

ESF Exploratory Workshop on

# **The Two Sides of The Coin: Gypsy Economies Between the State and the Market**

Lisbon (Portugal), 20 - 23 September 2012

Convened by:

**Micol Brazzabeni, Manuela Ivone Paredes Pereira da  
Cunha, Tomáš Hrustič**

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## **SCIENTIFIC REPORT**

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## 1. Executive summary

The Exploratory Workshop *The Two Sides of The Coin: Gypsy Economies Between the State and the Market* took place in the ISCTE-IUL University Campus in Lisbon (Portugal) from the 20th to the 23rd of September 2012. The workshop was attended by 22 participants (including the ESF representative), who came from various institutions from 14 different countries (see Section 6 for the statistical information on the participants), ranging from doctoral (at the concluding, dissertation writing, phase) through to professorial level. All participants came from a broader social science background, mostly in anthropology.

The participants first gathered in the evening on Thursday, the 20th of September, and most left leaving in the morning of Sunday, the 23rd of September. The workshop itself thus lasted two full days -- the 21st and 22nd of September (see Section 4 for Final Programme).

Unfortunately one participant, *Sara Sama* could not be with us in person, but she participated at the whole workshop through a videoconference system, which allowed her to present her paper, to follow other presentations and to take part in panel and roundtable discussions. One participant, *Stepan Ripka*, attended the workshop as an observer, and he did not present any paper, nor was he an assigned discussant.

Professor *Volkmar Lauber*, the expert delegate on behalf of the European Science Foundation, actively participated at the workshop, offering insightful and stimulating comments particularly during the less formal periods (e.g. coffee breaks). In addition, at the beginning of the workshop, and especially mostly in the last roundtable that took place at the end of the second day, he offered useful information on appropriate funding schemes and possible ways to transform the workshop into a more long-lasting scientific cooperation.

The first day we organized a welcome dinner -- it worked out splendidly and received enthusiastic response. The dinner was provided by a catering firm in a house of the main convenor, Micol Brazzabeni. This setting allowed people to get to know each other, to mingle and interact in an informal and cosy ambient. In the two days during the workshop, two common dinners were organized for people to meet after the daily sessions and to continue discussions informally, while getting to know some nice neighbourhoods in Lisbon in the process. Besides these dinners that had a strong networking and socialising aspect, lunches and frequent coffee breaks, allowed for many discussions to flow into unpredictable directions even after the presentations and formal discussions were over.

Our aim for the workshop was to provide as much focused discussion about issues relating to anthropology of Gypsy economy as possible and the programme of the workshop was designed to meet this objective. Six months before the workshop, the participants sent their final abstracts -- on the basis of these they were assigned to appropriate panels. One month before the workshop, each presenter sent background material for his or her oral presentation -- these took form of either extended notes or a paper. Thanks to this, every participant, and especially the discussants, had sufficient time for reading the papers, take notes and formulate comments for the discussions during the workshop.

The 14 papers presented were divided into four panels spread over the two days. Each day contained two panels. In order to fulfill our goals, the four panels were organized around four specific themes - *The State and The Neoliberal Moment*; *Creating Economic Opportunities*; *Performing Gypsiness on the Marketplace*; *Value Transformations* (see Section 2 for the Scientific Content) -- with scientists deliberating in a focused manner while shifting the frame of reference; an ethnographic and analytical journey that covered more "macro" level exploring political and economic environment, went through creation and stabilisation of recognised economic practices, through a "micro" level deconstructing singular economic exchanges, to exploring meanings that motivate and organise economic action.

Each presentation lasted 30 minutes -- the aim was to have presentations longer than usually allowed-by-the conference format and give the presenters enough time to state and elaborate their cases. Each presentation was followed by a ten minute question and answer session. After all presentations in panel were concluded, a discussant assigned to each panel commented on the central theme -- and in some cases also on individual papers -- bringing out -connections between papers visible, which opened the floor to the general discussion.

At the end of each day, two anthropologists, (*Manuela Ivone da Cunha* and *Keith Hart*), chosen because they are not specialist in Gypsy Studies but are recognized experts in economic anthropology, offered to the participants some more general comments. This exercise was important in order to relate the discussions that took place at the workshop and within the anthropology of Gypsies more generally, to pressing issues of the contemporary world and other social science ethnographies.-It also led to suggesting themes and questions that anthropology of Gypsies can contribute to anthropology more broadly and to economic anthropology in particular.

Our interest was to contribute to Gypsy Studies with a different and rather than dominant-approach. The starting point of the dominant approach is to see Gypsies as a self-evident example of precarity, exclusion and marginality. This approach often focuses on denunciation and on studying state and market exclusion, which risks denying people's own goals and capacity to struggle for their own survival. We wanted to stress relationships between different local niche occupations, the variety of markets and international debates on the economic crisis. The workshop was a stimulating platform to analyse how economic strategies can be related, and have to be related, with Gypsy sociality, agency, and cosmology. In other words, we aimed to draw a dense and extensive comparative framework.

Our main objective was to seek out and develop new theoretical and methodological frameworks, which would allow researchers to explore interaction between demands of the states Gypsies live in, existing economic opportunities, the ways Gypsy populations negotiate these, the ways Gypsies find and manage market entry-points and how these points relate to specific states policies. Our aim was to envisage and analyse all these topics from the point of view of Gypsies themselves, i.e. as they arise from intensive and critical ethnographic engagement.

For that reason most people invited were anthropologists -- one of the specific characteristics and potentiality of the workshop was that the invited researchers were scholars with long fieldwork experience with Gypsy communities in various countries over the last years. Since these scholars' research overlapped in time and since all of them have in-depth knowledge of Gypsies' economic strategies and they experienced recent broader changes while in the field, it increased the potential of the workshop to tackle the proposed themes successfully. The workshop lived up to its potential, and as shown below, it even achieved more than the set goals.

## **2. Scientific content of the event**

### **DAY ONE:**

#### **Panel One: On The State and Welfare Transfers**

This panel entitled *The State and The Neoliberal Moment* focused on the interaction of the Eastern European Roma -- from Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania -- with states they live in (the Slovak, Czech, Hungarian and Italian). It placed the discussion in the context of the EU expansion and the transformation of the welfare policies in past decades.

Paper by *Alessandro Simoni*, a lawyer from the University of Florence, opened the panel. Taking a diachronic look, his presentation described how the presence of the Romanian Roma in Italian cities activated the use of what he called “a dormant law” against begging -- a law that has existed for decades, but was activated selectively only when the aim was to scare the Romanian Roma.

*Yasar Abu Ghosh* continued focusing on the interaction between the Roma and the non-Roma, albeit from a different angle. On a case study of a shop in a small Czech town, he showed how the shop’s non-Gypsy owner adjusted his selection of goods and his retail strategies to fit the demands and possibilities of his customers who came from an impoverished Roma community. Coining a concept of the “attractivity of the poor”, he showed how over time, through extending credit, the shop-owner managed to tap into the flow of money these Roma received from the state in a form of welfare. This in turn led to the reformulation of the shop’s credit strategies.

After the coffee break, the day continued with the theme of credit/debt. Describing the developments in one peripheral Hungarian town, where the Roma represent the majority of the population, a sociologist *Judit Durst* showed how intricate the connection between the welfare provision, local politics and the power of the Roma usurers can be. She argued that the governmental welfare policies have unintended consequences, because they ignore the creativity of the poor. She showed the distinction people make between the “good” and “scavenging” moneylenders, with the main fault line lying in the ways these usurers are seen to treat their relatives.

The topic of moral standing of usurers was further developed by *Tomáš Hrustič* and illustrated on the interaction within the Roma community in a small town in Eastern Slovakia. He argued that the poor Roma do not necessarily view the usurers with contempt, especially, since being cut off from official lines of credit and often short of money, they are grateful for the opportunity usurers provide. Although there are recognised big usurers, Hrustič argued that it is impossible to draw a thick line between lenders and borrowers -- there are many people who are at certain point borrowers and at certain point loan sharks. The logic of credit has pervaded all kinds of relations and for a few people moneylending became the only available means to improve their social situation.

The discussion opened by extended comments made by *Daniel Seabra Lopes*, who took as its starting point the question of how appropriate the title of the panel was for the content of the papers: Was there anything specific in these case studies which would elucidate the relationship between specific Gypsy populations, the state and the neoliberal moment? How do changes in welfare provision represent one of “neoliberal moves”? Most of the later discussion revolved around the relationship between credit, as an important instrument in promoting a neoliberal ethos of accountability and entrepreneurship, and whether usurious and subprime credit provision on which some Gypsy groups depend, and which are far more coercive, can be considered to fit this model.

## **Panel Two: On The Market and Creativity**

The second panel, *Creating Economic Opportunities*, took up a more classic topic in the anthropology of Gypsies revisiting the questions of autonomous employment and the emergence of economic niches. In the case studies presented, the questions of space and place also became salient.

Speaking through the videoconference system (see above), *Sara Sama* described the “interstitial economy” flowing in the cracks of official economy that developed around the camp for nomads in Alentejo, Southern Portugal; this camp, which was meant to be temporary, was an unintended outcome of the gentrification process. She showed how various economic activities, especially the horse-trading, were centered around the camp, which both opened some possibilities and limited other options of the camp’s Cigano

inhabitants. These contradictory pulls reflected territorial interaction of the camp Cigano residents with non-Gypsies (*gaje*), with other (especially nomadic and settled) Ciganos as well the social organisation of Gypsies living in the camp itself.

*Jan Grill* followed with an analysis of a different economic niche that was also temporarily limited and that relied on arbitrage across distances, in this case on migration strategies. For a few years between 2007 and 2010, some Slovak Roma developed a strategy bringing poor Roma from Eastern Slovakia into the United Kingdom, where they helped arranging state benefits from which they took a certain commission. Grill showed how these Roma contrasted this way of making money through skill, with dirty, hard and low-paid jobs through job-agencies to which they normally had access to.

*Gergő Pulay* focused on the space of a Romani ghetto in Bucharest, Romania, and the organisation of the scrap metal circuit of which this place was a part and that linked the street collection with overseas steel plants. He showed how through attaining what these Roma call “school of life”, through setting up internal differentiations of the space of the ghetto and through being constantly alert to their possibilities (cunningness), the Roma inhabitants attempt to acquire value as well as to avoid the prospect of being absorbed by what the non-Gypsies see as the worst neighborhood in the city.

The last presentation, which closed this panel served as a sort of a bridge between the two days of the workshop. *Martin Olivera* showed how the monetary logic of the Romanian Gabori assures to preserve their independence from the *gaje*. Traditionally known as gutters, a craft which they developed since the 1960s, the money earned through this “man’s work”, which is also considered the “Roma work” (*romani butji*) is valued for its use value, i.e. for how it serves to create proper personhood and relationships.

The discussion led by *Radu Umbres* raised important questions about the nature of entrepreneurship on the margins of the state. The key question that emerged was whether marginality (or interstitiality), and to some extent “statelessness” (abandonment by the state as well as living in loopholes created the process of formalisations), which causes that people cannot rely on impersonal rules and institutions, could not, paradoxically, also lead to opening a space for innovation, for crossing economic and social boundaries. For outsiders, such “bricolage” can create a sense of moral confusion, since the activities of these politically marginal people can be seen as somehow “outrageous”. Referring also to some of the papers from the morning session, the participants also discussed the dynamics of elementary “class stratification”, or, rather, of differentiation within Gypsy communities, which reflect people’s diverse capacity for gain on the margins.

The day was concluded by *Manuela Ivone de Cunha*, an anthropologist whose specialty is informal economy. Going beyond the closed discussion provided by the ethnography of the Gypsies, she suggested to look at other examples and connections that linked precarity, the weakening of the state, innovation as survival and presentist orientation. The subsequent confirmation of her observations by *Keith Hart* made it clear that Gypsies could serve as a useful commentary on the world that we live in.

## DAY TWO

### Panel Three: On Performances

Rather than at the niches, the third panel *Performing Gypsiness on the Marketplace* looked at singular economic interactions that take place between the Gypsies and their customers. The papers showed the embeddedness of any exchange in local conditions, where success depended on the quality of an individual’s performance -- on a careful management of impressions, affects, stereotypes and shared meanings.

The content of these performances is not separate from broader politico-economic questions as *Micol Brazzabeni* convincingly showed. She analysed shouts and calls that Gypsy traders use when promoting their goods and which she collected in various

marketplaces across Lisbon. Her presentation started with the recording of these shouts and calls played out to the workshop participants. These shouts work by crossing and joining various regimes of value and by conflating traders with their products. At the same time, as performances of compressed images, stereotypes and representation, they produce a moral economy -- a discourse about, and the critique of, the local economic crisis, the distinction between counterfeit and original, between the threat of Chinese imports and the strength of national products.

*Marco Solimene's* presentation also dealt with transformation of economic exchanges brought about by geopolitical shifts. Scrap metal collection, a primary economic activity of Bosnian Xoraxané living in Rome, was recently altered by the arrival of Romanian Roma. Analysing the organisation of the labour-process, the information gathering and the collection, he showed how this activity depends on relationships Xoraxané have with the non-Roma, on a careful management of the territories they circulate and on distinction-making between Xoraxané and recent arrivals. The Xoraxané manipulate fears and stereotypes (e.g. about "good Gypsies"), while they see their success as linked to elements that constitute Gypsiness (luck, divine favour and skill).

The panel was closed by *Florenzia Ferrari*, who analysed palm-reading activities of the Calon in Brazil. Palm-reading is a female activity, in which women draw on shared Brazilian images of the supernatural, of fate and fortune. Taking her personal experience of the palm-reading with Calon women as the starting point, she outlined its technique and the dynamics of the exchange -- how it depends on careful reading of faces and on a shift of frame within which the exchange is interpreted, and which puts onus of responsibility on the client.

Closing remarks of Ferrari's paper about whether analysts were warranted in seeing such activities as palm-reading as a deceit resonated throughout most of the discussion led by *Valerio Simoni*. The discussion led to conclusions about how each on the marketplace depends on the thorough knowledge of the non-Gypsy world and a successful linking to non-Gypsy aspirations and images (about the supernatural, about immigrants and about the economic crisis) at the moment of exchange. Participants agreed that this deliberate linking with the shared meaning of the non-Gypsies (what Ferrari called "controlled equivocation") was what makes exchanges possible (through "acting upon the world" as Brazzabeni argued). At the time, this process, in which money changes hands, is always marked by ambiguity (stressed especially by Solimene).

#### **Panel Four: On Wealth and Values**

Focusing on the dynamic within the Gypsy communities, the last panel entitled *Value Transformations* can be seen as an ethnographic panorama of Gypsy values that are defined by socio-cultural systems and that orient people's acts. Looking at three communities in three countries with markedly different historical trajectories, the presentations showed how the ideas, representations and practices concerning money undermine hierarchies that money-making brings.

In its ethnographic subject, *Martin Fotta*, who opened this panel, started where the last paper of the previous panel ended. Focusing on meanings that motivate activities of money-lenders, he argued that there are two sources of value among the Calon of Brazil: "shame" (*vergonha*), is something that should be made visible in the way Calon are treated by others; the second value is conceived of as an increasing control over one's environment, visible primarily through one's economic prowess. Although these value templates are presented as depending on acts of individuals, they are unevenly distributed and depend on age of persons. In addition, although they are ideally harmoniously connected in social persons, these two values are often in contradiction, heightened today by accessibility of money.

*Nathalie Manrique* continued in a similar vein. She argued that Gitanos in Andalusia are also concerned with presentation of equality among themselves and showing the distinction with others. Generosity, as a sign of agency and which everybody is to possess to certain degree, is the central motor of Gitano sociality. It leads to classification of beings from the most generous (adult Gypsy males) to the least, while its logic that leads to continued attempts to give and reciprocate undermines any attempt at capitalisation and hierarchy between individuals.

*Cătălina Tesăr* focused on analysing overt expressions of the economic success among Cortorari in Romania, of large houses they build in their home towns. They fund these conspicuous houses through begging in Western Europe -- houses thus objectify people's success and skill, as well as people's position in social relations. Their visibility and style, also serve as a statement made for the non-Gypsies. While these houses represent contingency of people's lives and objectify individuality and social personhood of their owners, they contrast with invisible chalices, that are conceived as the true source of wealth among Cortorari and which, as family heirlooms, can be exchanged only in marriages standing for continuity and social reproduction.

The panel's discussant, *Iulia Hasdeu*, called attention onto different ways that the three papers emphasised the interconnectedness of values' domain (morals) with the economical and political domains, and ways that money is embedded in the moral order. The discussion returned to the question of inequality and distinctiveness: how meanings visible in shared values lead to creation of unequal persons and how at the same time they forge a boundary with the non-Gypsies. The questions raised revolved around how the money-morals system shapes conception of present/past, social hierarchies or death/life, and whether the values identified in three distinct population of Gypsies in three countries can be considered similar in all three areas studies and what that means for the resilience of the Gypsy populations.

The final presentation commenting on the whole workshop was provided by *Keith Hart*, one of the world's leading economic anthropologists. Merging narratives about his life trajectory, about the importance and role of anthropology and about reconfiguration of the world economy in the information age, he outlined ways understanding "Gypsy economy" -- as a way to create society beyond the borders of the state -- can contribute to economic anthropology and how it resonates with classical literature in economic anthropology. He called for the participants to be more self-aware of the significance of their work and motives that lie behind it.

The workshop closed with the general feedback on the results and with the planning session for the future (See point 3).

*Note:* We attach in the Appendix to this report the abstracts of the workshop papers which are to be published at the ESF website.

### **3. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field, outcome**

#### **What was learned and what objectives identified:**

- Participants of the workshop agreed that the workshop panels, which could be seen as focusing on disparate topics "added up to quite a lot" (Keith Hart during final presentation). They drew a complex picture ranging from how the state welfare shapes economic interaction to how economic activities articulate with conceptions of values stemming from within Gypsy sociality. As such, the workshop fulfilled its main objective: it looked at Gypsy economies from the point of view of individual Gypsy communities. Thanks to the deep ethnographic engagement that took place within the last decade, the workshop also managed to capture a specific historical moment.

- For the same reason, the participants decided to continue to use the expression “Gypsy Economy” in its double sense -- as a description of how Gypsies make a living as well as a shorthand for re-articulation of the relationships between markets and states (the importance of state transfers, precarity and debt, legitimation crisis of current governance, re-personalisation of economic relations, etc.) and for specificities of responses to this re-articulation that can be fruitfully explored by studying Gypsy populations.
- Participants expressed their opinion that the comparative character of such workshop format (ways researchers affect each other as Florencia Ferrari put it) and its strictly focused character can help to solidify the standing of anthropology of the Gypsies within anthropology in general. It was felt that anthropology of the Gypsies has several theoretical contributions to make, particularly in the field of economic anthropology and anthropology of the state.
- For same reasons, people expressed their opinion that the book stemming from the workshop could fill in an important gap in the market.
- Several papers brought out topics (such as internal differentiation and hierarchy within Gypsy communities, how do those who lose challenge this value-orientation), which have not been thought of comparatively before.
- Questions of political and ethical engagement of researchers should also be explored in a more systematic manner. Particularly challenging is the question of how to build political and ethical engagement that would take seriously forms of social action subscribed to by Gypsies themselves, and not limit itself to denouncements (of discrimination, for instance) or to appeals to state and non-state institutions -- both strategies that for a good cause inadvertently present Gypsies as passive victims and in this way take their agency from them.
- It was also felt that people should be more self-reflective on academic traditions, as there was not only a discussion and overlap, but also a felt difference in theoretical focus between what can be termed as French (and Italian) anthropology of Gypsies and the British (and American) one. One drawback of the workshop was a lack of the engagement with the German (and Central European) tradition of “Zigeuner-Ethnologie” (Tsiganologie).

#### **Future plans:**

- A proposal for a book entitled *Gypsy Economy*, edited by Micol Brazzabeni, Manuela Ivone da Cunha and Martin Fotta will be submitted to a major publisher in November 2012.
- Participants have created a listserv “Gypsy Economy” which serves to ease the communication about the topic.
- Participants will create an internal virtual library for sharing documents and publications on the topic coming from different national traditions.
- There was an agreement to continue exploring specific issues raised during the workshop in various forms. Yasar Abu Ghosh expressed his willingness to organise a panel at the 2014 meeting of the European Association of Social Anthropologists. Other conferences and workshops are being considered, for example, the annual meeting of Gypsy Lore Society in 2014.



- Martin Fotta, Micol Brazzabeni and Tomáš Hrustič agreed to meet and discuss a possibility of launching a more stable network.

#### 4. Final programme

### Thursday 20 September 2012

Afternoon                      *Arrival*  
 From 20.00                      *Welcome-Buffer*

### Friday 21 September 2012

9.00-9.10                      **Welcome by the Head of the Host Institution**  
**Antónia Lima** (Centre for Research in Anthropology, Lisbon)

9.10-9.30                      **Presentation of the Standing Committee for Social Sciences (SCSS) of European Science Foundation (ESF)**  
**Lauber Volkmar** (University of Salzburg, Salzburg)

9.30-9.45                      **Welcome by Convenor**  
**Micol Brazzabeni** ((Centre for Research in Anthropology, Lisbon )

**9.45-13.00                      PANEL 1: The State and the Neoliberal Moment**

9.45-10.15                      **Presentation 1 "Law as tool for an end: Romanian Roma and European legal systems through the mirror of begging"**  
**Alessandro Simoni** (University of Florence, Florence)

10.15-10.45                      **Presentation 2 "Contested monies: debt, social welfare and other Romani practices of money exchange"**  
**Yasar Abu Ghosh** (Charles University in Prague, Prague)

10.45-11.00                      *Coffee / Tea Break*

11.00-11.30                      **Presentation 3 "'If you are short of money, you just get into something...'.The institution of 'fair money-lending' and 'loansharking' among the Hungarian Gypsies in Borsod, Hungary"**  
**Judit Durst** (UCL, London)

11.30-12.00                      **Presentation 4 "Usury among the Slovak Roma - relations between the lenders and the borrowers"**  
**Tomáš Hrustic** (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava)

12.00-13.00                      **Comments and Discussion**  
**Daniel Seabra Lopes** (SOCIUS, ISEG / UTL, Lisbon)

13.00-14.45                      *Lunch*

**14.45-19.0                      PANEL 2: Creating Economic Opportunities**

14.45-15.15                      **Presentation 1 "Gypsy horse dealers in Alentejo (Portugal): a way of life flowing in the interstices**  
**VIDEO CONFERENCE**  
**Sara Sama** (UNED, Madrid)

15.15-15.45                      **Presentation 2 "'Endured labour' and 'fixing up' money. Economic strategies and tactics of Slovakian Roma migrants in UK"**  
**Jan Grill** (St. Andrews University, St. Andrews)

- 15.45-16.00 *Coffee / tea break*
- 16.00-16.30 **Presentation 3 "Public space as a resource: street economies in a poor neighborhood of Bucharest"**  
**Gergo Pulay** (CEU, Budapest)
- 16.30-17.00 **Presentation 4 "Kana naj love, naj patjiv": "No money, no respect'. Economic ethics and domestic mode of production among Roma Gabori: the mechanisms of independence"**  
**Martin Olivera** (Association Rues et Cités, Montreuil)
- 17.00-17.15 *Coffee / tea break*
- 17.15-18.15 **Comments and Discussion**  
**Radu Umbres** (UCL, London)
- 18.15-19.00 **Final Comments and Roundtable Discussion**  
**Manuela Ivone da Cunha** (Universidade do Minho, CRIA-UM, Braga)
- 20.00 *Common Dinner*

## Saturday 22 September 2012

### 9.30-12.15 **PANEL 3: Performing Gypsiness on the Marketplace**

- 9.30-10.00 **Presentation 1 "Shouts and calls in open-air markets in Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Portuguese Gypsy vendors and the rhetoric of the "national product"**  
**Micol Brazzabeni** (CRIA-IUL, Lisbon)
- 10.00-10.30 **Presentation 2 "'Gav pála satri (I go for iron)'. Xoraxané romá collecting scrap metal in Rome (Italy)"**  
**Marco Solimene** (University of Iceland, Reykjavík)
- 10.30-10.45 *Coffee / Tea Break*
- 10.45-11.15 **Presentation 3 "Deceit, syncretism and efficacy: fortune telling among Calon Gypsies in São Paulo, Brazil"**  
**Florenzia Ferrari** (USP, São Paulo)
- 11.15-12.15 **Comments and Discussion**  
**Valerio Simoni** (CRIA-IUL, Lisbon)
- 12.15-14.00 *Lunch*

### 14.00-19.30 **PANEL 4: Value Transformations**

- 14.00-14.30 **Presentation 1 "Lending money to brasileiros and unstable hierarchisations among the Calon of Bahia: A Value-Based analysis"**  
**Martin Fotta** (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main)
- 14.30-15.00 **Presentation 2 "'To be rich, give your money'. Wealth, hierarchy and identity among Gypsies of two small Andalusian towns (Spain)"**  
**Nathalie Manrique** (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences sociales, Collège de France and CNRS, Paris)
- 15.00-15.15 *Coffee / Tea Break*

15.15-15.45	<b>Presentation 3 "Wealth in Houses. Conspicuous Consumption among Romanian Cortorari Gypsies"</b> <b>Catalina Tesar</b> (Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Bucharest)
15.45-16.45	<b>Comments and Discussion</b> <b>Iulia Hasdeu</b> (IGENR - Etudes Genre, Genève, Switzerland, CH)
16.45-17.00	<i>Coffee / Tea Break</i>
17.00-17.45	<b>Final Comments and Roundtable Discussion</b> <b>Keith Hart</b> (Goldsmiths, University of London, London)
17.45-19.30	<b>Closing remarks, discussion on follow-up activities, networking, publication, closing remarks</b> (facilitated by Martin Fotta and Tomás Hrustic)
20.30	<i>Common Dinner</i>

## Sunday 23 September 2012

*End of Workshop and departure*

### 5. Final list of participants

- 1) **ABU GHOSH, Yasar** - Charles University in Prague, Prague
- 2) **BRAZZABENI, Micol** - Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA-IUL), Lisbon  
(Convenor)
- 3) **DURST, Judit** - University College of London (UCL), London
- 4) **FERRARI, Florencia** University of São Paulo, São Paulo
- 5) **FOTTA, Martin** - Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main
- 6) **GRILL, Jan** - St. Andrews University, St. Andrews
- 7) **HRUSTIČ, Tomáš** - Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (Co-convenor)
- 8) **HART, Keith** - Goldsmiths, University of London, London
- 9) **HASDEU, Iulia** - Institute of Gender Studies (IGENR), Genève
- 10) **MANRIQUE, Nathalie** - Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Collège de France, CNRS, Paris
- 11) **OLIVERA, Martin** - Association Rues et Cités, Montreuil
- 12) **PAREDES PEREIRA DA CUNHA, Manuela Ivone** - University of Minho, Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA-UM), Braga (Co-convenor)
- 13) **PULAY, Gergő** - Central European University (CEU), Budapest
- 14) **RIPKA, Štěpán** - Charles University in Prague, Prague
- 15) **SAMA, Sara** - National Distance Education University (UNED), Madrid
- 16) **SEABRA LOPES, Daniel** - Research Centre in Economic and Organizational Sociology (SOCIUS- ISEG/UTL), Lisbon
- 17) **SIMONI, Alessandro** - University of Florence, Florence
- 18) **SIMONI, Valerio** - Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA-IUL), Lisbon
- 19) **SOLIMENE, Marco** - University of Iceland, Reykjavík
- 20) **TESĂR, Cătălina** - Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Bucharest
- 21) **UMBRES, Radu** - University College of London (UCL), London
- 22) **VOLKMAR, Lauber** - University of Salzburg, Salzburg (ESF Representative)

### 6. Statistical information on participants

**Total number of participants (including the ESF Representative): 22**

**Participation by country of origin:**

Czech Republic: 3  
Italy: 3  
Romania: 3  
United Kingdom: 1  
France: 2  
Portugal: 2  
Slovak Republic: 2  
Austria: 1  
Brazil: 1  
Hungary: 2  
Spain: 1  
Switzerland: 1

**Participation by country institutional affiliation**

United Kingdom: 4  
Portugal: 4  
Czech Republic: 2  
France: 2  
Austria: 1  
Brazil: 1  
Germany: 1  
Hungary: 1  
Iceland: 1  
Italy: 1  
Romania: 1  
Spain: 1  
Slovak Republic: 1  
Switzerland: 1

**Participation by gender**

Female: 8  
Male: 14

**Participation by age**

20-29: 0  
30-39: 14  
40-49: 6  
50-59: 0  
60+: 2