

Contrary to what the editors argue, ex-Yugoslav political actors did not decide 'let's not go there' (p. 282, referred to the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of 1989) because they were abnegators, but because 1989 meant nothing to them. Due to this specificity, former Yugoslavia is usually put aside in all kind of analyses devoted to memory policies in post-communist countries.

As said, only one case study qualifies for the category of pillarised memory regime: the Czech Republic. Here, different memories are accepted and institutionalised, and political elites accepted the civil society's alternative commemoration of 1989. As Bernhard and Kubik rightly observe regarding pillarised regimes, it 'does not seem like the sort of arrangement that comes together in the short term' (p. 269). Regardless of the memory regime and typology of actors, the authors offer interesting and suggestive interpretations of the events of commemoration in 2009, making reference to the effect of country-specific and purely idiosyncratic cultural features, such as the Švejkian vision of Czech national identity.

Finally, an important contribution to the analysis of democratic consolidation is the relationship the editors establish between the type of mnemonic regime and the stability of democracy. In fractured memory regimes, where mnemonic warriors choose the strategy of delegitimising the competitors through historical lenses, this scheme represents a potential threat to new democracies as it takes the political debate away from interests and values and results and programmes and focuses on blaming identities. Authors also suggest that fractured memory regimes are found in weakly institutionalised party systems, while, on the contrary, pillarised regimes are a feature of consolidated party systems. This relationship between the weakness or stability of party systems and the given memory regime is thought-provoking and would need further empiric testing. One of

the book's greatest strengths is its contribution to a well-founded theoretical framework of memory politics in post-communist countries, deduced from an insightful cross-country analysis of how these countries commemorated the key events of their recent history. The case study chapters in turn offer valuable input to democratisation studies and to the broader field of research on political life in Central and Eastern Europe.

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Jelena Čvorović: *The Roma: A Balkan Underclass*

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This book seeks to explain differences in the demography of the Roma in terms of their higher fertility and low life expectancy compared to majority populations. The book provides an illuminating and contextually rich description of the histories of Roma people within Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans and of the social and political conditions affecting these groups. However, somewhat paradoxically in light of the author's recognition that Roma are a 'shunned and categorised minority' (p. 23), the book itself makes a number of unsettling and often unfounded essentialist claims about Roma people.

The opening sentence to the book states that human behaviour is 'best understood as being a part of a life-history—a suite of traits genetically organised to meet the trials of life—survival, growth, reproduction' (p. 1), aligning the work with the theoretical perspectives of J. Philippe Rushton. In accordance with this tradition,

the shorter life expectancy and high birth and mortality rates of the Roma are examined through the lens of inherited genetic and behavioural responses to environments that enabled the survival of previous generations. Specifically, the book utilises the 'Differential-K theory' proposed by Rushton, which posits that racial groups are differently situated with respect to their reproductive practices along a continuum ranging from *r* strategists, who have a large number of offspring but invest little in them, to *K* strategists, who have a much smaller number of offspring and invest heavily in them. Cvorovic's central thesis is that 'the Roma (European Roma) are a high *r* – low *K* people' (p. 2). However, little justification is provided for the adoption of this theoretical approach over and above existing explanations for low life expectancy and high birth and mortality rates, such as poverty, limited access to health and family planning services, low levels of education, and low socio-economic status. Given the highly controversial nature of Rushton's theories, a rationale for their adoption would have been especially worthy of comment.

Early chapters present an overview of the 'current situation and behaviours' of the Roma in Europe, followed by more detailed reports for specific regions. Common trends are demonstrated with respect to the younger age structure, higher mortality and infant mortality, higher fertility, and younger age at first reproduction among Roma populations. These characteristics are argued to be driving an increase in the Roma population relative to the growth of the non-Roma population within these areas. Drawing on data from the author's fieldwork, a comparison is then made between the reproductive behaviours of Muslim and Christian Orthodox Roma in Serbia. While the reproductive behaviour within Christian Orthodox Roma is suggested to be similar to that of the wider Serbian population, Muslim Roma are argued to show characteristics of

an '*r*' strategy of reproduction due to their lower age at first reproduction, greater number of children, higher number of marriages, and higher infant mortality. Such differences were in spite of better access to health services and they were present after controlling for education and receipt of social help. The contextualisation of these differences through a comparison of the political and social factors that led to the relative integration or cultural separation of these groups generates interesting perspectives.

Data on the numbers of surviving children and grandchildren and on cognitive ability for Christian Orthodox Serbs, Serbian Muslims, and Serbian Roma (both Muslim and Christian) are then examined in order to determine whether 'dysgenic fertility' (the negative correlation of intelligence with reproductive success) is present. The author argues that dysgenic fertility is evident among the Roma population due to a significant negative correlation between intelligence and number of grandchildren. Variation in mortality among Roma and Serbian Muslim infants is argued to be the result of a mixture of biological (intelligence) and behavioural and cultural factors (specifically those relating to religion). Despite the within-group differences among Roma populations that are noted, as well as the potential for influences such as religion to be shared with other sections of the population, the discussion and interpretation of findings often returns to the production of generalised and homogeneous presentations of the Roma. Furthermore, interpretations of the data presented are poorly substantiated and are followed through to worrying conclusions. It is suggested, for example, that expectations of infant mortality lead Muslim Roma to underinvest in children in terms of their care, feeding, and response to their illnesses, and that 'neglectful child rearing practices and the resulting infant and child deaths could serve as a way to limit family size in the absence of birth control' (p. 144).

While some interview data are drawn on in support of these claims, little indication is given of how these data were selected for use in supporting the analysis, or whether counter examples were evident. The concept of 'investment' and how this was defined and measured would also have warranted further discussion. The extent to which greater support from extended kin within Roma communities may militate against lower investment might be an important consideration.

Numerous other negative statements about Roma people are presented throughout the book. The educational and health outcomes of the Roma are largely discussed in relation to their 'self-segregating' practices. Trends such as the increasing importance attached to education among Roma, Gypsies, and Travellers as traditional trade opportunities decline [Myers, McGhee and Bhopal 2010] go unmentioned. Depictions of Roma as instrumentalising those ethnic and other identities most profitable for ascertaining social support potentially undermine the cultural identities and traditions of these groups. Roma are presented as accepting the special needs diagnoses of their children because doing so entitles them to receive benefits, and as engaging in the 'skilful manipulation of Britain's benefits system' (p. 25). Though the author does not define the term 'underclass' or state the reasons she considers the Roma (within the book title) to be 'a Balkan underclass', the discussion of Roma in relation to welfare is reminiscent of behavioural characteristics used to classify groups as such and which are recognised for their propensity to stigmatise. Further problematic statements are found in the discussion of 'nouveau-riche Roma' and the Roma 'elite', where it is suggested, without underpinning evidence, that these groups obtained their income by 'collecting gold and making other shady informal dealings' and through the 'illegal trade of goods' (pp. 180–181). Descriptions of Roma houses, for example, as 'kitschy,

gated mansions ornamented with towers, pillars and marble floors' (p. 180) tend towards sensationalism. Definitions of the 'Roma elite' appear to focus predominantly on wealth, with no mention of initiatives such as those through the Roma Education Fund that have focused on increasing access to education for Roma people in order to grow a 'Roma elite' who are able to advocate for their own communities.

Disappointingly, the author provides little consideration of how her analysis and presentations of Roma people may be taken up and used. Concerns around social tensions between Roma and majority populations and the stated need for greater social and economic opportunities for Roma provide some insight into the author's conceptualisation of the wider questions or 'problems' with which the book engages. However, recommendations towards addressing such issues remain largely unexplored. The claim in the conclusion that Roma population growth will result in an increase in the proportion of the population who are unskilled and uneducated has the potential to fuel panic about the presence of these communities within Europe. Against a background of growing xenophobic attitudes, acknowledged by the author, the portrayals of Roma presented in this book, often with little or no evidence underpinning them, risk reinforcing racism and discrimination against the Roma rather than promoting their social inclusion.

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References

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