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The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti. Bibliography and Historiographical Review Ilse About & Anna Abakunova



About the IHRA

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) is an intergovernmental body whose purpose is to place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance and research both nationally and internationally.

IHRA (formerly the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, or ITF) was initiated in 1998 by former Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson. Persson decided to establish an international organization that would expand Holocaust education worldwide, and asked then President Bill Clinton and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair to join him in this effort. Persson also developed the idea of an international forum of governments interested in discussing Holocaust education, which took place in Stockholm between 27-29 January 2000. The Forum was attended by the representatives of 46 governments including; 23 Heads of State or Prime Ministers and 14 Deputy Prime Ministers or Ministers. The Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust was the outcome of the Forum's deliberations and is the foundation of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

IHRA currently has 31 member countries, ten observer countries and seven Permanent International Partners. Members must be committed to the Stockholm Declaration and to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. The national government of each member country appoints and sends a delegation to IHRA meetings that is composed of both government representatives and national experts, providing a unique link between the two levels.

In addition to the Academic, Education, Memorials and Museums, and Communication Working Groups, specialized committees have been established to address antisemitism and Holocaust denial, the genocide of the Roma, and comparative approaches to genocide studies. The IHRA is also in the process of implementing a Multi-Year Work Plan that focuses on killing sites, access to archives, educational research, and Holocaust Memorial Days.

One of IHRA's key roles is to contribute to the funding of relevant projects through its grant strategy. The purpose of the Grant Programme is to foster international dialogue and the exchange of expertise, increase government involvement in program creation, and target projects with strong multilateral elements in order to create sustainable structures for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research.

The IHRA Committee on the Genocide of the Roma was initiated in 2007. It aims to raise awareness about the genocide of the Roma under National Socialism and to increase the commitment of IHRA member countries to educate, research and remember the genocide of the Roma.

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Table of Contents

About the IHRA	ii
Preface	vi
About the authors	vii

Part 1

Historiographical Review

Introduction	viii
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1 Definitions

1.1 Naming	1
1.2 Posing the geographical limits	1
1.3 Quantifying	2
1.4 Inventory of names	3
1.5 Chronology	4

2 Methodology

2.1 Analysing cumulative historical processes	6
2.2 Historiography	7
2.3 Access to primary sources	8
2.4 Roma voices, before, during and after persecution	10

3 Research perspectives in the field

3.1 Labelling	12
3.2 'Gypsy' sciences and politics	13
3.3 Sterilisation and medical experiments	13
3.4 Internment	14
3.5 Concentration	16
3.6 Deportation	17
3.7 Mass killings in Eastern Europe and Einsatzgruppen actions	18
3.8 The case of Transnistria	19
3.9 Resistance and survival strategies	20

3.10 Exile experience	20
3.11 What did we know?	21
3.12 Gender perspectives	22
3.13 Visual studies	22
3.14 Documentaries	23
3.15 Living conditions	24
4 The aftermath	25
4.1 The immediate post-war period	25
4.2 Justice and retribution	26
4.3 Memory and commemoration	27
4.4 Education	27
5 Recommendations	29
References	31

Part 2

Bibliography

on the Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti

Preliminary Remarks	49
1 ESSAYS	52
I. Publications on general aspects	52
I.1. Bibliographies	52
I.2. Publications on historiography	52
I.3. Publications on methodology	53
I.4. Publications on general history of Roma and Sinti in modern Europe	53
I.5. Publications on general aspects of genocide and persecution	57
II. Publications according to political geography	66
III. Thematic sections	115
III.1. Publications on 'Zigeunerforschung' and 'Gypsy Sciences'	115
III.2. Publications on concentration camps	117
III.3. Publications on ghettos	118
III.4. Publications on Auschwitz-Birkenau and other death camps	118
III.5. Publications on Transnistria	120
III.6. Publications on resistance	122
III.7. Publications on visual studies	123
III.8. Publications on literary studies	124
III.9. Publications on gender studies	125
III.10. Publications on memory and commemoration	125
III.11. Publications on educational issues	132

2 DOCUMENTS	134
I. Collections of documents	134
II. Testimonies	134
III. Documentary films	138

Preface

This annotated bibliography of the genocide of the Roma was one of two short-term research projects commissioned in 2014 by the IHRA Committee on the Genocide of the Roma.

The committee felt that essential information was not readily available, either concerning research into the genocide of the Roma or what other international organisations are doing in the field of education and remembrance of the genocide. Information on both was needed for the committee to be able to set its priorities for the coming years.

The second project resulted in the publication *Roma Genocide: Overview of Organisations working on historical and contemporary issues*, which gives insight into major international organisations and their programmes and initiatives to raise awareness of the genocide of the Roma and support commemoration. The aim of the committee is to work with international governmental organisations and civil society to increase knowledge about and commitment to commemorating the genocide of the Roma and to draw attention to the continuity of prejudice about Roma before, during and after the Second World War.

The committee has been very fortunate that the historians Ilse About and Anna Abakunova agreed to take on the task of compiling the bibliography and writing an extensive essay on the main research themes covered. We are grateful to both authors for their dedicated work. However, the work is by no means at an end. The committee will publish the database of the bibliography online and give it a home where it will be kept up to date. On the basis of the annotations, an expert meeting is planned for 2016, to review the academic developments. It should lead to the mapping of future avenues of research and to possible future cooperation in the field.

About the authors

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Anna Abakunova is currently doing a PhD in History at the University of Sheffield, UK, (supported by the Wolfson Scholarship), with a dissertation on *The Rescue of Jews and Roma in Ukraine during the Holocaust*. She graduated in World History from Dnipropetrovsk National University, Ukraine. She was previously a staff member at the Tkuma Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies in Dnipropetrovsk and editor-in-chief of the journal *Holocaust Studies*. In 2008 she was a VWS Fellow at the Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and took part in other fellowship programmes in Russia, Romania, Israel, France and Sweden.

Introduction

The attached bibliography on the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti reflects by its volume and its timeframe (more than 1,400 references collected so far, published from 1946 to 2015) a longstanding and expanding interest for the topic. However, this first impression needs to be qualified by a few general remarks, discussed in more detail below.

First, it appears there were no more than 20 published references to the genocide of the Roma and Sinti, all of them articles, before Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Hilberg, 1961). The first book specifically dedicated to the persecution of the Roma and Sinti appeared in 1964 and was published in German within the *Criminology Series* of the German Society of Criminology by Hans-Joachim Döring (Döring, 1964). During the 1960s and 1970s, barely 50 references were published on this topic. During the 1980s, academic publishers began producing the first edited volumes – making a generally neglected topic more visible. An academic book published in German by Michael Zimmermann in 1996 represented a major achievement in the understanding of National Socialist policy against Roma and Sinti (Zimmermann, 1996), and between 1999 and 2006 a joint programme by the Centre de Recherches Tsiganes and the University of Hertfordshire assembled a collection of essays on many aspects of the persecution, in three volumes (Fings, Heuß, Sparing, 1999; Kenrick, 1999, 2006). In 2000, Guenter Lewy offered a description of the persecution on a larger scale with a few references to European countries outside the Third Reich territory and his book, which was translated into several languages, was the first to reach a large audience, despite numerous deficiencies in his European overview and some controversial positions (Lewy, 2000). The first project that tried to offer a general, comparative and pan-European perspective on all aspects of the genocide and persecution was the volume edited by Zimmermann in 2007 (Zimmermann, 2007).

The slow development of the research into Roma and Sinti persecution has affected the historiographical debate. As this field of study has only recently, and only partially, been recognised as a topic of interest by the main academic journals and international publishing houses, most of the research has focused on national

issues, despite the transnational dimensions. Isolated researchers, sometimes outside academia and with no academic support but remarkable obstinacy, have pioneered investigations in the field – surrounded by indifference and often restricted by language barriers. Prime examples include the innovative Czech research by Ctibor Nečas, starting in the 1970s, which was only translated into English in 1999 (Nečas, 1999); the work of Erika Thurner in 1983 on Roma and Sinti in Austria during National Socialism, first translated into English in 1998 (Thurner, 1983, 1998); and the first publications in English dealing with the mass killing of Roma and Sinti in the Soviet Union during the war and occupation (Wippermann, 1992).

Each country has developed a sometimes strong and relevant historiography, but few studies have linked similar experiences. Neighbouring territories in the Balkans have rarely been compared; the central Romanian case is often left out of larger overviews; French and Italian history is largely neglected outside France and Italy; the territory of the former USSR, including the Baltic countries, has remained outside the purview of scholars – except Transnistria, and the history of internment has not been considered in a wider European perspective.

The second major impact of the slow growth of research is the lack of cross-sectional and comparative perspectives when studying the fate of Roma and Sinti during National Socialism. Research focused mainly on discrimination, persecution and destruction has hardly considered the victims' point of view. Given the lack of knowledge about the pre-war social conditions of Romani families, conditions are not yet in place for a history of the Roma and Sinti from the perspective of victims as well as perpetrators. The perspective of bystanders and their interactions with Roma and Sinti during the time of the persecution is also insufficiently researched. This is why these notes on the bibliography are organised by themes and by country as well as chronologically.

Generally speaking, this topic remains largely marginalised in the field of the Holocaust and genocide studies. It has not been considered relevant to the research into the repression and persecution of other groups and other communities. Few studies have examined the experiences of Jewish and Roma and Sinti populations side by side in the genocidal process. Although the history of the “zigeunerlager” in Auschwitz-Birkenau has been well documented, little has been produced on the mass killing in Treblinka, Sobibor or Majdanek.

Until recently, the Roma and Sinti experience was simply integrated into the history of “other victims” or the “mosaic of victims”, a research perspective built on a circular model with a centre and peripheries (Berenbaum, 1992; Greenville, 1998). This gives a fragmented view of the repressive and genocidal processes during the National Socialist era and tends to divide and differentiate between similar narratives. For these reasons, research into the persecution and the genocide of Roma and Sinti faces a double challenge: to highlight the specific repression of Roma and Sinti in Europe, but also to integrate and connect this history to the broader perspectives of the persecution and genocide of other groups and communities in Europe.

1 Definitions

1.1 Naming

Since the 1990s, scholars have used different words for the experiences the Roma and Sinti suffered during the Second World War: *Porajmos*, *Porrajmos*, *Porraimos*, *Pharrajimos*, *Samudaripen* and *Kali Trash* (*Kali Traš*). One of the first references to a specific term for the Roma and Sinti experience appears in an article by Henry R. Huttenbach, who introduced *Porajmos* (Huttenbach, 1991). As Nikolai Bessonov and Ian Hancock explained, the search for a unique and symbolic name to define the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti helped give it an identity and accelerate the public recognition of its existence and its particularity (Bessonov, 2007; Hancock, 2009, 2010). The polemic intention and symbolism that defined the search for a metonymy to terms such as Shoah or Holocaust were part of a larger academic and public discourse about defining the singularity and uniqueness during the 1980s and the 1990s.

An interpretative perspective or historicisation is needed about the naming of the suffering of Roma and Sinti in Europe between 1933 and 1945, both for the academic community and the wider audience. Transnational and linguistic research could give insight into the way perpetrators, bystanders and observers, victims and their descendants have described it. Naming the persecution needs to be given an academic basis, urgently, as that will strongly influence official recognition. Academics also need to clarify the different terms used, indicating both the origins of the words and the background to why a term is or is not used. Acknowledging the different terms and the weight they carry for the families whose history it is, is an important aspect of the official recognition of their history.

1.2 Posing the geographical limits

What are the geographical limits of the persecution and the genocide of the Roma and Sinti during the National Socialist era? Experts have not dealt directly with this. It requires comparing the intensity of different oppressive structures and practices at national or regional levels. Extensive research has been conducted on the Third Reich territory, but no programme has been developed to understand the differences – and exchanges – between Germany, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Sevasti Trubeta compared the persecution of Balkan Roma (Trubeta, 2003) and an

edited volume compared National Socialist genocide in eastern Europe (Fischer von Weikersthal, Garstka, Hefrich, Löwe, 2008), but the research has yet to be extended to the rest of Europe. More attention should be paid to the former Soviet Union, where different occupational regimes co-existed, sometimes within the same country. For example, Ukraine was divided in five parts: the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine”, the Military Administration and the district “Galicia” were controlled by the Germans, whereas the territory of Transnistria was under Romanian authority and Transcarpatia was in the hands of Hungarian fascists. The occupying regime in each territory had its own features and timescale in preparing and carrying out persecution of the Roma. To compare these territories within contemporary Ukraine, and indeed across the whole former Soviet Union, would be a significant contribution to the study of Roma and Sinti persecution. It would also be interesting to explore the position of Roma and the specifics of anti-Roma policy in “neutral” countries. The anti-Gitanos regulations and criminal biology in Spain (Rothéa, 2007; Rodríguez Padilla, Fernández Fernández, 2010), and the case of Switzerland, studied by Thomas Huonker and Regina Ludi (Huonker, Ludi, 2001), should be compared to understand the European convergence of anti-Roma policies, especially during the war years. Looking into Roma policy in Sweden and Turkey during the war would also add to the understanding.

1.3 Quantifying

Immediately after the war, questions were raised about how to set a figure on the Roma and Sinti death toll. Léon Poliakov put the number of victims at 200,000, without any real scientific basis (Poliakov, 1951). In 1959, Joseph Tenenbaum wrote:

“No one really knows how many Gypsies there were in the world (...) For pre-war Europe there is but one authoritative figure given by the well-informed Finnish-Swedish investigator Arthur Thesleff, who put the total Gypsy population on the threshold of the twentieth century (presumably in Europe) at 1,422,000. Accepting this figure with all due reservations, one may perhaps assume a coefficient of extermination involving a gross estimate of one-third of the Gypsies of Europe.” (Tenenbaum, 1959, p. 403)

Despite these reservations, the figure of 500,000 continued to be used, based neither on extensive research nor international comparative study. In 1968, Miriam Novitch exposed the difficulties of reaching an accurate statistical overview of the victims (Novitch, 1968). The first attempt to make a general count, by country, appears in Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, who offered the figure of 219,700 victims (Kenrick, Puxon, 1972). In 1970, Christian Bernadac reached a slightly higher figure of 240,000 (Bernadac, 1979). Even today, no real exploration of the total, by country, has been made. In 1991, Huttenbach indicated a figure between 250,000 and 500,000, based on an approximate evaluation (Huttenbach, 1991).

Post-Soviet scholars have tried to establish the size of the Roma population before the Second World War and afterwards to estimate the total number

of victims, taking into account the documented number of victims. However, in the Soviet Union the situation is complicated: the official population censuses in 1926 and 1939 are not reliable because they register Roma as Ukrainians, Russians, Moldovans, Tatars, Turkmen etc., data on deportations does not differentiate between Roma and other deportees, and the counting of Roma victims by prosecutors is also flawed (Kruglov, 2009; Bessonov, 2009).

Historians and the media still use many different figures to quantify the victims of the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti. This has played a significant role in the debate about the definition of “genocide” or “persecution” of Roma and Sinti (Hancock, 2004) and remains controversial, for example during the highly politicised debate about the Jasenovac camp (Acković, 1996). The fact that Wikipedia contains a phrase such as “estimates of the death toll of Romani in World War II range from 220,000 to 1,500,000” should in itself highlight the urgent need for the academic community to review this question responsibly. Academics researching the Roma persecution should also look at the work by scholars who consider that persecutions took place not only under the Nazi regime but also under the Soviets (Omelchuk, 2008), which will significantly increase the tally of victims.

In fact, it is necessary to discuss the evaluation of all categories: the victims of mass killing in death camps; the victims of mass killing by shooting; the massacres by special forces, military forces and civil populations; the deaths in concentration camps; the deaths from deprivation in internment camps, prisons or other detention facilities; the victims of sterilisation, eugenic measures and medical experiments; the victims of the breaking up of families; and the victims of deportation, expulsion and displacement. Academic discussion about the different parts of this list would certainly be important for ongoing research and future investigations.

Apart from quantifying the number of victims, another central issue is the demographic evaluation of Roma and Sinti populations before the Second World War. Figures need context. Primary sources such as the Thesleff report of 1900 (see Tervonen, 2010) help give an idea of the size of Roma and Sinti populations in European countries at the end of the 1930s.

1.4 Inventory of names

There are very few lists of victims’ names, and most are recent or works in progress. Extensive lists have been made for Belgium (Adriaens, Hautermann, Marquenne, Steinberg, Ramet, 2008) and for certain camps, such as Lackenbach (Baumgartner, 2010), but those are exceptional. The lack of recognition of the right to restitution for individual suffering and losses undoubtedly played a role. As states and national administrations have denied or postponed recognition, individual evaluation has been difficult and consequently very few official lists of victims have been compiled since 1945.

Roma victims in Romania are still campaigning for official recognition (Matei 2001; Kelso 2007). Only a few researchers have collected names or republished

the lists made by the Nazis and their collaborators for deportations (Długoborski, 1998). Even where there was systematic registration of “Gypsies” or “nomad” populations, such as in France and in Germany, no inventory of names has been produced by historians or memorial institutions.

Sponsored by the Victim List Project of the Swiss Banks Settlement, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has collected and made available through its Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database archival lists of Roma and Sinti. While the compilation is presumably not complete, it constitutes a principal source for the identification of Roma and Sinti victims, both those who perished and those who survived. There is no centralized international project by Roma NGOs to date that is comparable to Yad Vashem’s Shoah Victims’ Names Recovery Project.

The idea of an “anonymous” genocide was and remains very strong. The memorial to the Sinti and Roma victims of National Socialism in Berlin, for example, records only the names of the camps (Bahlmann, Pankok, Reichelt, 2012). In 2013, a new memorial set up by the Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora represented a shift: two hundred stones were laid along the road to the railway station, each handpainted with the names of Sinti and Roma. Biographies of the dead were published online (see <http://gedenksteine-buchenwaldbahn.de/615/>).

Nowadays, new investigative tools make finding and publishing lists of names possible, in particular the still underused International Tracing Service database, and digitalized archives, which have been acknowledged since 1994 as an important way to locate the victims (Luebke, Milton, 1994). Lists of victims’ names have been central to critical debates on the history of restitution and, mostly, lack of restitution since 1945 (Rosenhaft, 2008).

1.5 Chronology

Both the chronology and the defining of different aspects of the persecution of the Roma before and during the Second World War need to be better understood. Pioneers like Reimar Gilsenbach and Michael Zimmermann presented timeframes with important dates (Zimmermann, 1996; Gilsenbach, 1999), but no methodological proposals have been made since. Nevertheless, comparing the chronology of Roma and Jewish genocide can be interesting for academic debates.

For much of Europe, the history of the National Socialist persecution of Roma and Sinti concerns the period 1933-1945. But the process of persecution goes beyond Germany, the German Reich or Europe under National Socialist domination. From 1926 onwards, agreements between western European countries concerning the protection of national borders had the effect of increasing restrictions and registration of individuals, stigmatisation of families and exclusion (About, 2014). In France, the dismantling of internment facilities began in 1945, but Roma and Sinti remained interned in camps until 1946 (Filhol, 2007). So, when was the specific legal apparatus used to persecute Roma and Sinti dismantled? When were the

police regulations, the medical or eugenic practices and the rules on internment changed? And where?

The timescale of the persecution of the Roma and Sinti needs to be re-addressed in a comparative perspective: the main turning points (1933, 1938, 1943) in the discrimination and genocidal systems highlighted by Michael Zimmermann, Guenter Lewy, Karola Fings, Hans-Dieter Schmid, for the Third Reich and the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe should be compared with the process of persecution in other parts of Europe (Lewy, 2000; Zimmermann, 2000; Fings 2006, Schmid, 2012). For example: deportations from Romania organised by the Romanian authorities have a different chronology (Ioanid, 2000; Woodcock, 2012). The fragmented research has not allowed a European chronological framework to emerge that would give us a better understanding of how the persecution did or did not converge on a continental level.

2 Methodology

2.1 Analysing cumulative historical processes

We need a better understanding of the specific persecution of Roma and Sinti and the inclusion of this history in the larger process. The discussion about singularity has attracted a lot of attention, especially an exchange between Romani Rose (Rose, 1998) and Yehuda Bauer (Bauer, 1998). Hans-Dieter Schmid underlined that “it seemed worthwhile in pursuing the present inquiry to ask to what extent the treatment of the Sinti and Roma had corresponded to the treatment of the Jews”, for instance in the fiscal administration (Schmid, 2003). He concludes there was similarity of treatment but an interesting differentiation between the categories “Jew” and “Gypsy”. Unfortunately, no extensive research has been done on this and the general dynamic of the persecution of Roma and Sinti needs to be scrutinised and compared with the Jewish experience according to different timeframes and countries. The differences between the victims (or perpetrators) need to be compared around Europe. To do so, scholars may follow the established methodology of Holocaust studies, which has become a paradigm for comparison in the last couple of decades and reveals interesting comparisons between the persecution of Jews and Roma (Ioanid, 2000).

Different processes are part of the history of the persecution and genocide of Roma and Sinti in Europe: exclusion from standard legislation or regulation, expropriation, expulsion from regional or national territories, internment, deportation, concentration, random massacres, forced labour. In any form of detention, when someone was labelled “Gypsy”, he or she was lowest in the social hierarchy. All these processes have been clearly differentiated to establish a better understanding of the specific social conditions of Roma and Sinti during the National Socialist period (Zimmermann, 1996; Wippermann, 1997; Luchterhandt, 2000; Freund, 2013). At a more theoretical level, Enzo Traverso has placed the persecution of Roma and Sinti within a broader understanding of “National Socialist violence” (Traverso, 2002). This comparative perspective integrates aspects that are often considered separately: social and legal exclusion, police controls, harassment, imprisonment, internment, deportation, deprivation, execution, mass killing, concentration and displacement.

This has been used to claim that the specific experience of Roma and Sinti is not another chapter within Holocaust, genocide or Jewish history, but a *fully integrated part of the same history* (Zimmermann, 2006; Rosenhaft, 2010). To redefine the

position of Roma and Sinti in this general context, researchers have mobilised the classical methodological apparatus. The persecution of Roma and Sinti was based on modern techniques and practices, sometimes specifically applied to Roma and Sinti but also used as coercive measures for other sections of society (Zimmermann, 2000): the census, identification and registration practices are part of the history of control and surveillance in Europe (Opfermann, 2001).

The questioning of scales of analysis in the broad production of genocide studies has also had an impact on the study of the Roma experience (Zimmermann, 2007). Until the 1980s, research largely focused on the structure of the persecution and on the perpetrators; after the 1990s interest turned to local and provincial case studies. In Germany an impressive number of studies (not translated into other languages) have focused on two scales: municipal and urban areas, and provincial and regional areas. Even very small localities have been used to analyse the mechanisms of Roma and Sinti persecution (Goch, 1999). Biographies of Roma and Sinti individuals during the persecution have started to mobilise the interest of the historians. Michail Krausnick was pioneering in this respect, describing the history of the Spinler family of Herbolzheim, near Freiburg im Breisgau (Krausnick, 1995; Jenisch, 2003). Angela Bachmair also focused on one family (Bachmair, 2014). The development of research that includes not only a structural analysis of the persecution but also the history of individuals and families is likely to give new insights that will change the understanding of the history of the genocide.

2.2 Historiography

More encouragement is needed for historiographical studies that provide a comprehensive overview of the research already undertaken. Only a few have tackled the evolution of the historical research and drawn up itemised breakdowns of past contributions. Unlike established fields in Holocaust research and genocide studies, such as the concentration camp system or the deportation of European Jews, the study of the Roma and Sinti genocide does not yet appear to benefit from any cumulative knowledge-building. Various labels have been used to emphasise the need to deepen the knowledge, using descriptive terms such as “forgotten”, “under-studied”, “hidden”, or “neglected” victims. But to further these studies and address new questions this historical subject must not remain marginal, and a critical assessment of the work already undertaken seems necessary to encourage new generations to study and make up for lost time.

Few authors have so far attempted a historiographical analysis of studies in this area. Following Wolfgang Wippermann, Huub van Baar highlighted how much the history of the genocide of Roma and Sinti had been built on questioning established formats and the need to challenge the allegedly marginal nature of the persecution (Wippermann, 1992 Baar, 2010).

The integration of this field into the debate on intentionalism versus functionalism has laid down the major issues of a fundamental question: Michael

Zimmermann opened lines of thought that engage multiscale analysis and discuss the relevance of this resistance to the subject (Zimmermann, 2004, 2005).

Eve Rosenhaft has explored how the story of the Romani Holocaust is told and how the concept of “narrative” might play a major role in the future (Rosenhaft, 2010): how to construct a narrative that takes into account the multiple aspects and actors of the persecution, without the victims disappearing, and that rebuilds the context of their lives and the social relations within the Romany world at the time of persecution.

Deepening the historiographical studies is particularly necessary in eastern Europe. There has been neither recognition of nor reflection on the Roma genocide since Soviet times, although Roma studies evoked particular interest in the late 19th and early 20th century, and a number of ethnographical surveys were organised and several Roma studies were published (Barannikov, 1931; German, 1931). However, study of the Roma persecution during the war was neglected in the post-war Soviet period and is still a subject avoided by state, society and academia, and general interest in Roma studies has been waning. Articles about Roma have been brief overviews; their authors focused only on Roma ethnography, avoiding the topic of Roma persecution during the Second World War (Vladykin, 1969; Sanarov 1971). Previous research is still overlooked in contemporary post-Soviet countries, and the historiography of these countries does not include Roma history in general or Roma persecution in particular. Moreover, there is no analysis of Roma history or its surviving traditions. For example, in two Ukrainian dissertations on the historiography of Roma studies, the period of Roma genocide is mentioned only briefly and without any reflection on official documents, oral testimonies or other sources (Belikov, 2003; Zinevych, 2005). Only within the last five years have scholars researching the Second World War even started to mention, in few words or a single sentence, that Roma were also victims of the Nazi regime (Persyhna, Lysenko 2010). In the meantime, isolated researchers have developed their studies on this topic, contributing to the establishment of a new line in the post-Soviet countries’ historiography (Tyaglyy, 2014).

For decades attempts to make this issue part of history have run up against a focused narrative that sidelined the fate of minorities; the historians’ efforts have therefore involved a double challenge – to tackle the role of minorities, and to tackle the specific and largely downplayed history of the Roma populations (Sirbu, 2004; Abakunova, 2015). The historiographical approach thus appears necessary both to capture the former and future challenges of historical investigation and to question the methodological issues and access to sources.

2.3 Access to primary sources

Most historians working in the field face complications in accessing primary sources in public or private archives, and researchers often have to explore the practice of each archive and how its documents were collected. Josef Henke outlined the

problem in the 1990s (Henke, 1992, 1993). But very little research has been dedicated to identifying what documentation might have survived or to understanding better what the primary sources on the history of Romani populations in Europe might be. Research in Romania has produced several co-edited volumes (Năstasă, Varga, 2001; Achim, 2004; Furtună, Grigore, Neacșu, 2010), and archives on the Roma in Burgenland after 1945 have been well documented (Baumgartner, Freund, 2004), but for many other countries in Europe the nature and diversity of the archives available to researchers has not been fully documented.

Very little research has been done on the material in specific collections compiled by scholars specialised in Romani studies, such as the members of the Gypsy Lore Society, which remained active during the 1930s and 1940s (see Lee, 2000). Similarly, there has been no extensive comparison of the archives of public administrations, or the military, police and special forces involved in the persecution of Roma and Sinti. There has never been an international project to collect oral material (although relevant testimonies can be found in the collections of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Shoah Foundation, the Mémorial de la Shoah etc). The newly available archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) also has an important number of documents giving access to many names, familial histories and thematic approaches. No international research group has yet been constituted to build a specific methodology based on all these almost unexplored documents.

Very little has been said about the historians' own perspective either. Eve Rosenhaft (Rosenhaft, 2010) questioned the way the documentation has been interpreted and the way historical narrative has been developed. Her work offers a more methodological investigation of primary sources in this field. She suggests distinguishing between different types of collections of documents; for example, between public archives and those produced by scientists investigating "Gypsies". Both offer sometimes closely related and complementary perspectives.

Dedicated collections or documentary series specifically concerned with the persecution of the Sinti and Roma are worth thorough investigation. For example, the exceptional collection assembled by Grattan Puxon and stored at the Wiener Library testifies to the still very modest use of available resources (<http://www.wienerlibrary.co.uk/Search-document-collection>, Consulted 23 August 2015). Compiled in the late 1960s, this collection, which includes 611 references, is probably one of the richest seams on this subject. It combines primary sources, witness statements, pioneering research and original documents often inaccessible elsewhere. Similar collections exist in smaller versions in all major institutions specialising in research on the Holocaust and genocide studies, to greater or lesser extent depending on the interest shown by historians or curators. The lack of a detailed inventory of these specialist collections highlights the urgent need to build fundamental resources, such as guides to archives or textbooks on archival research, to boost research.

In addition, the available documentation in each country depends on how the archives were organised, at a local, regional or national level, and whether or how the state archives are interlaced with the dedicated archives related to the occupation regime or forces of oppression. For example, the available documentation on

the persecution of Sinti and Roma in France or Transnistria, two extremely different case studies, is spread across at least three countries.

Working conditions in the already complex post-Soviet archives are further complicated by lack of computer access to catalogues, and by the fact that central and regional archives have their own documents and many of these are still held by the security services. Even a simplified inventory of the archives available country by country would produce a framework that would be of great benefit to the whole academic community.

2.4 Roma voices, before, during and after persecution

Many voices have told the individual and collective history of many different communities in many European countries, but historical research has only recently taken these testimonies into account. Ceija, Karl and Mongo Stojka are an exception and have attracted a lot of attention, because of the many opportunities such a body of texts and images presents (Stojka, Milton, 1992; Meier-Rogan, 1995; Stojka, 2000; French, 2008; Stojka, 2013). However, almost nothing was written about the very first testimonies published immediately after the war, notably Frédérique Max, G. L'Huillier, Matéo Maximoff, Jan Molitor and Dora Yates (Max, 1946; Maximoff, 1946; Molitor, 1947; L'Huillier, 1948; Yates, 1949). But personal stories about the fate of Roma and Sinti emerged later, sometimes published privately, as were the testimonies related to Auschwitz-Birkenau (Vexler, 1973; Lustig, 1985; Mettbach, Behringer, 1999). Witness accounts have continued to emerge, such as the books of Walter Winter, Otto Rosenberg, Toby Sonneman and or Raymond Gurême (Winter, 1999; Enzenberger, Rosenberg, 1999; Gurême, Ligner, 2011). A recent example is the testimony of Reinhard Florian, published by the Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas (Florian, 2012).

Researchers have been interested in the voices and published testimonies of Roma and Sinti since the 1980s, but very few collections have been published so far (among others see Beckers, 1980; Bernáth, 2000; Sonneman, 2002).

Paola Toninato recently presented methodological tools to analyse Romani writing, revealing many issues related to the genocide (Toninato, 2014). Compared with other victim groups of the National Socialist era (Jewish survivors and political deportees) the number of witness accounts by Roma and Sinti writers is very small. Perhaps the more fragile or rare a voice is, the more carefully this voice should be listened to and explored. The poetry of Papusza, recently revisited (Potel, Vachez, 2013; Kuźniak, 2013), and Ilona Lacková's autobiography send a clear message of encouragement to researchers to integrate the voices and experiences of individuals into their historical studies (Lacková, 1997).

The publications by Roma and Sinti survivors, testimonies from a world that has been irrevocably damaged, merit attention on their own. This is at the core of research such as that by Donald Kenrick on "Romani songs" in concentration camps (Kenrick, 1996) or Petre Matei on interwar Romani movements and the production

of texts and journals (Matei 2011). Apart from a few research projects dedicated to publishing testimonies from survivors in Hungary (Bernáth, 2000; Rona, 2011) or Romania (Ioanid, Kelso, Cioabă, 2009), very few collections of written or recorded voices of Roma and Sinti populations around Europe have been produced. And no pathway has been created to give scholars access to these primary sources, to develop methodological tools that would lead to structural and transversal analysis.

Few authors have studied the richness and historical interest of Roma and Sinti testimonies: Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu offered a series of essays analysing the testimonies from a literary perspective (Glajar, Radulescu, 2008). Several studies have looked at the representation of the genocide in novels (Demir, 2008; Dean-Ruzicka, 2014). Peter Kuon's recent book dedicated to literary analysis of testimonies about "political deportation" refers occasionally to the experience of Roma and Sinti, but it mostly offers a remarkable methodological instrument and a new way of interpreting the "literature of the disaster" (Kuon, 2014).

3 Research perspectives in the field

3.1 Labelling

The naming or labelling of Roma and Sinti is an essential topic if we are to understand the practice of segregation and persecution. The labelling was already a core element in writing the history of the communities in the 19th century and early 20th century. Leo Lucassen suggested that the way Roma and Sinti people were categorised and labelled by authorities, especially the police, needed to be problematised (Lucassen, 1997). As many historians of modern “Gypsy” policies have stated, the definition of who was to be considered a “Gypsy” has shifted considerably over time.

At the same time, it appears not at all clear whether the people thus labelled shared a common ethnic identity (Willems, 1997; Patrut, Uerlings, 2008; Patrut, 2014). In a different context and at different scale of analysis, historians have started to analyse the process of registration, identification and control: Ulrich Opfermann analysed registration at a regional level in Germany (Opfermann, 2001); Licia Porcedda has considered the mechanisms of the internment policy in Italy and the effects of individual controls (Porcedda, 2014). Other factors have influenced administrators or the police in deciding what constitutes a “Gypsy” – such as certain professions, associations with “nomadic” ways of life, and other categorisation based on prejudices. The fact that many Romani families were not considered by the authorities to be “Gypsies” highlights the complexity. Differences between western and eastern Europe need to be considered too, as ethnic categorisation and the rules of citizenship differed around in Europe before the Second World War.

Most historians in the field do not question the connection between the administrative designation and the history of individuals and families; they assume that the label “*Zigeuner*” or “Gypsy” has a clear meaning that corresponds to an objective reality. In certain countries Roma call themselves “Gypsies” and don’t consider the title offensive, so researchers in the field, especially those who work on Roma memory, accept and use the word “Gypsy” as it corresponds to the way it is used by the witnesses they are interviewing. Questioning this practice of labelling in historical contexts can therefore be seen as a methodological key. It requires an understanding of how different authorities and public bodies use these labels, and the social and anthropological reality to which they correspond. Kirsten Martins-Heuss questioned the permanence of Roma identities and the continuity in the collective identity of German Roma and Sinti as early as 1989 (Martins-Heuss, 1989). However,

this approach has not had much influence. Despite an increase in the historiography of identification and categorisation of individuals in the 20th century, and especially during the National Socialist era, the methods and daily practices of identifying Roma and Sinti population still need to be given due attention (Aly, Roth, 1984; Caplan 2013).

3.2 ‘Gypsy’ sciences and politics

In 1997, Wim Willems produced a major study on the science that defined and determined the identity of the “Gypsy” (Willems, 1997). Zimmermann brought forward some of the most relevant perspectives in the field, contributing to the critical study and history of the “*zigeunerforschung*” in German-speaking Europe during National Socialism (Zimmermann, 1996). Since the research by Joachim S. Hohmann (Hohmann, 1991) and more recently by Schmidt-Degenhard (Schmidt-Degenhard, 2012) on Robert Ritter, research into the prosopography of experts involved in National Socialist anti-Roma policy has been limited to the main German “race scientists”. In Austria, Ursula Mindler studied the case of Tobias Portschy (Mindler 2006); Viorel Achim studied international aspects of the network of scientists involved in this in Romania (Achim, 2007). Individual biographies of those scientists have been looked at as well as the functioning of the network they formed throughout Europe. Eve Rosenhaft’s research on Hanns Weltzel reveals an ambiguous biography. He was a German photojournalist during the 1930s, photographing the Sinti people, learning to speak Romanes, compiling genealogical charts, and writing articles in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. He was later accused of handing his genealogical tables to National Socialist race scientists and helping to organise deportations of Roma and Sinti. He was executed by the Soviets in 1952 (Rosenhaft, 2001, 2011, 2014). Cases like Weltzel are certain to be found in other countries of Europe and would help to redefine the complex and vast field of the “Gypsy sciences”.

As well as the main figures in National Socialist anthropology and “race studies”, studies have been conducted into the civil administrators and police or military officers who specialised in the resolution of the “Gypsy question” (Lucassen, 1997; Fings, Heuß, Sparing, 1999). Jens Jäger looked at the International Criminal Police Commission and police expertise on “Gypsy” matters (Jäger, 2006) and Ronald Rathert produced a monograph on Arthur Nebe, the man responsible for the Kripo, or Criminal Police, in the National Socialist state (Rathert, 2001). International police interaction has yet to be explored, as well as the detailed structure of the state, regional, municipal or military police country by country.

3.3 Sterilisation and medical experiments

In 1984, Benno Müller-Hill published a major study about the medical experiments on and sterilisation of Jews, Sinti and Roma and the mentally handicapped by the

Nazis (Müller-Hill, 1984). It was then many years before others started to research the mass sterilisation of entire sections of the population. Hansjörg Riechert was a pioneer in researching the specific policy of the National Socialists as applied to Roma and Sinti (Riechert, 1995, 1998). Reimar Gilsenbach focused on the different “psychiatric techniques” used to kill Roma and Sinti, illustrating how many of the medical disciplines were implicated in the so-called “scientific experiments” on Roma and Sinti (Gilsenbach 1997). At the same time, a few studies focused on the specific experiments taking place within the concentration camps (Szymański, Szymańska, Śnieżko, 1965, 1987). Helena Kubica researched the experiments on Roma and Sinti children in Auschwitz (Kubica 1998) and more recently Astrid Ley and Günter Morsch have written about the medical experiments on Sinti and Roma in Sachsenhausen (Ley, Morsch, 2007). A study has recently been produced on the history of eugenic policy and the series of Sterilisation Acts during the 1930s and 1940s in Sweden, including medical treatments in a long running analysis of abuses and rights violations against Roma in the 20th Century (Aa, 2015).

The above-mentioned studies only touch upon a vast area that still needs to be explored. Most European countries were strongly influenced by the theories and practice of “criminal biology” and eugenics. Thomas Huonker has written about the way these policies affected the Roma, Sinti and Yeniche population in Switzerland between 1890 and 1970; and Xavier Rothéa described the influence of the Nazi ideology on Franco’s regime, concerning policies aimed at the Spanish Gitanos (Huonker, 2003; Rothéa, 2007). Apart from the need for more comparative studies on the many aspects of the way medical experiments and sterilisation took place, it is important to look in more detail at the fate of Roma and Sinti children who were victims of experiments and also separated from their families. The forced separation of Roma and Sinti children from their parents was a practice in place in Switzerland and France, but most certainly also in other parts of Europe.

3.4 Internment

The process of internment of Sinti and Roma in Germany, France and Italy is related to long-standing police exclusion measures and also administrative, preventive or repressive administrative detention as applied to “suspects”, “foreigners”, and so-called “asocial” categories. This topic has been researched differently in each of the three countries. In France, the history of the internment of almost 6,000 Roma and Sinti was surrounded in silence until the early 1980s. Pioneering non-academic work paved the way for later studies (Sigot, 1983). The first academic publication was a short book in 1994 (Peschanski, 1994; Aa, 1995), followed by a PhD in 1997 (Hubert, 1997). The first monograph on the topic was published in 2009 (Filhol, Hubert, 2009). Together these publications have only dealt with part of the landscape of the almost 40 internment camps in France. One subject that remains unclear is the fact that a large number of the “nomads” who had been registered by the police since 1912 were not included in the internment administration. Shannon

Fogg recently described the living conditions of Romani families in France (Fogg, 2013), but many aspects of this history have not yet been looked into.

Concerning Italy, a short article by Mirella Karpati (Karpati, 1983) was for a long time the only reference. In the late 1990s, articles by Giovanna Boursier described the history that had been obliterated from the national memory, as it had been in France (Boursier, 1996, 1999). Due to the difficulty accessing archives, which differ per place and region, working on this topic in Italy is still very restricted. The first monograph, a general overview, was published in 2013 (Bassoli, Bravi, 2013). Despite difficulty accessing primary sources, Licia Porcedda and Paola Trevisan conducted more in-depth investigations and analysis of materials, especially on internment camps, in Sardinia and in north central and northern Italy, as well as on individual and Romani family history during the Fascist period and the Second World War (Trevisan 2013; Porcedda, 2014). In Germany, Wolfgang Wippermann and Rainer Gilsenbach were pioneers in research on a local level (Wippermann, 1986; Gilsenbach, 1986). The Marzahn concentration camp, on the outskirts of Berlin, has over the years been the focus of several studies, as a place of repression, deportation and of cynical exploitation by Leni Riefenstahl in particular (Gilsenbach, 1986; Brucker-Boroujerdi, Wippermann, 1987; Benz, 1994; Tegel, 2003, 2006). More recently, a monograph by Patricia Pientka focused on the fate of individuals and families, based on testimonies and primary sources collected from many archives (Pientka, 2013). There are a relatively large number of studies dedicated to the “*zigeunerlager*” in Germany. There are also case studies of Köln-Bickendorf (Fings, 1991) and Magdeburg (Miehe, 2004). The first attempts to pull together the history of the “*zigeunerlager*” in Germany took place in articles (Milton, 1994, 1995; Sparing, 1999; Fings, 2009).

Regional research into local German policies on Sinti and Roma, the relations with the civil population, and Sinti and Roma testimonies has been on a scale incomparable with other regions in Europe. Udo Engbring-Romang investigated Fulda, Wiesbaden, Marburg, Bad Hersfeld and Hanau (Engbring-Romang, 1996-2002). Karola Fings and Franks Sparing published extensively on Düsseldorf (Fings, Sparing, 1992). Other regions include north-west Germany (Hesse, Schreiber, 1999), Gelsenkirchen (Goch, 1999), Braunschweig (Reiter, 2002), and Köln (Fings, Sparing, 2005). Here too, a comparative approach would greatly enrich understanding of the “*zigeunerpolitik*” in the entire Third Reich. Exploration of the “*zigeunerlager*” facilities would create a useful link to understanding the familial history of Roma and Sinti in Germany and Austria, and the systematic process that targeted individuals designated with the “Zigeuner” label, as the recent history of a family in Germany has clearly demonstrated (Bachmair, 2014).

Apart from exchanges about coercive techniques and international discussions among “Gypsy experts” in the 1920s on internment procedures, there has been no comparative research on the internment of Roma and Sinti in Europe.

3.5 Concentration

Several types of documents are important in relation to the experiences of Roma and Sinti in concentration camps from 1933 to 1945. A substantial collection of testimonies is theoretically available, but no publication has yet provided an overview. The drawings of “Gitans” in Buchenwald made in 1944 and 1945 by Boris Taslitzky are often reproduced (Cognet, 2009) and Guido Fackler, in his work dedicated to music in concentration camps, often refers to Roma and Sinti (Fackler, 2000, 2005).

Miriam Novitch was among the first to write about Roma and Sinti in concentration camps when she referred to a “zigeuner” barracks in Buchenwald (Novitch, 1968). It took until the early 1990s before articles and books about this topic were published, including Wolfgang Günther on Bergen-Belsen (Günther, 1990), Romani Rose and Walter Weiss on forced labour, especially in concentration camps (Rose, Weiss, 1991), and Henriette Asséo on the experience of Roma and Sinti in concentration camps compared with other groups of prisoners (Asséo, 1993). Gudrun Schwarz, Karola Fings and Guenter Lewy wrote more general overviews at the end of the 1990s (Schwarz, 1998; Fings, 1999; Lewy 2002). Many memorial sites and research centres in Germany and Austria have organised exhibitions and published brochures on the Roma and Sinti prisoners in the last 15 years. Only brief references have been made to the fate of Spanish Roma in concentration camps (Pike, 2000). Norbert Aas wrote a monograph on the Sinti and Roma in Flossenburg (Aas, 2001). Publications on Natzweiler-Struthof (Awosusi, Pflock, 2006) and Sachsenhausen, (Ley, Morsch, 2007) have been produced since then, based on extensive research. In 2012, the KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme brought together the research on Dora Mittelbau, Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, 2012). Recently, researchers have investigated Roma and Sinti in forced labour camps. Michael Teichmann and Roman Urbaner wrote about camps in Austria (Teichmann, Urbaner, 2009, 2011). Apart from the aforementioned monograph by Romani Rose and Walter Weiss (Rose, Weiss, 1991), the research on the exploitation of Roma and Sinti in Europe remains to be expanded and almost no research has been dedicated to forced labour in other forms of detention, in military and civil labour facilities, such as within the Organisation Todt.

The status of Roma and Sinti within the system of concentration camps has so far only been touched upon. Sometimes they are described as hostages or members of the resistance, in other camps they were imprisoned as “asocial”, or under the racial category of “Gypsies”. The relation with other groups of prisoners (ethnic, political, social or criminal) needs exploring. From a research project mainly focused on Dachau, Steffen Jost recently initiated a comparative research project analysing all aspects of this question, collecting primary sources and evidence, and exploring the transmission, literary or visual, of documentation (Jost, 2014).

3.6 Deportation

The deportation of Roma and Sinti to Auschwitz-Birkenau has been well researched and the “*zigeunerlager*” is a well-established topic in the history of the camp. However, this is an exception. To illustrate the lack of knowledge and research, we can refer to two well-known images that are often used to represent the suffering of Roma and Sinti during the Second World War: two photos of groups sitting on the ground in an open area in front of a line of barbed wire in Belzec, prior to the construction of the death camp. The USHMM photo archive gives the date as 1 July 1940. The fate of the group, the timeframe of the pictures and the name of the photographer all remain uncertain. Yet despite the uncertainty, these images are used over and over again, and continue to symbolise the deportation of Roma and Sinti.

A few studies have looked at the Roma and Sinti in the Łódź Ghetto and their transportation to the Chełmno death camp (Galinski, 1983; Baranowski, 2003; Sparing, 2009). Very little has been written about the presence of Roma and Sinti in the other ghettos in Poland, although there are contemporary sources in the writings of Adam Czerniaków and Emanuel Ringelblum (Czerniaków, 1979; Ringelblum 1958). Even though some Roma testimonies reveal co-existence with Jews in ghettos and labour camps (for example Karlovka in Ukraine), historiography largely ignores this issue. In 1988, Yitzhak Arad mentioned the different groups that were sent to other ghettos and indicated: “The data collected about Gypsies sent to Jewish ghettos in the General Government is very limited” (Arad, 1987, p. 151). Arad also referred to testimonies concerning Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor, and random executions in several districts of the General Government. He ended his four-page chapter on The Extermination of Gypsies with a somehow definitive sentence: “No comprehensive research on the subject has been carried out, and no further data are available” (Arad, 1987, p. 153). This statement represented a quite general attitude at the time, but has been proved wrong. An overview of the research is the mapping of the massacres of Roma and Sinti across Poland, published by Piotr Kaszyca (Kaszyca, 1998).

Research on Roma and Sinti in Auschwitz-Birkenau has been extensive and Udo Wohlfeld has edited a summary (State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1993; Verband der Roma in Polen, 1994; Długoborski, 1998; Kládiová, 1998; Wohlfeld, 2012). Some questions remain to be explored, notably the relations with other groups of prisoners in Auschwitz-Birkenau and especially the Jews. Božidar Jezernik offered a pioneer ethnographic study, but this needs to be extended for a better understanding of the living conditions of Roma and Sinti in Auschwitz (Jezernik, 2001). The movement of prisoners from Auschwitz to other camps still needs to be explored, and the liberation of Roma survivors from those camps, the time spent in displaced persons’ camps and their return to their countries of origin.

3.7 Mass killings in Eastern Europe and Einsatzgruppen actions

The research into the genocide of Roma and Sinti in the south and east of the Third Reich has recently revealed a pattern of radical and systematic persecution. The specific role of satellite authorities in Romania, Croatia and Slovakia is becoming clearer. The situation in the Soviet Union during the occupation is key to understanding more fully the genocide of the European Roma and Sinti. Researchers have only recently begun to explore the nature of the mass killing of “Gypsies” and its relation to the action against Jewish populations. Wolfgang Wippermann was first to indicate the importance of the Einsatzgruppen in the systematic mass murder of Roma and Sinti (Wippermann, 1992). Michael Zimmermann focused on the differences in the patterns of persecution and murder of Jews and “Gypsies” in the Soviet Union (Zimmermann, 1999).

A comparison between German and Soviet archives has recently offered new opportunities to researchers and has brought forward a more complex view of the situation in eastern Poland and Romania. The research by Martin Holler follows the timeframe of the military occupation and the itinerary of the four Einsatzgruppen (Holler, 2008, 2009). Extensive research has taken place in different parts of the Soviet Union, analysing the methods and motives of mass killing in Belarus and northern Russia (Haberer, 2001; Holler, 2013). Research by Mikhail Tyaglyy on the systematic mass killing of Roma in all the occupied parts of Ukraine confirms the genocidal intent in the coordinated ethnic cleansing of this territory (Tyaglyy, 2009, 2013, 2014). The same observations have been made for Belarus and northern Russia, in the borderlands with Estonia and Lithuania (Weiss-Wendt, 2003; Toleikis, 2005; Bessonov, 2010).

Even though there are large quantities of documentary material, there has been no research, except as mentioned above, into Einsatzgruppen actions against the Roma and no compilation of documents on Roma genocide. Efforts have been made in post-Soviet countries, however, to collect records of Einsatzgruppen crimes against Jews. In 2008 the Ukrainian historian A. Kruglov collected and published four volumes of documents devoted to the Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei and the SD, groups A, B, C and D (Kruglov 2008), but he did not look at the extermination of the Roma. Tracing and gathering related material takes years, but such a collection on the Roma genocide would be a significant contribution to the field.

Research is still in progress: including the systematic analysis of German military reports, Soviet documents, and local archives. A focus on the borderland territories (with the Baltic countries, Moldova and Ukraine) gives insight into the living conditions of Roma populations and also makes a comparison with the fate of the Jewish population possible. The treatment of Jews and Roma during the mass killings and testimonies from local populations indicate a strong connection between the genocide of the Jews and of the Roma in Eastern Europe.

3.8 The case of Transnistria

Transnistria, which encompasses the heritage of three countries – Romania, Moldova and Ukraine – within its contemporary borders, is the most studied territory in eastern Europe. The collection of documents (Ancel, 2003; Achim 2004) has opened up research into the deportations and murder of Roma in Transnistria, and scaled historical research into the policy of the Romanian authority led by Ion Antonescu, which has been translated into several languages, gives a broad perspective and understanding of the process (Ioanid, 2000; Achim, 2004).

However, there is no similar collection of local documents from the Moldovan and Ukrainian territories. What is known about Roma deportations to Transnistria covers preparation, major directions, and general attitudes to the deportees among Romanian soldiers and the local Romanian administration. Other aspects, such as how many people perished during the deportations, the conditions under which deportations took place, and where deportees were temporarily held, what help was provided to Roma by locals and what punishments were meted out for this, anti-Roma propaganda in local newspapers etc, are either not or only partially included in the contemporary historiography.

Testimonies must now be collected to produce new research. Apart from individual initiatives and fieldwork to collect testimonies from Roma and non-Roma about their experience in Transnistria very few large projects have been undertaken. Collection of testimonies has been organised by the Shoah Foundation and recently by Yahad-in Unum, but no studies have yet been produced using these visual materials. The reason lies in difficulty gaining access to these materials rather than lack of interest among researchers. A researcher has to physically go to Los Angeles, Washington or Paris to access the collections, and cannot work on testimonies online. On the other hand, there are only few published testimonies of Roma in Transnistria (Ioanid, Kelso, Cioabă, 2009).

There are a few works on Roma memories about the deportations to Transnistria and Roma life there (Sirbu, 2004, Abakunova, 2014), but there has been no research on the memory of local non-Roma people and their attitude to deported Roma. The inter-ethnic relations of Roma and non-Roma (especially Ukrainians, Moldovans, and Romanians), including between Roma and Jews, has not been on the research agenda.

Because of a lack of factual and oral material, conditions of daily life for Roma in Transnistria, and with Jews in the ghetto or labour camps, also remain under-studied.

One of the most important issues is to generate research from a local perspective for studying the specificity of particular locations. For this, testimonies need to be analysed side-by-side with archive materials. Documents on Transnistria can be found in three countries – Ukraine, Moldova and Romania – and cooperation is needed between local authorities on the one hand, for granting access to the documents of that period, and local archives and institutions on the other, for transferring and copying these documents. Networking scholars who research this topic

to produce collective works should be taken into consideration. Such cooperative work will enrich the research because of using different local languages (Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian and Romani) and uniting diverging areas of researchers' expertise and local perspectives.

3.9 Resistance and survival strategies

Roma participation in the resistance, mainly in France and Belgium, was first described in Jan Yoors' memoirs of the war years (Yoors, 1971). The revolt in May 1944 in the "*zigeunerlager*" in Birkenau, resisting the camp guards, was documented in several articles (Smolen, 1994), but researchers have scarcely touched on the topic of Roma resistance except for a general overview by Ronald Kenrick (Kenrick, 2006). Experts in several countries have collected evidence of the contributions of Roma to resistance networks: for France, Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert indicated Roma and Sinti participants in the resistance against German occupation who were deported to concentration camps in Germany (Filhol, Hubert, 2009); Dennis Reinhartz also referred to acts of resistance in his work on Croatia (Reinhartz, 1991); for the Soviet Union, Valdemar Kalinin briefly outlined the most relevant aspects of Roma resistance (Kalinin, 2006); Nikolai Bessonov analysed different models of Roma behaviour: from the "Jewish model" of submissiveness to resistance (Bessonov, 2009); and Shannon Woodcock offered a substantial description of resistance networks and isolated acts in Romania (Woodcock, 2009, 2012). Survival strategies, such as hiding and escaping, began to be taken into account and Transnistria is an example of the way geographical conditions played a role (Kelso, 1999; Nastasa, 2005).

The participation of Roma and Sinti in the Allied forces and their contribution to the liberation of Europe has received little attention so far. However, Adèle Sutre, in her work on Roma and Sinti movement from Europe to North America and on living conditions in the US, has started to identify the involvement of Roma in the US army (Sutre, 2014). The work of Marius Weigl on Roma and Sinti during the First World War, in the context of the Habsburg empire, is an interesting example of how studying the registers of military conscription before or during war can shed light on the role of Roma and Sinti within military forces (Weigl, 2012).

3.10 Exile experience

The exile of Roma and Sinti families from mainland Europe to the United Kingdom and elsewhere has also rarely been touched upon. In the margins of his research, Ignacy-Marek Kaminski describes the arrival of Polish Roma in the Nordic countries (Kaminski, 1980). Regina Ludi writes about the "defensive walls" created to prevent the arrival of Roma and Sinti refugees in Switzerland (Ludi, 2006). A recent study has been focused on how limited or even refusal of access to the borders with Germany or Belgium compromised the escape of Norwegian Roma travelling in

western Europe during the 1930s and the early 1940s; some of them being then deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau (Brustad, Lien, Rosvoll, 2015). Immigration into the US has not been specifically investigated with regard to the escape from persecution and the Second World War, and only a very few references on this topic appear in the annotated bibliography of William Lockwood and Sheila Salo (Salo, Salo, 1986; Lockwood, Salo, 1994). Concerning the UK during the Second World War, David Mayall has offered an overview of 20th century political responses to “Gypsies”, but no specific research has been conducted so far (Mayall, 2007). Study of the activities of the Gypsy Lore Society during the war and its archives would also contribute enormously to a better understanding of the European Roma and Sinti outside Europe. Extensive research in North and South America needs to be encouraged (see Sutre, 2014; Pudlitzak, 2014). And finally, the neutral countries in Europe should also be explored on subject of exile, or the refusal of exiles, and restrictions on Roma and Sinti immigration, mainly in Switzerland, Spain, Sweden and Turkey.

3.11 What did we know?

In 1998, Reimar Gilsenbach asked a question very little discussed among the academic community: what did people know about the persecution of Roma and Sinti elsewhere in Europe, inside and outside the Third Reich? (Gilsenbach 1998). It was asked about the Jews immediately after 1945, but almost no research has taken place to document this question concerning the Roma and Sinti. However, a very short survey of press archives reveals journalists and observers were commenting on the fate of Roma and Sinti populations in Europe. A local newspaper in Illinois, for example, published an article in 1942 that indicated: “National Socialism will deal out the same treatment to them that it provides for the Jews. This means a campaign of extermination, and dark days ahead for the dark-skinned wanderers” (Anonymous, *Freeport Journal-Standard*, April 20, 1942). The circulation of information through reports or correspondence has yet to be explored.

Using accessible databases, correspondence, official and military reports, and reports by observers and journalists, it would be possible to explore press coverage at a national, European, American or international level. The question might also be asked of the main international organisations, such as the League of Nations or the International Red Cross. Knowledge among church institutions, and especially the Catholic Church, would also need to be explored (see Brieskorn, 1998). The slowly opening archives of the Vatican may bring to light some very relevant aspects of the persecutions: silence, omission, collaboration and rescue, solidarity and support.

More generally, there has been no specific research into how the Roma and Sinti were perceived in various national societies during the war. In Germany, many local studies have looked at civil society material but not at the German perception of the Roma and Sinti during National Socialism. In Romania, Ben Thorne perceived Romanian society as an essential actor in the debate on the “Gypsy question”

(Thorne, 2011). Similar studies could focus on investigating the coexistence with Roma and Sinti during the persecution and should reveal interesting insights into the interrelation with civil societies, including harassment or, conversely, support and help by civilians.

3.12 Gender perspectives

Very little has been said about the Roma and Sinti experience through the prism of gender studies. Apart from the methodological proposals set out by Joan Ringelheim (Ringelheim, 1985), the fate of Roma and Sinti women before and during the Second World War was largely neglected.

In 2003, Sybil Milton published an essay dealing with the specific suffering related to harassment, violence, sexual abuse and rape (Milton, 2003), and Eve Rosenhaft discussed methodology (Rosenhaft, 2003). However, the publication of witness accounts written by women, such as the books of Ilona Lacková, Ceija Stojka and Lolo Reinhardt, has not only highlighted the particularly violent experience suffered by women during deportation and in the concentration camps but also shown how women managed to maintain cohesion and solidarity under attack from so many directions (Stojka, Milton, 1992; Lacková, 1997; Reinhardt, 1999). These accounts play a significant role in transmitting the experience of the persecution and personifying the suffering of Roma and Sinti families, as emphasised by Lorely French in her study of the Stojka family (French, 2008) and the testimony of Zsa Zsa Brinzwiska (Brinzwiska, 2011). The issue of sexualised violence and the untold history of rapes is now also being explored (Halbmayr, 2010), and is central to the ongoing research project being directed by Michelle Kelso into Roma women in Romania.

A gender perspective in this field would not only deepen understanding of the persecution, but would also help to explore one of the critical extremities of a coercion process that includes exclusion, sexual exploitation, daily physical and moral harassment, brutality, cruelty and blackmail. The use of nakedness as part of domination and power structures also highlights the specific violence used.

3.13 Visual studies

Historians have been exploring the production, reception and uses of visual materials related to the National Socialist repression since the 1990s and images and visual sources will play an increasingly major role. Analysis of visual materials related to concentration camps has revealed, incidentally, Roma and Sinti persecution (Zelizer 1998; Liss, 1998; Chéroux, 2001; Struk, 2004).

The discovery, by a non-academic researcher, that one of the most well-known images of the deportations was in fact a young Sinti girl, Settela, and not – as generally assumed – a Jewish girl, has possibly increased awareness among the academic community of the importance of this field (Wagenaar, 1995, 2005). Anton Holzer

pointed to the close connection between fascination, exoticisation and “visual marginalisation” (Holzer 2008). More recently, after a pioneering collective volume on this topic (Peritore, Reuter, 2011), Frank Reuter has made a major academic summary of German photographic representations of Roma and Sinti (Reuter, 2014), which is likely to influence major trends in visual research as it brings new approaches.

Ulrich Hägele was one of the first authors to publish on visual materials in relation to “*zigeunerforschung*” (Hägele, 1998). Siegfried Becker and Eve Rosenhaft focused on ambivalence in the production of ethnographic or anthropologic visual materials during the Nazi period, exploring original photographs by Martin Block and Hanns Weltzel (Becker, 2005; Rosenhaft, 2008, 2011, 2014). Anton Weiss-Wendt and Eckart Dietzfelbinger explored the connection between official policies and popular images or amateur photography (Weiss-Wendt, 2003; Dietzfelbinger, 2011).

The visual perception of Roma and Sinti by perpetrators in relation to existing popular images offers interesting insights into the discrimination and dehumanisation of individuals. Many aspects of the visual history of the genocide of Roma and Sinti remain to be explored: images of Roma and Sinti in concentration camps, in internment camps, under the lenses of soldiers at the Eastern Front; and much research will need to be conducted in Yugoslavia, Romania and other eastern European countries. New research, introduced by Anita Awosusi and Andreas Pflock (Awosusi, Pflock, 2011), aims to explore the use of images in the writing and teaching of history, analysing denial and marginalisation through the use, or misuse, of images in brochures, text books and museums.

Random collections have been pulled together by Robert Dawson and Emmanuelle Stitou (Dawson 2013; Stitou, 2014). These show the urgent need for a comprehensive and scientific collective project to catalogue visual sources. Collecting visual materials on a grand scale will show the interest in the in-depth investigation needed to understand how the images were produced, what they show, the identification of individuals, and to analyse how they were used.

3.14 Documentaries

A first review of documentary films exclusively focused on genocide and the persecution of Roma and Sinti in Europe has revealed a total of just over 30 films. Further work will no doubt reveal a greater number and allow cataloguing of documentary films or fragments specifically featuring the subject. This inventory shows how late such film projects began and the absence of footage on the subject before the early 1980s, with the notable exception of Peter Nestler’s 1970 film (Nestler, 1970). Ambitious productions such as the films of George Case and Alexandra Isles (Case, 1989; Isles, 2002) remain a minority.

This collection of films distinguishes between the general European view (Asséo and others, 2011), films focused on a national or regional history such as that of

Bessarabia (Ghilascu, 2012), Romania (Kelso, 2005), France (Pillosio, 2009) and Hungary (Varga, 2001), and films that focus on the life story of an individual or family (Bayer, 1995; Berger 1999). The modest number of films devoted to the subject reflects the low visibility of this topic among the general public and the limited investment in the traditional structures of documentary film production. Often the directors of these films are also cited as co-producers or exclusive producers, reflecting the personal investment and commitment required to deliver such projects.

A major documentary film project is still needed to make the multi-layered history of this subject visible and accessible to a wider audience. The collection of great numbers of visual testimonies and the presence of a broad visual and graphic document base would make possible a project that would recognise the work of historians and provide strong encouragement for the future. However, this highlights the need to establish information tools to show where to find the main visual document databases giving access to the available witness accounts.

3.15 Living conditions

In 1994, Barbara Rieger and Erika Thurner wrote about the living conditions of Roma and Sinti during the Nazi period, posing important questions about strategies for survival and daily life in communities (Rieger, Thurner 1994). The monograph dedicated to a Sinto family in Germany by Angela Bachmair is an example of a new approach that can help us better understand the condition of the Roma and Sinti before, during and after the Second World War (Bachmair, 2014). Combining historical and anthropological perspectives with social history methodology poses new and relevant questions.

4 The aftermath

4.1 The immediate post-war period

Since the 1990s, the increased research into the genocide and persecution of the Roma and Sinti has led to much broader recognition of the issue and new questions, including how they were treated after the war. After 1945, there was a slow and complicated process to reintegrate individuals who had suffered persecution, explored by Barbara Rieger for Austria (Rieger, 2003), Christian Garstka for Poland (Garstka, 2008), and Julia von dem Knesebeck for Germany (Knesebeck, 2011). These studies show the complexity surrounding the recognition of the “racial” rather than legal or social nature of the discrimination under which Roma and Sinti were often excluded from compensation – their treatment justified as being a consequence of their “criminal” acts or “antisocial” behaviour. However, this process did not begin equally in all parts of Europe nor follow similar patterns.

Historians have only recently looked at the effect of the persecution on living conditions, especially in Germany (Strauss, 1998; Krokowski, 2006; Baaske, Erchenbrecher, Mechler, Wolf-Dieter, Schmid, 2012). A remarkably well documented recent synopsis of this topic presents general research on Germany for the period 1945-50, underlining the persistence of xenophobia and discriminatory administrative practices (Reuss, 2014). The specific conditions of the population have been investigated in other contexts, such as the maintenance of internment facilities in France until 1946 (Filhol, 2014). However, compared with the history of Jewish refugees and other displaced persons, very little has been said about the conditions of Roma and Sinti after 1945. Also, very little has been said about the psychological consequences of the persecution, other than an isolated article in a medical journal (Peterson, Liedtke, 1971). Sybil Milton researched the continuation of “anti-Gypsyism” in post-war Germany and Austria and even entitled her research “Persecuting the Survivors” (Milton, 1998). Many accessible archives, such as the database of the International Tracing Service (ITS), could provide a very important chapter on the aftermath. Here also, a comparative perspective would be needed to understand the different treatment of the communities according to the political conditions in each country.

4.2 Justice and retribution

Scholars have been looking at the question of retribution and of compensation for Roma and Sinti as victims of persecution since the end of the 1970s. Due to late official recognition of the suffering of Roma and Sinti by European governments, no specific route was set out to give them access to the general system of compensation; scholars have described this as being as bad as the wartime persecution itself (Törne, 1992, 1998).

In 1979, a short article pointed out the many difficulties in the way of any form of compensation for Roma and Sinti individuals (Khrause, 1979). The continuation of the “zigeunerforschung” in Germany, because the public administration experts involved in it had not been replaced, was denounced at the beginning of the 1980s (Greußing, 1981; Bura, 1984). A pioneer article by Martins-Heuss revealed the ambivalence of German federal politicians and the effect on the collective identity of German Roma and Sinti (Martins-Heuss, 1989). From this time on, Gilad Margalit dedicated much research to issues such as the continuation of the “zigeunerpolitik” after 1945, the ambiguity of the justice system in Germany, and the ongoing verbal and cultural representation of the Roma and Sinti (Margalit, 1997, 2002, 2007). Recently, extensive research has summarised the struggling legal process and parliamentary debate that led to some compensation being paid in post-war Germany (Knesebeck, 2011; Meyer, 2013; Margalit 2013). In these studies, the role of active associations such as the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma in Germany has been underlined as a fundamental actor in the process towards financial recognition of the genocide (Margalit, 2002).

In Austria, too, research has been carried out revealing the slow acknowledgement of the Roma and Sinti persecution and the difficulties their communities faced to be recognised as victims of war crimes; a few monographs summarised the social process that maintained a state of exclusion for decades after 1945 (Uslu-Pauer, 2002; Rieger 2003; Baumgartner, Freund, Greifeneder, 2004). Viorel Achim and Michelle Kelso have analysed the slow process of compensation in Romania (Achim, 2002; Kelso, 2007, 2008). But in France, there has been little research into the obliteration of the internment camps for “nomads” and the slow recognition that only officially began after 2010 (Hubert, 2003; Asséo, 2003; Gagnieux, 2011).

The complexity of the process towards recognition in Europe and the tensions that have accompanied the claims have demanded more challenging and analytical reflection on moral debt, relief, redress, memory politics and individual memory (Woolford, Wolejszo, 2006; Ludi, 2006; Rosenhaft 2008). The role of memory and commemoration has been identified as central to the development of the modern identity of Eastern European Romani communities (Kapralski, 2004).

Apart from the question of compensation, no extensive research has been conducted into the way the persecution of the Roma and Sinti was handled during war crimes trials. Only a short summary by Peter Sandner questions criminal justice practice regarding the genocide of Roma and Sinti (Sandner, 2006). Many historians are, of course, using material produced during the trials, but the place of the

Roma and Sinti during the trials themselves, in Germany, Israel and other countries, has not been explicitly analysed.

4.3 Memory and commemoration

How to commemorate the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti? The question has provoked interesting debates, especially in Germany, on aspects varying from how to describe the victims (*zigeuner* or *Sinti und Roma*) and their suffering, to what form the monuments should take and to how to organise public commemorations.

Several authors have addressed questions about commemorations and tried to piece together the long history of denial, disparagement and oblivion (Baumgartner, Freund, Greifeneder, 2004; Stewart, 2004; Baar, 2011). In Ukraine, the recognition of the Roma and Sinti genocide is tied up with the complicated recognition of other minorities (Kotljarchuk, 2014). In France, due to the difficulties admitting the direct role of French officialdom and the contemporary discrimination against traveller communities, Filhol used the powerful expression of “*non-lieux de mémoire*” (non-memorials) to describe the complete erasure of the former camps (Filhol, 2004, 2014). In Poland, the active role of Roma and Sinti associations has been central to the recognition of other groups of victims (Garstka, 2008; Kapralski, 2013). Daniela Besparis recently described “bagatellisation” as an integral part of the anti-Roma attitude in Europe (Besparis, 2012).

As memorials and commemorative events have been organised over the past 20 years, historians have gathered material to investigate the making of the monuments and the explicit or implicit discourses that have surrounded them. The monuments in Germany have attracted great attention and comment, particularly the Sinti and Roma monument in Berlin (Zimmermann, 2004, 2007; Bahlmann, Pankok, Reichelt, 2012). A promising field of studies is already comparing the different memorial processes, between Jewish and Roma and Sinti experiences or between different countries, for example the United States and Germany (Blumer, 2013).

Others are analysing the literature and other artistic works related to the history of the persecution: in Czech literature (Heftrich, 2008), on the complex relation between trauma and gender in the works of the Stojka family (French, 2008), and in Walter Winter’s book (Asya, 2008). In 2008, two remarkable edited volumes were dedicated to an interlacing analysis of historical and cultural perspectives related to persecution and the contemporary history of the Roma (Glajar, Radulescu, 2008; Fischer von Weikersthal, Garstka, Heftrich, Löwe, 2008).

4.4 Education

For 30 years, since the first academic research in the field was published, the transmission of historical knowledge to educational publications and materials has been slow and far from ideal. Analysis of how to teach students about the history of the

persecution of the Roma and Sinti will certainly expand in coming years. Anita Awosusi and Andreas Pflock have discussed methodology concerning the use of photographic documentation (Awosusi, Pflock, 2011), and Sławomir Kapralski has looked at the principles of teaching the history of the Roma and Sinti genocide (Kapralski, 2005). Michelle Kelso has interesting input regarding teaching that reflects contemporary race relations in Romania (Kelso, 2007, 2013). Teaching materials and methods often reveal tensions between different parts of a national community and the obstacles faced in teaching about the long history of discrimination against Roma and Sinti.

Interest in educational issues has been increasing progressively. In May 2014, the Institute of Education at University College London hosted an expert meeting of educators and policymakers, organised by the IHRA Committee on the Genocide of Roma, bringing together 20 experts from 16 European countries. It was followed the next day by an international conference on teaching about the genocide of the Roma in relation to contemporary issues (Hale, Polak, Salmons, 2014). The Council of Europe's initiative to publish *Factsheets on Roma History* was an important milestone in international cooperation to provide educators with accessible information. The IHRA Committee on the Genocide of the Roma initiated a multi-lingual website, *The Fate of the European Roma and Sinti during the Holocaust*, that provides worksheets for students, covering the main topics of this history and offering a clear pedagogical framework as described in the teachers' manual (Baumgartner, Bibermann, Ecker 2014). Recent recognition of the need to bring education on the genocide of the Roma into the mainstream has accelerated reflection and practical proposals. Educators and policymakers have highlighted the potential impact of teaching about the genocide to address prejudices and stereotypes against Roma and Sinti today (Mirga, 2005; Polak, 2013).

Telling the personal stories of families and individuals and showing the effect of persecution on successive generations sends a clear message and is a convincing tool against misconceptions and preconceived ideas. As Ellie Keen emphasised, the need to commemorate the genocide is an inseparable part of concern about human rights today and the will to educate young people to learn from the history of the discrimination against Roma and Sinti (Keen, 2014). Information about educational projects in various European countries and elsewhere needs to be more widely disseminated and collaboration must be improved, as it is clear that the international organisations and educational or commemorative project managers initiating or supporting these projects are not sufficiently aware of each other's work. A coordinated wider inclusion of the topic into the educational curriculum would also promote research and reflection about teaching methods. This would help challenge rooted negative perceptions and is a solid reason to strengthen research into teaching about the persecution of the Roma and Sinti.

5 Recommendations

Looking at the current academic publication system and market, it seems essential that scholars present their research in international journals. This would mainly remain an individual initiative, unless an editor suggests a collection of essays in an academic peer-reviewed journal. Generally, journals are reluctant to present special issues and preference is given to a few connected articles. Few special issues in internationally acknowledged peer-reviewed historical journals have been dedicated to Roma and Sinti history or, therefore, the Roma and Sinti genocide (a recent exception is the Italian review *Quaderni Storici*: Asséo, Aresu, 2014). One recommendation would be to stimulate the publication of special issues of academic journals dedicated to the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti, to promote team research projects and research seminars.

A second recommendation would be to promote the publication of monographs and edited collections. The publication of monographs would only be possible if an academic publisher would undertake to produce them under the academic direction of a small committee of international recognised experts. The publication of edited collections is even more important, promoting interdisciplinary and comparative work, as well as encouraging scholars to pursue their own, sometimes isolated, research.

Both proposals would enrich the academic programme of cultural institutions, museums and universities and stimulate conferences and workshops. A calendar of relevant publications would move beyond merely promoting meetings, which take a long time to organise and are not always satisfying in terms of academic results.

Access to archives and recorded testimonies needs to be improved and methods need to be developed. A dedicated programme is required to identify specific collections and compile a list of primary sources, particularly published or audio-visual testimonies. Researchers from all over the world must also have full online access to visual material. Large collections of very important sources are currently only accessible to small numbers of scholars. A comparative methodology must be developed to trace Roma and Sinti histories in public archives.

This would require assistance from historians of the early modern and modern period, not only specialists on genocide and the Second World War, and from archivists and experts in documentation, classification and memory studies. The remarkable work by the Médiathèque Matéo Maximoff (Paris), the Museum of Romani Culture (Brno), the Sydney Jones Library special collection department

(Liverpool) and the Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma (Heidelberg) will give strong support to these initiatives.

One last recommendation would be to share this bibliography with all research centres and institutions interested in genocide studies, and to actively promote and coordinate collection and updating of references in this field.

Main recommendations:

1. Creation of an online bibliographical platform giving access to bibliographical data and including regularly updated bibliographical lists.
2. Creation of an international online platform for researchers compiling descriptions of specific collections and methodology of administrative archives, by country. This platform would also give access to bibliographies, presentations of research projects and a calendar of academic meetings.
3. Creation of a joint programme between an academic publisher and an association of institutions (museums, academic institutions) to finance the publication and translation of a collection of monographs.
4. Creation of a small academic committee to publish a series of co-edited volumes on the genocide and persecution of Roma and Sinti, in three or four volumes.
5. Promotion of three or four collaborative and international research projects and funding at national, European or international level to support doctorate research and post-doctorate positions and research in the longer term.

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Part 2: Bibliography on the Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti Ilse Averbach & Anna Abakunova



Preliminary Remarks¹

This *Bibliography on the Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti* aims to list all the academic and other relevant publications related to the fate of Roma and Sinti in Europe under National Socialist Germany that have been published in the last 70 years. As non-academic scholars have enriched this field in many countries, publications in non-academic journals have also been included, and press articles and short texts where relevant.

Our aim is to focus on published research that clearly indicates in the title that the topic is Roma and Sinti persecution. General works on genocide studies are therefore not included, and nor are works about the persecution of other groups under the Nazi regime where the Roma and Sinti annihilation is not mentioned in the title (or at least a chapter heading), even if these publications contain information about the persecution of the Roma and Sinti. This means we did not include in the bibliography numerous studies that describe or repeatedly mention Roma persecution but do not specify Roma in their title. However, we have included publications on general Roma and Sinti history where the authors only briefly mention the Roma and Sinti persecutions under the Nazi Era or during the Second World War. The bibliography also lists some research into persecution of the Roma under the Soviet regime. All these entries can be found under “General history of Roma and Sinti in modern Europe”. The section “Historiography” includes relevant historiographical publications on the Roma and Sinti genocide. “Methodology” presents research related to methodological issues and the establishment of scholarship in the field of Roma and Sinti genocide and persecution. “General aspects of genocide and persecution” lists publications that present a general overview rather than addressing any particular topic.

All the selected scholarly works are included in the following categories:

- Geographical order, by country according to contemporary borders;

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- Thematic order;
- Alphabetical order by surnames of authors;
- Chronological order by years.

The geographical order shows what research has been done on a particular country: what the topics are, and how the research into Roma and Sinti persecution has developed in different countries. Where frontiers have changed before, during or since the Second World War, we have defined countries by their current borders to make the bibliography simpler and clearer to use. For example, instead of the Soviet Union, there are separate sections for publications about Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia etc; instead of Yugoslavia, there are sections for works on Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia etc. Where research is devoted to countries that have disappeared, publications are listed under all relevant current countries: references to a publication on the annihilation of the Roma in former Czechoslovakia, for instance, can be found in both the Czech Republic and the Slovakia sections. If the research concerns a country that was part of another country during the Second World War, references will also be listed under both. For example, part of what is now Ukraine was formerly part of Romania and called Transnistria during the Second World War; in addition, many Roma from contemporary Moldova were deported to this region during the war. The relevant reference can therefore be found in three sections: Ukraine, Romania and Moldova. The same rule is applied where Roma or Sinti from one country live in other country; references will be found in both sections. In the case of a publication about Transcarpathia and Hungarian and Slovakian Roma living there, the same reference will be found under Hungary, Slovakia and Ukraine (as Transcarpathia is part of what is now Ukraine).

The thematic order provides an overview what kind of themes are being developed in Roma genocide studies, how many works there are on a given theme, and which authors are working on these topics. In the bibliography we have selected 11 major themes, which combine history, literature, visual studies, memory studies etc.

We offer listings in alphabetical order, common to other bibliographies, but the chronological order makes it possible to track the number of studies published by scholars in any particular year; what topics prevailed in a given year or period; how long certain scholars continue to research their topics; and in which years scholars switch from one topic to another or, on the contrary, develop the same research.

We have also included in the bibliography collections of documents listed by the language in which they are originally written, which can be found in the Part 2.

For publications written in the Cyrillic alphabet or Turkic languages we put the title translated into English first with the title in the original language in brackets. For publications in Hebrew, we add “in Hebrew” in brackets. We use the following transliteration system for authors’ surnames:

- Bulgarian – Scientific
- Serbian – ALA-LC Romanization System

- Macedonian – Official Documents/Cadastre
- Russian – Passport (2013)
- Ukrainian – National
- Belarusian – Scholarly
- Hebrew – Hebrew Academy 2006

For names of authors already established in western historiography in a certain transliteration, we follow that style, even if the name might be transliterated differently according to other rules. In references in the Cyrillic alphabet, authors' transliterated second names appear first, followed by original name in brackets.

This bibliography has been produced with the bibliographical software Bookends. All references can be expressed in RIS file format and are exportable to other software such as EndNote, ProCite or Zotero.

1 ESSAYS

I. Publications on general aspects

I.1. Bibliographies

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II.34. United Kingdom

II.34.1. General publications on the history of the 20th century

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