008 *Accessing Romani Women Study Participants: Collaborating with their Gatekeepers and Other NGO Entrepreneurs*. *Practicing Anthropology* 30(3):46-49.
- Hrvatić, Neven
2000 *The Historical and Social Characteristics of Gypsies in Croatia*. *Drustvena Istrazivanja* 9:2-3, 251-266.
- Hrvatski Zavod Za Zapošljavanje (Croatian Employment Service)
2006 *Mjesečni Statistički Bilten (Monthly Statistical Overview)*. Broj XIX.
- Kelly, Jeffrey A., Y. A. Amirkhanian, E. Kabakchieva, P. Csepe, D. W. Seal, R. Antonova, A. Mihaylov, G. Gyukits
2004 *Gender Roles and HIV Sexual Risks Vulnerability of Roma (Gypsies) Men and Women in Bulgaria and Hungary: An Ethnographic Study*. *AIDS Care* 16(2):231-246.
- Kenrick, Donald
2001 *Former Yugoslavia: A Patchwork of Destinies*. In *Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Will Guy, ed. Pp 405-425. Hatfield, United Kingdom: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Kenrick, Donald, and Grattan Puxon
1972 *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*. New York: Basic Books.
- Koczé, Angela
2003 *Double Discrimination Faced by Romani Women in Europe*. Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities Meeting on November 26.
- Lemon, Alaina
2000 *Between Two Fires: Gypsy Performance and Romani Memory from Puskin to Postsocialism*. Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press.
- Lockwood, William G.
1986 *East European Gypsies in Western Europe: The Social and Cultural Adaptation of Xoraxané*. *Nomadic Peoples* 22:63-70.
- McIntosh, Peggy
1988 *White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies*. Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.
- Mies, Marcia
1990 *Women's Research or Feminist Research? The Debate Surrounding Feminist Science and Methodology*. In *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Mary Margaret Fonow and Judith Cook, eds. Pp. 60-84. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- Miller, Carol
1975 *American Rom and the Ideology of Defilement*. In *Gypsies, Tinkers, and other Travelers*. Farnham Rehfisch, ed. London: Academic Press.
- Mirković, Damir
1996 *Ethnic Conflict and Genocide: Reflection on Ethnic Cleansing in the Former Yugoslavia*. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 548:191-199.

- Mossa
1992 *La Gitane et son destin: Témoignages d'une jeune Gitane sur la condition féminine et l'évolution du monde gitan. Textes présentés par Bernard Leblon.* Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Piasere, Leonardo
1986 *Les slovensko roma: entre sédentarité et nomadisme.* *Nomadic Peoples* 21:22, 37-50.
- Puxon, Grattan
1979 *Romanés and Language Policy in Yugoslavia.* *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 19:83-90.
- Rawls, John
1971 *A Theory of Practice.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Reinharz, Shulamit
1979 *On Becoming a Social Scientist.* San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Šikić-Mičanović, Lynette
2005 *Romani Women and Their Living Conditions.* *In Kako Žive Hrvatski Romi.* Maja Štambuk, ed. Pp. 437-454. Zagreb, Croatia: Institut Društvenih Znanosti.
- Silverman, Carol
1981 *Pollution and Power: Gypsy Women in America.* *In The American Kalderaš: Gypsies in the New World.* Matt T. Salo, ed. Pp. 55-70. Hackettstown, N. J.: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter Publication.
1982 *Everyday Drama: Impression Management of Urban Gypsies.* *Urban Anthropology* 11:3-4, 377-398.
- Štambuk, Maja, ed.
2005 *Kako Žive Hrvatski Romi.* Zagreb, Croatia: Institut Društvenih Znanosti.
- Stewart, Michael
1993 *Gypsies, The Work Ethic, and Hungarian Socialism.* *In Socialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Local Practice.* C. M. Hann, ed. Pp. 187-203. London: Routledge.
1997 *Time of the Gypsies.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Stojka, Ceija
1992 *Reisende auf diesser Welt: aus dem Leben einer Rom-Zigeunerin.* Vienna, Austria: Picus.
- Sutherland, Anne
1986 *Gypsy Women, Gypsy Men: Paradoxes and Cultural Resources.* *Papers from the Sixth and Seventh Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter.* Gypsy Lore Society Publication 3:104-113.
- True, Jacqui
2003 *Gender, Globalization, and Postsocialism: The Czech Republic After Communism.* New York: Columbia University Press.
- Vermeersch, Peter
2006 *The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe.* New York and Oxford, United Kingdom: Berghahn Books.
- Vojak, Danijel
2005 *Bilješke iz Povjesti Roma U Slavoniji, 1850-1941.* *Scrinia Slavonica* 5:432-461.
- Vukanović, Theodor P.
1961 *The Manufacture of Pots and Pans among the Gypsies of Kosovo and Metohija.* *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 40:1-2, 35-44.
- West, Carol, and Stacy Fenstermaker
1995 *Doing Difference.* *Gender and Society* 9(1):8-37.
- Whyte, William Foote, ed.
1991 *Participatory Action Research.* Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Wolf, Margery
1986 *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Zoon, Ina, and Judith Kiers
2005 *Roma Access to Employment in South Eastern Europe.* Report prepared for the Council of Europe. URL:<http://www.coe.int/T/DG3/RomaTravellers/stabilitypact/activities/FYROM/accessemplymentregional_en.asp> (October 20, 2008).