Trans-Atlantic Kin: 
a Comparative Study of the Socio-Politics of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos during the 
post-Civil Rights and post-Francoist Eras 

by 

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Abstract

This paper comparatively studies the socio-politics of two ethnic minorities since the 1970s: African Americans in the United States and Gitanos of Spain. The comparison will survey the histories of oppression of both groups within their respective societies, their current socio-political statuses, and the efforts at furthering their integration. With a focus on the obstacles encountered and improvements made by both groups in the post-Francoist and post-Civil Rights eras, the paper employs the Jackson-Whitaker Model, an established model for comparative cultural studies, to examine the severity of the inequities and disparities faced by African Americans and Spanish Gitanos relative to each other. Finally, the research provides critical commentary on the efficacy of each group's current socio-political integration initiatives for African Americans and Spanish Gitanos in the U.S. or Spain, and suggests further courses of action for improvement in each nation.

Keywords: African Americans, Gitanos, United States, Spain, ethnic minorities, socio-politics, minority integration, comparative cultural studies.

Resumen

Este artículo lleva a cabo un estudio comparativo de la situación sociopolítica de dos minorías étnicas desde los años 1970: los afroamericanos en Estados Unidos y los gitanos en España. La comparación investiga la historia de opresión de ambos grupos dentro de sus respectivas sociedades, su estatus sociopolítico actual y los esfuerzos por promover su integración. Centrándose en los obstáculos encontrados y el progreso logrado desde los fines de la época franquista en España y la de los Derechos Civiles en EE. UU., el papel emplea el Modelo Jackson-Whitaker, un modelo establecido para estudios culturales comparativos, para examinar el grado relativo de desigualdad y las disparidades enfrentadas por los afroamericanos y los gitanos españoles. Por último, la investigación examina de forma crítica la eficacia de las iniciativas institucionales para la integración sociopolítica de los afroamericanos en EE. UU. y de los gitanos en España, y sugiere medidas adicionales para su mejora en cada país.

Palabras clave: afroamericanos, gitanos, Estados Unidos, España, minorías étnicas, situación sociopolítica, integración de las minorías, estudios culturales comparativos.
African Americans are the most spiritual element in an otherwise soulless U.S. For all their ebullience, they yearn to be a nation. [. . .] In the depths of their spirit they are incorruptible.

— Federico García Lorca, “A Poet in New York”

Flamenco is the song of Spain: Gypsies, guitars, dancing Death and love and heartbreak To a heel tap and a swirl of fingers On three strings. Flamenco is the song of Spain.

— Langston Hughes, “Song of Spain”
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1. Introduction

In 1447, a tribe of nomadic *Gitanos* first settled in Barcelona, Spain. Also known as the “Gypsies” or "Roma," the Gitanos are part of a diaspora extending all throughout Europe and its former colonies as a result of the group's exodus from the Hindu Kush mountains of India 1,000 years ago. In 1526, just seventy-nine years after the arrival of Gitanos in Spain, a ship carrying African slaves, the first in the Americas, landed in the Spanish settlement San Miguel de Guadalpe, in what is now South Carolina. Since then, both groups have faced considerable obstacles as ethnic minorities living in their respective countries. Having endured 500 years of persecution, cultural oppression and forced segregation, “Jim Crow” and Francisco Franco, currently African Americans and Spanish Gitanos both find themselves in situations of despair—concentrated in urban areas, with little political representation, and disproportionately afflicted with crime, gang activity, illicit drugs, educational inequity, and cycles of poverty. All of these issues persist despite the groups' half-millennium struggles towards socio-political integration and equality in their countries.

This paper will examine many of the similarities between African Americans and Spanish Gitanos, including their statuses as visible minorities in countries that describe themselves as "melting pots," the specificities of each ethnic group's history of social, cultural, and political oppression, the current inequities faced by both as a result of these histories of oppression, and the efforts being made to rectify the situations.

This research is not the first to make comparisons between African Americans and the Gitanos of Spain. Researchers Lily Florence Pape and Luis Gustavo Girón Echevarría have extensively documented the cultural and socio-political comparisons of both groups by two noted modernist poets of the early 20th century: contemporaries Langston Hughes, an African American of the Harlem Renaissance, and Federico García Lorca, a (self-identified non-Roma)
Spaniard of the Generación del 27. The nature of the exchange between Hughes and García Lorca is captured in the tandem epigraphs for this paper. In the first, an excerpt from García Lorca’s lectures while in residence at Columbia University in New York City from 1929–30, the Spanish poet characterizes the African-American experience of occupying a uniquely marginalized and minoritized position in the United States. In the second, a stanza from Hughes’ 1936 poem “Song of Spain,” the African American poet comments on the Spanish’s assumption and appropriation of flamenco and other aspects of Gitano culture, and implies the hypocrisy of the group’s oppression within Spanish society. The socio-political commentary from these contemporaries and poetic icons sparked and influenced my own interest in comparing African Americans and Spanish Gitanos.

My research focuses on the contemporary struggles of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos in the roughly 40-year timespan from the 1970s to the present. While the historical context of both groups' socio-politics is important, this contemporary period is significant because it signals moments of progress in both nations. The 1970s in the U.S. is the beginning of the era immediately after the end of the Black Civil Rights Movement (1954–68). In the 1970s many African Americans were able to benefit from the social and political advancements made throughout the Civil Rights era through 1968. During the post-Civil Rights era, segregated schooling, Jim Crow laws, and bans on Black voting and public officials became elements of the past. Likewise, 1975 in Spain marks the death of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco y Bahamonde and the fall of his politically and culturally oppressive regime. "Francoism" subjugated Gitanos through strict limitation of their rights to assemble and through prohibiting cultural expression, such as the use of their native dialect Caló. In the post-Francoist era, Spain transitioned to a democratic state, and Spanish Gitanos found themselves with new rights to free speech, cultural expression, and political representation.
1.1. Research Objective

This research recognizes the surface-level socio-political similarities, both modern and historical, between Spanish Gitanos and African Americans, as well as the relevant similarities in Spanish and American history concerning the groups. Accordingly, this paper sets out to examine the degree of integration and inclusion that African Americans and Spanish Gitanos experience with the society around them in the concurrent post-Civil Rights and post-Franco eras. What is more, my investigation will compare the current social and political statuses of both group relatives to each other in order to discern which has achieved further integration with its majority society.

1.2. Modality of the Investigation

This paper presents a comparative cultural study, which incorporates the interdisciplinary fields of ethnic studies, political science, critical theory, and social justice theory. Related sub-fields of this research include ethnology, sociology, and comparative law and politics. Examination of the socio-political statuses of African Americans and Gitanos with a post-Civil Rights and post-Francoist focus allows for comparison of their current social and political inequities and the efforts being made to further their integration with society, while keeping in perspective their histories of oppression. Thus, the post-Civil Rights and post-Francoist lens of investigation is historical, socio-political, and cultural.

This investigation is designed to be evaluative. Indeed, as noted comparativist Alfredo J. Artiles states, "Comparative analyses enable nations to engage in processes of knowledge transfer." It is hoped in the end that the conclusions derived herein will provide opportunities for African Americans and Spanish Gitanos to learn from each other and themselves regarding opportunities to further progress in their current socio-political statuses in the modern, post-Civil Rights and post-Franco era, from the 1970s to the present.
2. Methodology

2.1. The Jackson-Whitaker Model

This research relies heavily on an established process for comparative cultural studies to conduct its comparison of the socio-politics of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos. The methodology takes into account not only current integration and inclusion initiatives for both groups, but also historical factors and aspects of oppression, as outlined in a process by researchers Kanata A. Jackson and Mark Whitaker in a 2000 report. The "Jackson-Whitaker Model" states,

The African American experience of oppression in the United States can assist groups seeking to overcome oppressive regimes. The model consists of 5 major components: 1) the system of slavery in the United States; 2) analysis of the oppressed group; 3) post-slavery institutions established for liberation; 4) comparative analysis; and 5) consulting opportunities.

The first phase for comparison with this model requires the thorough examination of American slavery and the subsequent history of oppression of African Americans in the U.S. The next phase requires the same examination for the history of oppression for Gitanos in Spain. These two phases are addressed in the section of this paper titled "Current Socio-Political Status." The third phase postulates the surveying of the sets of efforts at rectifying and making reparations for each ethnic group's historical oppression and current inequities, presented in the section, "Socio-Political Integration Initiatives." This paper presents in two parts phase 4 of the Jackson-Whitaker process—the comparison and analysis phase; first is the section, "Comparing and Analyzing Histories," then the section, "Comparing and Analyzing Integration Initiatives."

In the end, Jackson and Whitaker's model will produce a result regarding the degree of integration the groups experience with greater society relative to each other. After comparing and analyzing the complexities of African Americans' and Spanish Gitanos' histories of oppression, then comparing and analyzing the breadth, depth, and, most importantly, efficacy of the
programs and initiatives dedicated to the rectification of each group's inequities, it predicted and evaluated which group has achieved a further degree integration with the society around it overall and enjoys a higher quality of life and standard of living.

The findings based on the Jackson-Whitaker comparative process will be compared with the known information and data on each group's socio-political status in order to confirm the evaluation. In this portion, this paper will examine the socio-political statuses of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos through a few specific lenses: representation and participation in the political process, disparities in education, healthcare, and health insurance, degree of residential segregation, and rates of unemployment and poverty.\textsuperscript{13}

2.2. The Research Process

The focus of this study is unique in its specificity. While there exists a decent body of academic research comparing African Americans and the Roma,\textsuperscript{14} throughout the entire course of this investigation little research was found discussing specifically the socio-politics of African Americans and the Gitanos of Spain. Thus, this investigation requires a heavy reliance on primary sources and data. In its use of secondary sources, this research includes a broad range: critical commentary on the United States, Spain, African Americans, Spanish Gitanos, and Roma in general. An applied synthesis of the relevant portions of the information gathered has proven essential to this specific study of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos.

The specificity of this source relative to many of its primary sources also often requires that the researcher assume the potential source of error in its application of statistics and data. For example, in many instances data is only available about all Black Americans, but will be assumed to apply consequently just to African Americans.\textsuperscript{15} The same fallacy of division will occasionally be committed regarding the Spanish Gitanos and all Roma populations, although this will be much less common.
2.3. The Comparative Process

This investigation is comparative in nature and thus equally examines the case studies of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos. This research, however, is presented through the lens and with the assumption that its audience, largely American, has a basic familiarity with the socio-political obstacles faced by African Americans in the U.S. and little to no familiarity with the Spanish-Gitano community.

This paper fulfills the research and analysis required in phases 1–4 of the Jackson-Whitaker Model in order to comparatively study the socio-politics of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos. However, the process is not complete without phase 5, which provides for the presentation of findings and the exchange of ideas among the groups studied. This final phase will be realized in an accompanying oral and interactive presentation on October 17, 2014, at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts.
3. Definitions and Terminology

In its discussion of various racial and ethnic groups, this paper will rely on specificity in its use of terminology. All of the racial and ethnic terms used will be limited to their stipulated definitions in this section. The following definitions are the researcher's own unless otherwise stated.

***

African Americans — an ethnic group composed of citizens of the United States of America who are the Black descendants of American slaves from Africa.

Black people — a race comprised of all people of sub-Saharan African descent.

Black Americans — an ethnic group encompassing all Black people living in the United States, of which African Americans comprise a subset along with Afro-Latinos, Caribbean Americans, Nigerian Americans, etc.

White people — a race composed of all people of European descent.

White Americans — an ethnic group encompassing all White people living in the United States, of which there are various subsets, such as Anglo-Americans, German Americans, Italian Americans, Irish Americans, some Jewish Americans, etc.

Gypsies — a historically nomadic ethnic group of Hindu origin which first appeared in Europe in the late Middle Ages and was then believed to have come from Egypt. Etymologically descended from the demonym "Egyptian," the term is now generally considered pejorative.

Roma — the alternative to "Gypsy" in several languages and the preferred terminology in this paper. A Roma person is called a "Rom." Another term for the Roma is "Romani" and its variants "Romany" and the Spanish "Romani." An individual Roma person is called a "Rom."

Gitanos — the Spanish-language word for "Gypsies," the term is not offensive in Spanish. Used in the Spanish language to refer to all Roma, "Gitano" in this paper will only be used for Roma in Spanish-speaking countries. There are also Roma present in Latin America as a consequence of the Spanish diaspora and these Roma communities may also be referred to as "Gitanos" in Spanish. Since the Gitanos of Spain are the specific focus of this paper, they will always be clarified to as such.
People of color — the set of all racial and ethnic groups that are not White. The "of color" formulation works with other terms, such as "women of color," "students of color," "children of color," etc.

Spanish, Spaniards — citizens and nationals of the Kingdom of Spain, without regard to race. To avoid confusion, the term is only used for the Iberian Spanish people, as opposed to groups elsewhere in the Hispanic diaspora.

Americans — citizens and nationals of the United States of America, without regard to race.

Antiziganism — a construction mirroring "anti-Semitism," the term refers to hostility, prejudice, and discrimination directed against Roma people. A less commonly used term is "antigypsyism."
4. Histories of Oppression

4.1. African Americans

Africans first arrived in the Americas in 1526 when they were brought as slaves by the Spanish settlers of South Carolina. The trans-Atlantic slave trade later created a thriving commercial market in which human beings were abducted from their homes in West Africa and sold to slave-owners in the Americas, frequently to serve as plantation workers who worked and lived under the toughest conditions. The cruelties of American slavery included tenuous field labor and corporal punishment; slave women could be raped and other slaves were often separated from their families. "Black codes" throughout the United States forbade slaves from learning to read or write, from marrying, and from gathering in groups. The victims of this brutal system of chattel slavery are the ancestors of modern African Americans.

In 1865, at the end of the American Civil War, the country entered the Reconstruction Era, in which African Americans gained new rights. In the 1860s, three successive amendments to the American Constitution were passed which abolished slavery and extended citizenship, voting rights, and equal protections under the law to African Americans. By 1870, African Americans had produced 22 members of Congress, reflecting a notable advancement in African American's socio-political status. These and other advancements, however, were not long-lived. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan ("KKK"), an anti-Black white-supremacist terrorist agency, in this era is evidence of "the surviving white power structure" in the United States, which supported and sheltered the KKK's activities.

After the Reconstruction Era, which ended in 1877, many African Americans moved from the South, where they had historically been concentrated, and moved to the North in pursuit of industrial jobs and in flight from the hostile segregationist environment developing in the Southern states. In Northern cities such as New York and Detroit, a Black urban intellectual
culture developed, which produced jazz music and the literature of the Harlem Renaissance. In these environments, figures such as Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey dominated in the newly formed Black intelligentsia.

Nonetheless, the first half of the 20th century in the United States was a period of severe oppression for Black Americans. In force throughout the South was "Jim Crow," a system of strict racial segregation stratified to maintain Blacks' subordinance to Whites. The policies of Jim Crow dramatically restricted the liberties and quality of life of Black Americans compared to their White counterparts. Schools, public amenities, and transportation were all segregated, with separate facilities for Blacks and Whites. However, facilities for Whites were always far superior than those for Blacks. Police brutality against Blacks was common as well as, in many parts of the country, vigilante mob lynchings of Blacks who overstepped their social status. In addition, during the 1960s, the third incarnation of the KKK thrived. An expression of Black American's growing discontentment with their social and political status, "race riots" were common in major cities throughout the 1960s as well.

The years 1954-68 in Black American history are known as the Civil Rights Era. During this time, icons such as Malcolm X and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organized nonviolent means of protest against racism in the United States through efforts such as marches, boycotts, and sit-ins. The measures of civil resistance and disobedience include the notable Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956, the Freedom Rides of 1961, and the March on Washington of 1963, among others. These efforts led to a host of legislation and legal decisions granting protections and equal rights to Black Americans and dismantling the existing Jim Crow system. An example of these landmark provisions include the Supreme Court opinion in Brown v. Board of Education, which prohibited segregated education systems, signaling the very start of the Civil Rights
Movement in 1954. The radical degree of social changes for Blacks seen in the Civil Rights Movement had not been seen to that extent since the Reconstruction Era almost a century prior.29

The timeline of Black-American politicians also demonstrates trends in the group's history. In 1870, the 15th Amendment to U.S. Constitution was ratified, extending voting rights to African Americans.30 In that same year, Hiram R. Revels (R–Miss.) became the first African-American U.S. senator. However, the enduring structure of White social and political hegemony halted and reversed most of the advancements made in the Reconstruction Era. This effect is proven by the fact that between 1902 and 1928 no African Americans served in Congress. What is more, the first Black congresswoman was not elected until 1968 and the first Black woman senator was not elected until 1992.31 The discrepancies in political representation extend into the present day. In the 1990s Virginia elected its first Black congressman in over a century since a one-term Reconstructionist and, as of 2008, only half of U.S. states had ever had a Black congressperson.32

4.2. Spanish Gitanos

The history of Gitanos in Spain is 600 years long and with unsure origins. It is known that the group descends from a tribe native to the Indian subcontinent, but the Roma have historically been a nomadic ethnic group, leading to their diaspora throughout modern Europe. One theory of their genesis speculates that the ancestors of the Roma lived in the Hindu Kush mountains of India over a thousand years ago, and that they embarked on their nomadic lifestyle in flight of the 10th-century conquest of the Muslim sultan Mahmoud al-Ghazni of the Abbasid Caliphate.33 Now, over 95% of Roma live sedentary lifestyles,34 but the group’s history of nomadism has given rise to an extremely broad diaspora, which spans all corners of Europe and elsewhere.35
The presence of the Roma on the continent, however, was not welcomed. Although the exact year in which the Roma first entered Europe is unknown, the group was present during the Late Middle Ages at the time of the Crusades and the Ottoman occupation of the Byzantine Empire. As scholar Ian Hancock, a British-American Rom and the Roma-issues adviser to the UN, notes, the Roma were equated with "the encroachment of . . . Islam," a fact that was "reflected in a number of contemporary exonyms" given to them, such as the term Gypsy itself, which comes from the word Egyptian.

The Roma's identification with this "western infringement of Islam" led to the the birth of antiziganism in Europe and the persecution and scapegoating of Roma. Medieval society and laws were extremely hostile to the nomadic group based on the erroneous association. For example, certain states prohibited them from settling within the nation's borders, and in 1568, Pope Pius V banished and excommunicated the entire Roma community. Furthermore, groups of Roma were sporadically enslaved in Europe throughout history, and in 1710 King Frederick I of Prussia ordered the kidnapping of Roma children from their parents. The nature of antiziganism was similar in many respects to European anti-semitism. For example, in 1609 a series of pogroms targeted Roma communities, which had historically been directed against Jewish communities as well. Like antisemitism, antiziganism has historically been fueled by harsh and outlandish stereotypes, such as the stereotype of Roma tribes kidnapping White babies, and a need to scapegoat, reflected in the association of the Roma with the encroachment of Islam.

Although the largest populations of Roma are found in Eastern Europe, the Spanish Gitanos are the largest Roma community outside of Eastern Europe. The Roma have been in Spain since 1447, when a band of Gitanos were first recorded in Barcelona. The Spanish Gitanos and the Roma of southern France together comprise a subgroup of the Roma called the
Calé. This subgroup has historically assimilated more with the majority cultures around them than have other groups of Roma, adopting those languages, religions, and customs. The historical language of the Calé is the dialect Caló, which has its roots in the historical tongue of the Roma but which has been shaped grammatically by Spanish.46

In a historical context, Gitanos arrived in Spain during the pivotal epoch of the Reconquista, the Inquisition, and the unification of Spain, a time when the newly formed nation-state was trying to establish political unity and cultural uniformity.47 As such, the presence of a foreign group was perceived as a threat, bringing rise to the unique Spanish brand of antiziganism and preventing the full assimilation of Gitanos.48 It is recognized at even the highest levels of government that the Spanish-Gitano population "has maintained a separate cultural identity since their entry into Spain." The trend has continued even in later centuries, in which "rapid social and technological changes" also "underlies the current situation of social exclusion" of the Gitanos.49

In 1939, Francisco Franco's Nationalist Forces won the Spanish Civil War and Franco was installed as the "caudillo" of Spain. Caudillo Franco's 36-year right-wing dictatorship erected policies for the institutional exclusion of and discrimination against Spanish Gitanos. The oppression of Gitanos in Francoist Spain was the harshest since pre-Napoleon Spain two hundred years prior. For example, Francoist laws forbade Spanish Gitanos from attending schools. Spanish Gitanos were also prohibited from holding legal employment.50 In its efforts towards national and cultural unification,51 the regime prohibited Spanish Gitanos' from speaking their native language Caló.52 What is more, fewer Spanish-Gitano communities were sedentary at that time, and the Spanish Guardia Civil ("Civil Guard,") often harassed and forcibly disbanded Gitano settlements throughout Spain.53 As a result, Francoist laws also criminalized gatherings of more than four Spanish Gitanos,54 lest they be considered to be forming an illegal encampment.
Finally, the Spanish regime ordered the forced sedentarization of Gitanos, further repressing the culture and lifestyle of the historically nomadic group.\textsuperscript{55}
5. Current Socio-Political Status

5.1. African Americans

It has been acknowledged domestically and by international bodies such as the U.N. that African Americans in the United States are in general "disproportionately concentrated in poor residential areas characterized by sub-standard housing conditions, limited employment opportunities, inadequate access to healthcare facilities, under-resourced schools and high exposure to crime and violence." Government estimates place the Black American population at 44.5 million, or 14.2% of the nation.

In the realm of politics, African Americans have made some advancements in their level of political representation over time. Currently, there are 43 Black members of the present session of Congress and as of 2007 there were 622 Black state legislators across the nation. Despite this breadth of political representation, African Americans are still making long overdue advances even in the post-Civil Rights era. For example, it was not until the '90s that the first Black female senator was elected and that Virginia elected its first Black congressperson since the Reconstruction Era, a span of over 100 years. What is more, by 2008, half of U.S. states had still never elected an African American to Congress.

In education, African Americans face obstacles as well. For example, between the years 1980 and 2006 the high school drop-out rate for Blacks was significantly higher than the national average and it has always been markedly higher than White drop-out rates. There is a trend of progress, however: in 1972, the Black drop-out rate was 21.3% nationwide, but that number had halved by 2005, down to 10.4%. Nonetheless, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ("NAACP") notes in a 2007 report that secondary education for Black
Americans is still substandard and that "children of color attend such 'dropout factories' at significantly higher rates."63

Health and quality of life is another area in which African Americans suffer disparities compared to their counterparts of other races. The lack of access to healthcare and health insurance and the poor quality of public healthcare overall is often cited by critics of American policies.64 This lack of resources is manifested in several haunting statistics about the health and quality of life of Black Americans. For example, Black infants have the highest mortality rate, which is twice the mortality rate of White infants. Black Americans also have higher HIV infection rates, but lower treatment rates.65 These are all part of the continually "growing disparities" as noted by a 2008 U.N. report.66 However, the historical life-expectancy gap between Black and White Americans is "narrowing." As of 2011 Black infants could still only expect to live 75.3 years compared to White's 78.8 years,67 but this does indeed reflect an increase since 1970, when there was an expected 6.6-year difference.68

Racial attitudes in American society also reflect important information on the socio-political status of African Americans and some of their improvements in status throughout recent years. For example, in a two-part survey by the University of Illinois-Chicago, two thirds of respondents said in 1990 "they opposed having a close relation or family member marry a black person," but in 2006 that percentage was down to roughly one third.69 A report of the study goes on to note, however, that African Americans are the "least integrated of U.S. minorities."70 This is corroborated by the high degree of residential segregation in general in the U.S., meaning Americans of all ethnicities are most likely to live in communities that are predominantly of the same ethnicity as them.71

Discrimination in the criminal justice system is also an issue faced by African Americans. Undue racial profiling against Blacks is widespread, as is police brutality, which often goes
without the prosecution of the offenders.\textsuperscript{72} In addition, Black Americans often receive harsher punishments in criminal court proceeding than defendants of other races. For example, young Blacks are disproportionately sentenced to life without parole, and these factors lead to enduring inequalities in the criminal justice system. What is more, since felons and other convicted criminals are thus disproportionately comprised of African Americans, large portions of the African American community become disenfranchised from the political process.\textsuperscript{73} This leads to the entire African-American community being unable to effectively represent itself and its pressing interests in American public policy.

The final indicator of African Americans' socio-political status is economics. The data, however, only mirrors and confirms the trend of serious disparity found in other arenas. Black families are twice as likely to live in poverty as non-Black families nationwide, and 40\% of Black children live in poverty, compared to 16\% nationwide.\textsuperscript{74} This has contributed to African Americans' concentration in poor, predominantly Black urban communities.

5.2. Spanish Gitanos

The socio-political situation of the Gitanos has its own unique specificities. First and foremost, it is oft noted by researchers that the Gitano community in Spain is in fact comprised of several diverse communities\textsuperscript{75} and that Gitanos are "highly heterogeneous," with varying lifestyles, socioeconomic status, and levels of education.\textsuperscript{76} However, the current economic crisis in Spain has disproportionately affected the Spanish-Gitano community, and those who had attained a decent standard of living and degree of social inclusion have once again fallen into poverty and socio-political exclusion.\textsuperscript{77} Current estimates of the size of the Gitano population in Spain range between 300,000 and 2,000,000. The most reliable data, however, sizes the population at just over 1,000,000 (roughly 2\% of the Spanish population).\textsuperscript{78} Accordingly, the
Spanish government recognizes that the Gitanos "constitute the single largest ethnic minority" in the country.\textsuperscript{79}

One important milestone in Gitanos' post-Franco history is their reception of full Spanish citizenship via the 1978 constitution.\textsuperscript{80} However, there currently exist few Gitano politicians and no major public officials. As of 2000, there were only four Gitano elected officials in all of Spain\textsuperscript{81} and to the present day there has only been one Gitano member of the \textit{Cortes Generales} (the Spanish parliament), Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia, who was elected in 1977.\textsuperscript{82}

Major struggles with education in the Gitano community include that only 85\% of Gitanos are literate\textsuperscript{83} and 80\% of Gitanos aged 12 through 18 drop out of school.\textsuperscript{84} Leading organizations such as the Fundación Secretariado Gitano ("FSG") have denounced this extremely high drop-out rate as unacceptable.\textsuperscript{85} What is more, Gitano students are unnecessarily and disproportionately placed in special-needs programs at school, rather than programs of appropriate academic level.\textsuperscript{86}

In Spanish society, Gitanos are a visible minority with distinct features including darker skin the average Spaniard, partially because of forced endogamy.\textsuperscript{87} This status as a visible minority has manifested itself in the further exclusion of Gitanos from Spanish society in many ways. For example, Spanish society assigns Gitanos certain professional status roles in low-level, minimum-wage positions, as well as criminal activity.\textsuperscript{88} Nonetheless, there is a small but noted presence of Spanish Gitanos taking advantage of higher education and emerging in white-collar professional fields such as law, education, engineering, computer programming, and medicine.\textsuperscript{89} However, the assignment of Spanish Gitanos to low-paying and criminal sources of income has had tangible implications. Possibly as a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, researcher José Cazorla Pérez notes that many Spanish Gitanos are involved in acts of "rebellion against the norms of the majority culture," and these "motivations can manifest themselves in activity outside of the
margins of the law." The connection to violence and criminal activity has also led to a bias against Gitanos in the Spanish media, with Gitano families also referred to as "clans," a term used to invoke archetypal imagery of primitive, feuding families. In literature, the historical stereotype of the "wandering gypsy" is also reflective of these biases.

The historical trend of antiziganism in Spain, similar to anti-Semitism, has led to further variance in public attitudes regarding group and their status from both within and outside the Gitano community. Some feel that there is no problem with Gitano integration in Spain: "We're integrated. I'm first Spanish, then Gypsy, and I'm proud to be both," declares Antonio Moreno Amador, a famous rapper from Madrid. Nonetheless, Cazorla Pérez has noted that, because of Gitanos' small numbers in Spanish society, they and their efforts towards further integration are often ignored entirely. Furthermore, it is a common perception in Spanish society that there is little racism in the country, that it is a post-racial crisol de razas; Spanish leaders have even criticized Anglophone societies instead for being racist. On the contrary, the FSG has warned that the undiscussed prejudices and negative imagery of Gitanos in Spanish society are "major obstacles" to the group's "full exercise of citizenship."

Hard data regarding housing, employment, and poverty among Spanish Gitanos proves that there is still much to be done in Spanish society on behalf of the group. For example, 5% of Spanish Gitanos live in makeshift camps and settlements, and while half of Spanish Gitanos are homeowners, about 40% of all Spanish Gitanos live in infraviviendas, substandard housing that does not provide necessities such as running water, heat, or electricity. What is more, 50% of Spanish Gitanos are unemployed, and there is hunger in 40% of Roma homes. Spanish-Gitano integration issues in the modern day can be further seen in the difficulty in access of
social housing, and the de facto residential segregation that results from Spanish social housing.

It is also known that Gitanos face a host of issues and inequalities in healthcare and quality of life, including a lower life expectancy than non-Gitano Spaniards, lack of access to healthcare or health insurance, and increased rates of disease and mental illness. Both the Spanish government and the FSG have attributed Spanish Gitanos' health issues as a direct consequence of their deficiencies and inequalities to standard, housing, education, and employment.

In addition, Gitanos in Spain are often victims of police abuse and brutality, which goes mostly unreported. Indeed, UN observers have noted an increasing incidence of racist attitudes among Spanish law enforcement officers with no subsequent increase in convictions regarding incidents of abuse. Prejudice among police is proven by officers' use of Gitano as slang for anyone involved in drug trafficking. These factors have served to further many Gitanos' distrust of "Castilian" institutions of law and order.

Comparatively, the situation of the Roma in Spain in the post-Franco era has been better than it is in France or Eastern Europe, yet, recognizing the sub-standard conditions of the group in Spain, it is unsettlingly ironic that Spain is frequently described as "the only nation that lives more or less harmoniously alongside its Gitano community." Indeed, that the Gitano community is considered to exist "alongside" Spaniards' further reflects the group's exclusion from Spanish society itself.
6. Socio-Political Integration Initiatives

6.1. United States

In the United States, there have been a host of efforts to increase African Americans' degree of integration with the greater society, to increase their quality of life in all facets, and to rectify some of the current and historical obstacles and instances of oppression that the group has faced. In education, one of the major initiatives has been affirmative action policies, many of them designed specifically to increase African-American attendance at universities. These policies, however, are not uniformly administered at the federal level, and their presence at the state or university level is extremely controversial and instituted to varying degrees. Another initiative has been the spread of historically Black colleges and universities. Schools at first created in the Reconstruction Era to educate Black Americans, "HBCUs" are now open to all races; they task themselves with the education of students "who will lead lives of leadership and service" and assume "special responsibility for teaching the history and culture of black people."

Academic institutions across the nation also contribute to the effort by educating African Americans and the general public about the history and socio-political struggles of African Americans. These include university departments of African-American Studies or "Africana," which teach about the culture of the African diaspora and the issues of marginalization and discrimination throughout. These institutions also house and provide opportunities for scholars in the field to conduct and share research and contribute to efforts to integrate Black Americans. These research and advocacy efforts are also seen in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the NAACP. Founded in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People tasks itself with ensuring "the political, educational, social, and economic equality of
rights of all persons," particularly Black Americans. A major influence of the Civil Rights Era, the NAACP's initiatives focus on legislative and judicial advocacy and community outreach.  

The U.S. federal government has also funded and sponsored several initiatives designed for the advancement of the socio-political status of Black Americans. To counter many of the health issues faced by Blacks, the Department of Health and Human Services launched in 2007 the National Partnership for Action to End Health Disparities for Ethnic and Racial Minority Populations. In response to legal discrimination, the Department of Justice created its Civil Rights Division. To deal with socioeconomic inequity, there exists the cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development as well as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's "E-RACE" initiative (Eradicating Racism and Colorism from Employment). In addition, while there have been several sets of codified anti-discrimination protections for African Americans and other ethnic minorities, one of the most significant is Blacks' status as a protected class, thus providing the group with explicit protections from discrimination as mandated by federal law.

However, housing initiatives in the United States for Blacks have not generally been the most successful, with public low-income housing often leading to or perpetuating residential segregation. These public housing projects, known colloquially as "the projects" create concentrated low-income urban communities plagued by crime and illicit drug activity and in which children are far less likely to succeed, graduate high school, or even survive.

6.2. Spain

There are two unique ideas that characterize and guide Spanish social justice theory in general. One is that NGOs and government initiatives recognize Spanish Gitanos to be an extremely diverse group that does not in and of itself comprise a political community, but organizations "rally around" the identity in order forge "political clout" on behalf of all the
members. The recognition of the diversity of the group is itself helpful in the administration of the "political clout" derived.¹²¹

The second characteristic of Spanish integration initiatives is the "two-pronged approach" of linking vital social services for oppressed groups with other programs designed specifically for their socio-political inclusion.¹²² For example, Spanish-Gitano families otherwise eligible for government welfare may not receive it unless their children are enrolled in school and taken for regular medical check ups, which are offered free of charge. Other free social services for Gitanos in Spain include literacy classes¹²³ and the FSG's Acceder ("Access") program, which teaches young unemployed Gitanos vocational skills.¹²⁴ The “two-pronged approach” serves as a helpful coercive tactic to encourage enrollment in programs designed to combat underemployment and disparities in education. One researcher has observed, however, that sometimes "program participants went along with the development scheme, showing up day after day, in order to ensure that they received social pay. They were neither fooled by nor invested in the integrationist project of education."¹²⁵ This observation brings up questions regarding the efficacy of these social programs if participants are not wholly invested.

Various levels of the Spanish government have also taken several other measures to study and advocate for Gitano integration, including the establishment of several consultative bodies nationally, regionally, and municipally that listen to the input of leaders of the Gitano community. One example is the national Race and Ethnic Equality Council,¹²⁶ chaired by José Manuel Fresno García, a Gitano and former director of the FSG. Another initiative is the Gitano Development Program, which has had an influential role in the creation of policies combating media biases against Gitanos.¹²⁷ One such policy is the leading Spanish newspaper El País's banning of ethnicity-based idioms and terms, as well as discouraging the mention of a subject's
ethnicity in article titles, and only including its mention in the body of an article when absolutely relevant.\textsuperscript{128}

Social housing has been another major effort of the Spanish government on behalf of its Gitano community, specifically to combat the large numbers of Spanish Gitanos living in \textit{infracviviendas}. However, critics have noted that social housing in Spain more often leads to "ghettoisation rather than alleviating marginalisation."\textsuperscript{129} Previously, forced sedentarization has been employed by Spanish sovereigns regarding Gitanos, from the Catholic Monarchs in the 15th century all the way to Caudillo Franco in the 1900s. These efforts have not however been to the group's benefit. Sedentarization has led to class divisions among Spanish Gitanos; government policies have favored those Spanish-Gitano communities that were sedentary over those that were nomadic.\textsuperscript{130} This policy provided an incentive for Spanish Gitanos to abandon their nomadic lifestyle, then a quintessential aspect of Roma culture.\textsuperscript{131}

The Spanish government's international efforts towards cooperation on Roma issues are varied as well. For example, Spain is a participant in the international Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–15, an organization partnered with the European Union that seeks to "accelerate progress towards Roma inclusion and review such progress in a transparent and quantifiable way."\textsuperscript{132} On the other hand, the Council of Europe, a separate body of which Spain is also a member, recommended in 1993 that its members declare Gitanos a protected class (as African Americans are in the United States), a policy that has yet to be adopted in Spain.\textsuperscript{133}

Another measure the Spanish government has neglected to take domestically is the collection of reliable statistics on the size, status, and quality of life of Gitanos. In fact, in 1999 the \textit{Cortes Generales} passed a law that prohibits the collection and storage of data regarding the "racial or ethnic origin of [an] individual." While the government argues that the practice stems from a protection of individual privacy,\textsuperscript{134} there is consensus among the international community
that the lack of official data on Gitanos in Spain "hinders the development of effective policies to improve their situation."\textsuperscript{135}

In complement to the Spanish government programs targeting Gitano inclusion, a set of initiatives and efforts from within the Spanish-Gitano community has arisen. The first is the development of a pan-Roma nationalist movement led by a new Spanish-Gitano intelligentsia of the past thirty or thirty-five years since the fall of Francoism that has on its own led to more social mobility among Spanish Gitanos.\textsuperscript{136} One of the products of this movement is the FSG itself. Founded in 1982,—just four years after the Spanish Constitution that signaled the definitive end of Francoism—the "Gitano Secretariat Foundation" is the premier advocacy organization for Gitano rights. The organization has countless programs designed for Gitano development, for example the previously mentioned \textit{Acceder} program, not to mention its myriad lobbying initiatives.\textsuperscript{137} The FSG also serves an academic purpose: it publishes several studies and surveys yearly about the Gitano experience in Spain, in supplement to the shortcomings in data collection by the Spanish government. A testament to their importance, some of these studies have served as resources critical to the research and development of this paper.

There have been several initiatives within the Spanish-Gitano community, independent of the FSG, which have designed extracurricular programs to educate Gitano youths about their history and culture. This includes cultural activities, but also educational initiatives which teach Gitano history, such as the important role of Gitanos in the armies of the Catholic Monarchs during the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{138} These independent initiatives have also spawned small-scale programs designed for the education of children outside of Gitano communities on similar subjects through social studies courses, thereby broadening their outreach to include the general Spanish population as well.\textsuperscript{139}
7. Comparison and Analysis

Phase 4 of the Jackson-Whitaker Model for the comparative study of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos requires the comparison and analysis of first the histories of oppression of each group, then the efforts at rectification and targeted inclusion, in order to comparatively discern each group's level of integration and their current socio-political statuses.

7.1. Comparing and Analyzing Histories

7.1.1. Similarities

The first and most obvious similarity between African-American and Spanish-Gitano history is the length of time each has been present in its respective country. At 567 years for Spanish Gitanos and 488 years for African Americans, both groups have half-millenium-long histories as ethnic minorities, only emphasizing the gravity of their current socio-political inequities. Historically, the oppression of Gitanos in Francoist Spain (1939-1975) can be considered comparable to the system of Jim Crow that thrived in the Southern United States during the years 1876-1965, or even the system's predecessor that Black Codes, especially regarding certain provisions, such as the restrictions from assembly and from education in schools. The last of the similarities in political status includes the residential segregation faced by both groups, which, as can be inferred, is prohibitive to social integration and interracial socialization.

The historical stereotypes faced by both groups correspond in many ways as well, for example the assignment of certain professional status roles for Gitanos and Blacks as athletes, entertainers, or petty criminals. The stereotypes also include literary stereotypes that have pervaded the public consciousness, such as the "wandering gypsy" with a lowercase "g," the kidnapper of White babies, and the mystic fortuneteller; for African Americans: the "Uncle Tom," the "mammy," and "little Black Sambo."
The parallels between Spanish Gitanos and African Americans in culture include the simultaneous and hypocritical cultural appropriation and marginalization. For example, while hip hop, jazz, and rock 'n' roll are internationally recognized as quintessential American musical genres, each was born for African-American musical traditions with pre-slavery West African roots. Likewise, flamenco music is considered an inherently Spanish cultural tradition, yet it too was developed and cultivated by Gitanos, if not founded by them. However, as Romanian Rom Michaela Mudure, a leading Roma-issues scholar, argues, "Love for Romani or African-American music does not mean absence of racist ideology. It is rather an abstract love that overlooks the loathed ethnicity of the performer."

Another important cultural similarity to note is that Spanish-Gitano and African-American women, each at the intersection of two identities that have historically been oppressed, face both facets of discrimination in their societies as women of color. Nonetheless, many advocacy groups in both countries have made laudable efforts in recent years to recognize this fact in their targeted inclusion efforts.

7.1.2. Differences

Based on the information presented and considered earlier in this paper, it can be concluded that the differences in African-American and Spanish-Gitano oppression, like the similarities, are also wide and varied. For example, African Americans, although still underrepresented, have had a far higher level of political representation, as proven by the fact that there has only ever been one Gitano in the Cortes Generales since the Spanish transition to democracy, whereas currently 43 of the 535 members of the 113th Congress are Black.

Historically, the largest historical incident of oppression faced by African Americans can be inferred to be slavery, but the Roma had only sporadically been enslaved throughout history and time. This presents one of the several contrasts between the historical oppression of African
Americans and Spanish Gitanos. Furthermore, the Black-American liberation process started earlier, the Civil Rights Movements taking place in the 1950s and 1960s whereas Spanish Gitanos' first breakthrough in civil liberties was in the Spanish transition to democracy in the 1970s. This difference, however proves to be minor in the overall evaluation of African-American and Spanish-Gitano oppression and of the inclusion programs designed for them.

7.1.3. Conclusion

Comparison and analysis of the histories of oppression proves essential in the overall process of comparative studies between African-American and Spanish-Gitano integration. The timelines of both histories prove that the Gitanos have longer endured oppression overall in Spanish society than African Americans in the United States, yet Spanish Gitanos have been less specifically targeted and singled out with oppressive, institutional legal restrictions, but have been more so oppressed with pervading public biases, negative racial attitudes, and interpersonal discrimination.  

The unique advantages and disadvantages of each ethnic group suggest that African Americans and Spanish Gitanos have had roughly equivalent histories of oppression in their respective countries. This conclusion was predicted by comparativist Beth Harry in her 2008 statement, "Although African Americans became minorities through forced migration and Spanish Gypsies became minorities through voluntary migration, their experience of centuries of marginalization in their host societies have brought them to similar points as citizens who speak the language of the mainstream and are entitled to its rights and privileges, yet whose cultures continue to be devalued."  

7.2. Comparing and Analyzing Integration Initiatives

Both African Americans and European Roma had been no longer legally enslaved by the mid-19th century, and ever since both have continued to battle for liberation and full integration
in their societies.\textsuperscript{150} In these fights for liberation, there are noticeable differences in approach in each nation's efforts towards inclusion and integration. The case study of socio-political integration programs shows the U.S. to be more directly focused with codified legal protections,\textsuperscript{151} as evidenced by their comprehensive system of protected classes.\textsuperscript{152} The U.N. Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has lauded the U.S. for these protected classes and criticized Spain for not having instituting similar measures,\textsuperscript{153} but research shows that these protections are not sufficient to prevent discrimination.\textsuperscript{154} Spain, however, has been rather successful in the implementation of its aforementioned two-pronged approach of linking government social services with "targeted inclusion programs," as in the Acceder vocational program or the many Spanish literacy and cultural education programs.\textsuperscript{155}

Regarding African Americans' and Spanish Gitanos' political integration, the timelines of their major milestones are comparable. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution first granted citizenship and voting rights to African Americans in the 1870s. These might be considered the American equivalent of Spain's 1978 Spanish Constitution which granted similar rights to Gitanos. However, considering that between 1902 and 1928 there were no African Americans in Congress,\textsuperscript{156} as well as the oppression of Jim Crow, which endured well into the mid 1900s, this research suggests that a more appropriate and comparable equation would be the U.S. Civil Rights Acts of the 1960s with the Spanish Constitution of 1978. Those factors considered, the periods of time throughout which African Americans and Spanish Gitanos have enjoyed full civil liberties are actually very similar.

Regarding education programs in both states, the U.S.'s Affirmative Action policies are an important measure, if executed properly, but the inconsistency of their institution and the ongoing debate over these programs in the U.S. can be seen to offset their benefit in many cases. The efficacy of some Spanish literacy and vocational education programs may also be in
question, but they are nonetheless well regimented and designed programs in Gitano-concentrated areas. Nonetheless, these programs for Spanish Gitanos give them an advantage compared to African Americans, who are increasingly concentrated in "dropout factories," without specific programs designed to rectify their situation.

As an effort to eradicate health disparities, the 2007 US federal program, the National Partnership for Action to End Health Disparities for Ethnic and Racial Minorities stands in contrast to Spanish efforts, which, as inferred by the research of Cala, Chu, and Daley, is instead focusing on raising Spanish Gitano's overall living conditions and socioeconomic status with the goal that they will be able to provide and procure for themselves health insurance and healthcare, among other things. However, because of the recency of U.S. program's establishment, it is not currently possible to its judge efficacy, but both American and Spanish methods seem to be effective, the difference between the two reflecting their different attitudes of approach, as mentioned earlier in this section.

There are also similarities in the internal African-American and Spanish-Gitano integration initiatives in the post-Franco and post-Civil Rights era. The FSG is analogous to NAACP as the premier organization from within the group dedicated to the betterment of their people, although possibly with different foci. Their education initiatives, which teach African-American and Spanish Spanish-Gitano culture and history are comparable. However, currently Spanish Gitanos are working to combat disparities in high school graduation and literacy, whereas African Americans are now dealing with their success at the university level through HBCUs and Africana Studies departments. Internally, the existence of the pan-African and pan-Roma intelligentsia and nationalist movements is another parallel between both groups, although the African-American equivalent is older.

In the institution, presence, and efficacy of other government initiatives, committees, and
commissions on the government level, American and Spanish efforts are similar. However, Spain has the added benefit of being able to commune with international organizations focused on Roma, who are found in large populations all throughout Europe, as opposed to African Americans, whose situation is in most ways unique to the United States. In Spain and the U.S. there are also equal opportunities for other academic and advocacy institutions such as the NAACP, FSG, as well as government initiatives to take action, lobby, and produce studies. Although research and experience may show larger activity or outreach on the part of those groups and institutions concerned with Black Americans, this discrepancy may instead be due to Black Americans' occupation of larger percentage of the American population relative to Gitanos in Spain.

Efforts against housing inequality and media biases comprise the last two facets of the comparison. African Americans and Spanish Gitanos are both equally affected by government social housing that leads to residential segregation in both nations, and Gitanos face further issues because of the historical attempts at their forced sedentarization. The Spanish initiative to combat media bias, led by the newspaper El País and the government's Gitano Development Program, is at the forefront of similar efforts worldwide and serves as an important step in reversing negative public perceptions and prejudices against Gitanos in Spain. Indeed, including the Gitano Development Program's other counter-racism efforts for portrayal in fiction and on television, Spain's initiatives to tackle negative conceptions of Gitanos is revolutionary, pioneering its field, and is unparalleled by efforts to do the same for African Americans in the United States.

7.2.1. Conclusion

First, it is most important to note that each nation has its own unique successes and shortcomings. For example, the United States' historical tunnel-vision focus on providing
protections *de jure* for African Americans has been both its greatest advantage and greatest shortcoming. Likewise, in Spain, the basic task of maintaining data on the population and quality of life of Spanish Gitanos has not been realized by the government, which has constitutionally bound itself from doing so.\(^{161}\)

The findings of this research include the conclusion that Spain has been more successful in its secondary education measures for Gitanos, which surpass those designed for African Americans by virtue of having at the very minimum a somewhat uniform and established course of action and a history of recent implementation. These efforts have the potential to have grand implications in the overall assessment of the efficacy of Gitano inclusion efforts. Furthermore, Spain's innovative anti-media bias plan is a major advantage for Gitanos in attempts to dismantle the barriers of prejudice and bias to their success.

Comparison has shown that in many areas of African-American and Spanish-Gitano socio-political integration initiatives, the United States and Spain can be considered to be on equal footing. This includes African-American and Spanish-Gitano health initiatives;\(^{162}\) the presence and influence of African-American-focused and Spanish-Gitano-focused NGOs, academic institutions, and nonprofits; and the timeline of legislative and constitutional efforts toward the political integration of African Americans and Gitanos—or, in other words, their equality before the law.\(^{163}\)

An important and all-encompassing point to note in comparing Spanish and American efforts is Spain's unique and effective approach of combining programs for inclusion and integration with social services and quality-of-life initiatives. Thus, the Spanish are not just focusing on one avenue of socio-political integration for Gitanos, but have formed a metaphorical phalanx in an attempt to attack the issue from all sides.
All of these factors, considered and weighted to their merit, lead to the conclusion that Spain has been more successful compared to the United States with its African-American population in designing and implementing social programs to make reparations for the Spanish Gitanos' historical oppression and current socio-political status and to further their integration with Spanish society. In support of the findings of this section, journalist Suzanne Daley's characterization of the Spanish and American efforts holds true: "Spain's secret is that it has concentrated on practical issues, such as access to housing and jobs" for Gitanos. In contrast, she reports, Americans and others "have concentrated too much on issues of prejudice and political rights" for ethnic minorities.\textsuperscript{164}

7.3. Result

This paper has followed the Jackson-Whitaker Model for comparative cultural analysis in order to evaluate and confirm the current socio-political statuses of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos and their levels of integration in their respective nations. The first, second, and third phases of the process required the investigation and evaluation of their respective histories of oppression and exclusion, as well as the current initiatives and social programs designed to rectify their situations and further their socio-political status in their societies. Those phases completed, the fourth phase now allows for the overall comparison of the two groups' levels of integration in their respective countries.

Recounting the information considered, the comparison of histories and historical oppression have shown the general African-American and Spanish-Gitano experiences in the U.S. and Spain, respectively, to be similar and comparable. Furthermore, analysis of the social programs and initiatives designed to further integrate African Americans and Spanish Gitanos, both governmental and non-governmental, has shown the Spanish to be more successful in the design and implementation of these programs. These elements taken into account, the Jackson-
Whitaker Model leads to the conclusion that Spanish Gitanos are better integrated with the greater Spanish society than African Americans are with the greater American society. In other words, the analytical portion of this paper has answered the question established at the start of this research, which asked which ethnic group was further integrated socio-politically and enjoyed a higher social status in its national community: the Gitanos of Spain.
8. Discussion

8.1. Identifying a Disconnect

The result of the Jackson-Whitaker Model comparison of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos has concluded that the Gitanos are better integrated into Spanish society than African Americans are in U.S. society. This conclusion, however, is contradictory to pre-established facts and knowledge about both ethnic groups' social status and degree of integration. Indeed, the section "Current Socio-Political Status" has shown that, based on political representation; public bias, perceptions, and discrimination; access to basic-quality housing, healthcare, and education; and unemployment and poverty rates, African Americans in the U.S. enjoy a higher quality of life and are further integrated with American society than Gitanos are in Spanish society. These contradicting conclusions signal a disconnect—either an error in the data and information used in the comparative process, or a flaw in the methodology itself.

8.2. Further Investigation

This paper would argue that the disconnect between the result produced by the Jackson-Whitaker process and known data about African Americans' and Spanish Gitanos' socio-political statuses can be explained through a range of both unique and widely held theories. The various scholars who have opined on this issue include the extensively published Spanish academic José Cazorla Pérez, who states, "The only thing that has hindered the issues of such groups [as the Gitanos] from gaining higher priority has been . . . their small size." Indeed, researchers would be remiss to ignore that African Americans have historically been the largest ethnic minority of the United States and are roughly 13% of the population of the U.S., yet Gitanos, Spain's largest ethnic minority, comprise no more than 2% of Spaniards. Thus, it becomes obvious that Black liberation and integration movements have been more easily able to gather steam and draw
attention to the situations of Blacks in the United States than their Gitano counterparts have been able to do in Spain.

Digging further past the surface, a realization of a fundamental difference between each country in attitudes, styles, and methods of approaching socio-political integration arises. For example, Mudure points out that one of the major differences in the realm of social issues between the United States and other nations is the collective willingness of the American public to include discussions about race in national dialogue and the increasing recognition by many of the all-pervading nature of race. Mudure's characterization is important to think about both in context with and in contrast with the fact that the Spanish government does not collect public data on race. A 1999 Spanish law, Organization Act No. 15/1999, prohibits the government from creating or maintaining statistics and data regarding the race or ethnicity of its citizens, with the government fallaciously arguing that doing so would "in fact result in discrimination" itself.

However, Cazorla Pérez comments as well on this matter with a warning:

The exclusion of the concepts of 'race' and 'ethnicity' from all forms of [government] statistical publications should not be considered a sign of progress. . . . It simply proliferates a juridical fallacy that all Spaniards are equal, including the Gitanos, who for statistical purposes do not exist."

That race and ethnicity are considered information so extremely private and personal that the government has prohibited itself from inquiring about it on even a census demonstrates another underlying attitude present in Spain: "let's not talk about race; this is a private matter," corroborating Mudure's characterization of Spain, and gravely contrasting with that of the United States.

These and other observations from researchers lead to major differences between integration policies in the United States and Spain that ought to be considered in the investigation of the disconnect found in the analysis of African Americans and Spanish Gitanos.
What is more, the inconsistency requires the reconsideration of that which was previously taken in the comparative process to be established fact. For example, it was noted in the section comparing socio-political integration initiatives that Black Americans’ Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s was a historically comparable parallel to the first Spanish-Gitano liberation efforts beginning in 1975. However the time difference is not inconsequential: in the modern, post-Civil Rights and post-Francoist era of community organization and social justice, there exists the potential for a lot of ground to be made in that brief span of time, for which the Spanish Gitanos may still be catching up.

The author's personal insight, based on the complete corpus of research compiled throughout this investigation, presents another facet to reconsider. Another aspect of Spaniards' unique complexities regarding social justice could account for the inconsistency discussed in this section: the type of racism and discrimination experienced by African Americans in the United States and Gitanos in Spain differs. It has been noted that in the U.S., discrimination and negative racial attitudes are more subverted than their Spanish equivalents, which are more overt and outright. While it is not within the scope of this paper to argue that one form is "better" or "worse," it becomes important to note that the overtness of racism in Spain becomes extremely problematic—and even hypocritical—when combined with the previous observation of the disinclination to discuss racial issues in the Spanish public sphere.171

These observations, theories, and considerations aside, it is imperative that researchers recognize that African Americans may be "ahead" of Spanish Gitanos with respect to their level of socio-political integration and quality of life, but the upward trajectory for Gitanos' place in Spanish society is steeper and aimed higher, as reflected by the efficacy of their approaches and tactics to integration. The disconnect ultimately comes down to a need to the importance of understanding the groups' statuses relative to each other at the start of their efforts at integration.
together in context with their present socio-political statuses. This concept leads to the realization that in the post-Civil Rights era Black Americans had already brought about one of the greatest and most rapid periods of advancement, yet in the compared post-Francoist age, Gitanos were only just beginning to gain and establish greater integration with the general Spanish society.172

This conclusion puts into context the fact that in some areas African Americans and Spanish Gitanos struggle with different issues. For example, while both groups are battling inequities in the area of education, and this paper would argue that Spanish Gitanos are doing so more successfully, they must focus on different issues. Further explained, African Americans are struggling to promote high school graduation and college attendance, whereas Gitanos in Spain are still struggling towards universal literacy and high school attendance. The disparity is justified however, when again one also remembers the difference in the period that Spanish-Gitano and African-American civil-rights efforts began.173

8.3. Conclusion

Meta-analysis has proven that this investigation mislabeled Spain and its Gitano community as being at the forefront—"ahead of the pack"—regarding integration measures, instead of as having a higher "upward trajectory." Thus, several things become certain: that the disconnect investigated in this section does not in fact stem from a fault in the Jackson-Whitaker comparative model used; that, rather, the inconsistency stems from a set of facts regarding African Americans' and Spanish Gitanos' histories and social statuses that warranted reconsideration; and, furthermore, that the non sequitur was partially influenced by the mislabeling of Spanish-Gitano integration efforts. All of these factors led collectively to the flawed conclusion regarding the degree of socio-political integration of Spanish Gitanos and African Americans in their respective societies, in which Gitanos were concluded to be further
integrated. This research has proven the reverse to be true: African Americans enjoy a higher socio-political status in the United States than Gitanos in Spain and are further integrated with American society.
9. Conclusion and Recommendations

Having completed the requirements for comparison of the histories, socio-politics, and efforts toward integration of African Americans and Gitanos, it is now possible to begin the fifth and final phase of the Jackson-Whitaker comparative process. Phase 5 provides for "cross-cultural exchange" between compared groups,¹⁷⁴ which, as comparativist Beth Harry notes, allows distinct peoples to share and transfer knowledge.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the fruits of this research include the ability to evaluate which efforts at integration from each nation have historically been successful and why, as well as the ability to provide further courses of action and suggestions for improvement for either nation or ethnic group based on what the other has done well, all the while adapting suggestions to the specific needs of the nations and ethnic groups based on the careful studies of both parties conducted in the process.¹⁷⁶

9.1. Successes

The most important success to note of either nation is the recognition in Spain that Gitano-advocacy programs must contrive a unified Gitano community. This recognition keeps in mind the actually extremely diverse nature of Gitanos. As Chu observes,

Identity-based NGOs rally around a particular identity in order to generate a political community, thereby gaining political clout through representation. In the case of NGOs that focus on Gitanos in Granada, reference to and the representation of 'communities' problematically creates a false portrayal of unity by lending prominence to ethnicity over other axes of difference. Thus, although residents of ethnic neighborhoods targeted for development may not see themselves as 'communities,' it is in the best interest of the state and/or donor agencies and NGOs alike to treat them as such.¹⁷⁷

Indeed, all Spanish Gitanos do not necessarily consider themselves a political or ethnic community, and this diversity of opinions can leads to issues in their political representation and advocacy.
9.2. Recommendations for Improvement

The relation between the diverse Spanish-Gitano community and the forged political community as noted in Spain is also an aspect of which groups advocating for Black Americans should be extremely aware. Indeed, there are many diverse sub-communities among Black Americans and African Americans as well. There exist, Caribbean Americans, African immigrants to America, African Americans, Afro-Latinos, and other groups, yet there is not one unified "Black experience" among any of those groups.

Another important step for the U.S. to take is banning nationwide the disenfranchisement of felons. Since African Americans are overrepresented in the criminal justice system and face higher conviction rates, it stands the African American voters are disproportionately disenfranchised from the political process. These masses of excluded voters hinder African Americans' fair exercise of political expression in elections, slowing the election of African American politicians and others who would advocate for policies designed to benefit African-American socio-political integration.

As suggested by the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the U.S. would do well to institute uniform and mandatory anti-discrimination training nationwide for all policymakers, government officials, and civil servants, especially members of the judiciary, educators, social workers, and law enforcement officers. Such a policy would have a real and immediate effect on racial disparities in education and the criminal justice system in the United States.

On the part of the Spanish government, there is one easy yet important measure to be taken that will in general facilitate further efforts on behalf of Spanish Gitanos: the adoption of government statistics on the racial makeup of the country. Spain's prohibition of any such statistics, aside from suggesting an attempt to cover up racial disparities in the country, makes it
nearly impossible to develop effective programs for the Spanish-Gitano population when the size and geographical distribution is not known to any certain degree.179

Moving forward, leaders of integration efforts in both nation should consider observations made about Spanish Gitanos and African Americans similar preferences regarding their integration in society. A U.S. psychological study shows, "Blacks prefer pluralism and [W]hites prefer assimilation."180 As Chu has also noted with Spanish Gitanos, efforts toward assimilation can instead lead members to feel a threat of absorption by the greater society.181 These conclusions are confirmed by the same psychological study’s observation that when Blacks were the "dominant group” in a community, “they preferred assimilation in that environment.”182

9.3. Conclusion

The Jackson-Whitaker Model proves integral to this research, which embarks on a quest to discern and compare the socio-political statuses of African Americans in the United States and Gitanos in Spain in the modern, through a lens of their experiences in the post-Civil Rights and post-Franco era. These two unique ethnic minorities were studied and compared through several specific lenses, including political representation and participation, access to education and healthcare, unemployment rates, degree of residential segregation, and incidence of poverty.

When this comparative process veered off path, suggesting a conclusion that was contradictory to known facts and observations, structured inquiry and meta-analysis was used to reassess the processes and data used to come to a proper conclusion. The process of investigation employed in this paper, aside from producing a scientific conclusion about African Americans and Spanish Gitanos, has also demonstrated that trust in academia and in the processes of careful scientific study on these most difficult issues of social justice is essential.
My research, although comprehensive, was merely a survey compared to all the progress that must be made for African Americans and Spanish Gitanos through academic study and political cooperation. This paper, however, has managed to bring to light not only what the governments of Spain and the United States can learn from each other and themselves, but also lessons and strategies for all groups and individuals who are truly dedicated and invested in the cause of universal equal opportunity; those who share King's dream of socio-political equity for all, regardless of "race, color, or creed;" and all who believe certain "truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal," and that, en "la dignidad de la persona, los derechos inviolables . . . le son inherentes."
About the Author

Devontae Anthony Berry Freeland, a native of Metuchen, New Jersey, is a senior at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. He is a member of the Yorkies, the Andover Mock Trial Society, the Gay-Straight Alliance, the Phillips Academy Democrats' Club, and the Afro-Latino-American Society, and is active in the Office of Community and Multicultural Development ("CAMD"). One of the accomplishments of which he is most proud is the fall 2013 publication of CAMD's Out of the Blue, an anthology comprising stories about identity from the Andover community, for which he served as a coordinator, editor, and contributor. Devontae proudly identifies as an African American, a Roman Catholic, and a queer person of color ("QPOC"). Although he is neither Gitano nor Hispanic, Devontae is an enthusiastic Hispanophile and speaks Spanish fluently with a proud castellano accent. In his spare time, Devontae enjoys long walks on the beach, speaking Spanish, watching Netflix, and taking frequent naps.
Acknowledgments

What does it mean to be an ethnic minority? To live in a society that is a "melting pot"? What does it mean to be American or Spanish, and how does our ethnicity influence and reconcile itself with our nationality? These are the questions I have been asking myself over the past few years and that I have struggled to answer. Along the way, I also managed somehow to become enamored with and intrigued by another ethnic group with which I have no ties: the Gitanos of Spain. I have quite a few people to thank for their contributions to my journey, the culmination of which is represented by my research and this paper.

First, I thank my mom, Ms. Marilyn Berry Freeland, who gave me life, as well as my adviser, Dr. Lashonda N. Long, whose expertise and passion for comparative studies inspired this project in its earliest stages and who has guided me all the way through to its completion. Furthermore, I thank everyone in the CAMD office: Ms. Peg Harrigan, Ms. Susanne Torabi, Dean Linda C. Griffith (“LCG”), the CAMD Scholar Program Coordinator, Ms. Aya Murata, and without a doubt, the wonderful Ms. Mary Jane Lewis—“Mama Lewis.” CAMD has become my second home (very literally, considering that I've taken more naps in the CAMD office than in my own dorm room) and I am appreciative for all the opportunities the office has provided. Whenever in my down time at school, I frequently find myself wandering into CAMD, looking for conversation with a friend, tasty treats, or a hug from Mama Lewis.

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Seniors, the Wight Foundation, and Phillips Academy itself—"They say it's not the land that counts but all its landowners."

Special thanks go to a host of other individuals who have done their own part to make me who I am as a person and as a student: my father, Mr. Vernon Freeland; my aunts, Ms. Beverly Berry Baker (also my unofficial chauffeur) and Ms. Doris Jean Berry Bacon; my late grandaunt, Ms. Willie Mae “Mae Mae” Johnson (1925-2014); my teachers Dr. Damany Fisher, Mr. Noah Rachlin, Ms. Debbie Brown, and Ms. Marian O'Connell; Mr. Dan Kramer and Mr. Frank Niccoletti from the Wight Foundation; my uncle and my personal Socrates, Dr. Bailey Bell Baker, Jr.; and the Great Architect of the Universe, who makes no mistakes. Además, he de agradecer a Diego Gutiérrez Sánchez y su familia—que me abrieron las puertas de su casa y me dieron la cálida bienvenida—por seguir fomentando y apoyando mi pasión por su país y su idioma.

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Remarks on Being a CAMD Scholar

During the three months of the summer before my senior year of high school, I spent hundreds of hours poring over this research, the pursuit of which led me to explore the depths of both JSTOR and the Rutgers University Library and which put both my patience and my Spanish to the test. In the end, I can declare without a doubt that these efforts have *merecido la pena*. To see my project mature from merely an inkling to a 75-page manuscript has only furthered my faith in the old maxim, "Good things come to those who wait."

Tackling such a huge project in just a three-month span was at first daunting, but I learned early on the importance of communication with my adviser, of self-imposed deadlines, and of perseverance. As Churchill says, "If you are going through hell, keep going."

This CAMD Scholar fellowship has allowed me to pursue my uniquely manifold and multidisciplinary interests of political science, Africana studies, Hispanic studies, and trans-Atlantic studies in one project that has also had deep personal significance. On that note, I would like to reiterate my gratitude to my project adviser, the CAMD Scholar coordinator, and the CAMD Scholar selection committee for their faith in me and my project.

In conclusion, being a CAMD Scholar has been both an honor and a challenge. Aside from all I have been able to learn and share with the world about African Americans and Spanish Gitanos, I have also learned to be true a statement from the great Cervantes's *Don Quixote*: when you commit yourself to a task, "matters will go swimmingly."
Appendix

Map of Roma migration, 900–1720 CE.¹⁸⁶
Endnotes

1 Although certainly the most common term for the group, this word is considered pejorative by most members of the community it denotes. This paper will instead use the term Roma. Proper racial and ethnic terminology is addressed further in the section "Definitions and Terminology."


4 That is, their ethnic identity as a minority group is visible among the majority population. This is in contrasted to other minority identities that may not be as clearly intelligible, such as being non-heterosexual, Jewish, or having a mental disability.


6 The artistic relationship between the two was short lived (García Lorca was executed in 1936 at age 38 by the Nationalist Forces in the Spanish Civil War), yet it was no less meaningful. Their collaborations mark the few times in history when there have been any cultural or political interactions between African Americans and Spanish Gitanos. Hughes was an African American, a leader among the Black intelligentsia and the Harlem Renaissance, who was intrigued and fascinated by Gitano culture in Spain. García Lorca was a Spaniard—who featured Gitano characters and elements frequently in his work—and, after temporarily relocating to Harlem, New York City, became emotionally moved by the plight of African Americans in the U.S.


See Kanata A. Jackson and Mark Whitaker, "The African American Experience and the New Russia: Business Education Pedagogy for Organization Consultation," Journal of Financial Education, no. 2 (2000), accessed June 20, 2014, http://www.abe.villanova.edu/proc2000/n015.pdf (hereafter cited as "Pedagogy on the African-American Experience"). The report is an elaboration on the development of a pedagogy for oppressed groups based on African Americans' specific experiences and challenges in the United States. The authors refer to this process as the Organizational Consultation and Connectivity Model. However, out of practicality and in credit to its developers, this paper will refer to it as the Jackson-Whitaker Model.

Ibid., sec. 2.

Before evaluating integration comparatively, it was first necessary to study in which spheres integration is discussed. These are the most prominent of the many lenses through which socio-political integration can be studied and measured. For more on the study of the integration of ethnic minorities, see Council of Europe Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, Measurement and Indicators of Integration, by Mandred Werth, et al., Community Relations (Strasbourg, FR: Council of Europe, 1997), accessed June 19, 2014, http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/archives/documentation/Series_Community_Relations/Measurement_indicators_integration_en.pdf.

Such as Mudure’s "From the Gypsies to the African Americans."

For example, the U.S. Census Bureau does not distinguish between African Americans and other Black Americans in its collection of data on race. Thus, although it is known that Blacks are roughly 14% of the U.S. population, it is irresponsible to say that African Americans, the largest subset of Black Americans, comprise 14% of the population, because it is known that some portion of Black Americans is comprised of Caribbean Americans and other Black ethnic groups. (The differences and specificities of these terms are discussed in portion of this paper titled “Definitions and Terminology.”) Akiim DeShay, ed., Black Demographics, accessed June 22, 2014, http://blackdemographics.com/.
However, misused racial terms in quoted material will not be changed unless the terminology causes ambiguity.

Certain racial descriptors in English and all those in Spanish are traditionally uncapsulated, e.g. "black," "white," and "gitano." In recognition of progressive trends in critical discussions of race and ethnicity, these descriptors will always be capitalized in this paper.


These slaves were brought to the Spanish settlement San Miguel de Guadalpe, which later failed and was abandoned. The slaves revolted the same year in what is the first documented slave revolt in the Americas. "1526-1775: From Africa to America," This Far by Faith, last modified 2003, accessed August 16, 2014, http://www.pbs.org/thisfarbyfaith/timeline/p_1.html.


U.S. Const., amends. XIII–XV.

Constitutional Rights Foundation, "Overview of the African-American Experience."


Constitutional Rights Foundation, "Overview of the African-American Experience."

Its fourth incarnation is active to this very day, although much less so. For more on the modern Klan, see Micah-Sage Bolden, "The Fourth Resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan as a Domestic Security Threat: The Case of Central Appalachia," *Security and Intelligence Studies Journal*, 2013, accessed August 16, 2014, http://www.academia.edu/4035698/.


Yourish, "Black Politicians."
Representative Shirley Chisholm (D–N.Y.) and Senator Carol Mosley Braun (D–Ill.), respectively.


A map of Roma migration throughout Eurasia is included in Appendix A.

The Crusades and the Ottoman-Byzantine conflicts took place throughout the 11th-15th centuries. To see this in relation to the timeline of Roma migration, refer also to Appendix A.


The Roma's association with Islam occurred despite the fact that the group is not historically an Islamic community, but may be related to their earliest interactions with the Islamic Abbasid caliphate, the conquest of which is believed to have prompted the group's exodus from the Indian subcontinent at the turn of the millennium. Lee, "A New Look at Our Romani Origins," 3-5.

Hancock, "Roots of Antigypsyism."

Ibid.


Something first suggested centuries earlier by the famous leader of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther. Hancock, "Roots of Antigypsyism."

An organized massacre aimed at the destruction or annihilation of a body or class of people." Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "pogrom, n.,” last modified March 2013.

All of which comprise the literary, lowercase-"g" gypsy stereotype, common in Romantic literature, which characterizes the Roma as "flirtatious females, petty thieves, kidnappers of white babies, fortunetellers and pickpockets." Chuck Todaro, "African Americans and the Gypsies: A Cultural Relationship Formed through Hardships," San Francisco Bayview, September 26, 2013, http://sfbayview.com. For well known examples in art and literature, confer the titular character in Georges Bizet's opera Carmen and Esmeralda from Victor Hugo's Hunchback of Notre-Dame.


Although, it can be noted that the lack of full assimilation as opposed to integration may not be an issue for Spanish Gitanos and other ethnic minorities. See this topic in the section "Further Investigation."


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


John Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, 2nd ed, (New York: Penguin, 2006), originally published as *The Spaniards: A Portrait of the New Spain* (New York: Viking Press / Penguin, 1986); Leblon, *Los gitanos de España*. On this issue, however, Hooper (*The New Spaniards*) reports that Spanish Gitanos were not targeted specifically: Franco's "unification" efforts prohibited the use and teaching of all the regional and historical languages of Spain other than Castilian Spanish (i.e., Basque, Catalan, etc.).

Miguel Ángel Bernardeau, prod., *Cuéntame cómo pasó*, "El día de la raza" Day of the Race]f, episode 1.6, La 1, first broadcast October 18, 2001.

Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."

Leblon, *Los gitanos de España."


There are currently 535 total seats in Congress.


Another important aspect of Black-American political representation to discuss is the presidency. The incumbent Barack Obama is the United States' first Black president. Obama is of mixed race and was born of a White-American mother and a Nigerian father. Thus, the president does not fall within this paper's definition of African American, restricted to only the Black descendants of American slaves. This is an ongoing and controversial discussion among African-American and scholarly communities.


United States of America, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6, p. 11.


United States of America, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6, p. 11.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Black or African American populations," CDC.gov.


Ibid., 3, 8.
Disenfranchisement is the legal principle, in effect in various states across the U.S., that convicted felons forfeit their rights to vote and hold public office. For more on this topic, see Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2010).


The Spanish government does not maintain any official data on race and ethnicity, an issue addressed in the Spanish sub-section of "Socio-political integration initiatives." Cazorla Pérez sizes the Gitanos in 1974, just before the fall of Francoism, to be 1% of the Spanish population (which Lahmeyer estimates was 35.6 million); the Spanish government unofficially estimates 600,000-650,000 Gitanos in 2001; the E.U. Accession Monitoring Program reports 500,000-800,000 as of 2002; Daley places the population at 700,000 as of 2010; Cala in turn estimates 970,000 in 2010; the Gitano Secretariat Foundation reports the Spanish-Gitano population in 2014 as 2% of the population—920,000 of what Lahmeyer estimates to be 46,000,000 total Spaniards.


Ibid., 348.


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."
84 Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration."

85 "Gitano Secretariat Foundation." FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."


89 Ramírez Heredia was elected to the Cortes during the Spanish transition to democracy in the country's first free and democratic elections since the 1930s. FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."


91 Ibid., 32.


93 Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies." Moreno Amador is also known by his stage name "Gitano Antón" and is a member of the group La Excepción que Confirma la Regla.


95 "Crucible of races." This Spanish term corresponds to the equally loaded American phrase "melting pot."


97 FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."

98 Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."

99 The number in facts fluctuates depending on the authority consulted. The European Union reports in 2002 the figure to be 30%. In 2010, journalists Suzanne Daley and Raphael Minder report 92%. The FSG in 2013 reports only 12%. This paper estimates a midground figure at 40% based on the others. E.U. Accession Monitoring Program, "Roma in Spain," 283; Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration"; FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."

100 FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."
Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration."

Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


Kingdom of Spain, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/431/Add.7, p. 21; FSG, "Gitanos and gitanas hoy."


This term is used as a slur especially for Latin Americans in Spain, regardless of affiliation with drug activity, who are equated with Gitanos because of their darker skin. E.U. Accession Monitoring Program, "Roma in Spain," 336.

Cazorla Pérez, "Minorías marginadas en España," 34.

Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration."

Luna, "Europa: La 'integración' de los gitanos."

The difference in terminology—*Spanish Gitanos* as opposed to *African Americans*—also highlights Gitanos' exclusion from Spanish society. Whereas the construction *African Americans* denotes a subset of Americans, who are of African descent, the construction *Spanish Gitanos* denotes a subset of Gitanos, those living in Spain. That is to say, African Americans are Americans first, yet Spanish Gitanos are Gitanos who also happen to be Spanish. The subtlety is the same in the Spanish language with the terms' equivalents, *gitanos españoles* and *afroestadounidenses*, respectively.


Protected classes are not exclusive to Black Americans, and as journalist White notes, "Every U.S. citizen is a member of some protected class . . . however, the EEO laws were passed to correct a history of unfavorable treatment [for certain groups.]" Vincent White, "What Constitutes a Protected Class on the Federal Level and in New York State," Avvo, last modified 2012, accessed July 31, 2014, http://www.avvo.com/legal-guides/.


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


"Consejo para la Promoción de la Igualdad de Trato y no Discriminación de las Personas por su Origen Racial o Étnico."


The E.U. Accession Monitoring Program ("Roma in Spain," 289n38) provides examples of commonly used ethnic idioms prohibited by the newspaper: "engañar como un chino -- to cheat like a Chinese person; hacer una judiada — to play a Jewish trick; [and, particularly relevant to this paper,] eso es una gitanería — this is a gypsy trick."

Ibid., 284.


Recommendation No. 1203 adopted by the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. FSG, "Gitanos y gitanas hoy."


E.U. Accession Monitoring Program, "Roma in Spain," 283. This fact is discussed in depth in the section of this paper titled "Further investigation."


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


The pioneer organization in this effort has been the *Asociación Gitano André Monró*, based in Granada, Andalucía. Chu, "Politics of Gitano NGOization," 140.

Hancock, "The Roots of Antigypsyism"; Todaro, "African Americans and the Gypsies." For an elaboration on Roma stereotypes, see note 43 above.


Whether or not the Spanish musical genre was created by Gitanos is unknown. See Bernard Leblon, *Gypsies and Flamenco: The Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia*, trans. Sinéad Ni Shuínéar, 2nd ed. (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003).
Mudure, "From the Gypsies to the African Americans," 67. A previous CAMD Scholar noted similar hypocrisies regarding perceptions of Black entertainment figures in the U.S. In her paper on post-Civil Rights portrayals of Black Americans in theater, film, and television, Miranda Haymon (Phillips Academy '12) quotes acclaimed African-American director Spike Lee, who says, "'It was thought by a lot of black people and a lot of white liberals that if the two cultures met and white Americans embraced our [black] culture, if they got to know our music and to know our dance, then somehow we could come to a better understanding. But that was not the case. You could be KKK and still watch Bill Cosby on Thursday nights.'" Spike Lee, quoted in Miranda Haymon, "The Evolution of the Black Thespian: Depictions of Blacks in the Post Civil Rights Era," 3.

Originally promoted by women and queer people of color (bell hooks, *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* [Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000], 57), issues of "intersectionality" have surged in social justice discourse in recent years, reflecting a positive change in the public consciousness. Leading social justice theorists Sensoy and DiAngelo define intersectionality as "the term scholars use to acknowledge the reality that we simultaneously occupy both oppressed and privileged positions and that these positions intersect in complex ways." Sensoy and DiAngelo, *Is Everyone Really Equal?*, 115.


Bositis, *Blacks and the 2012 Elections*, 10-11. This disparity persists even after one accounts for the population differences between African Americans and Gitanos. (Black Americans, at 14% of the U.S. population, occupy a proportion of the American people 7 times greater than the Gitanos' 2% makeup of Spaniards). Akiim Deshay, ed., *Black Demographics*; FSG, "Ciudadanía y futuro."

This issue brings up important concepts in the discussion and study of oppression, which is considered to fall in three spheres: internalized, interpersonal, and institutional oppression. The premise in this situation is that the prejudices regarding Gitanos in Spanish society, while institutional in their origin and promulgation, have the greatest contribution to the oppression of the group at the interpersonal level—i.e., in individual interactions between Gitanos and non-Gitanos in Spain. (For more on the "three Is of oppression," consult Sensoy and DiAngelo, *Is Everyone Really Equal?*, 39–40, 49–52.) An article in the *New York Times* documents an example of the interpersonal discrimination experienced by members of the group. A Gitana acting troupe was in Madrid on tour for their critically acclaimed production of García Lorca’s *House of Bernarda Alba*. One of the actresses, a Gitana from Sevilla, found that, no taxi in the city would stop for her and her companions while they were dressed in "traditional long Gypsy skirts." What is more, the article reports, "though accompanied by government officials, . . . [they were] refused service in a local bar." Daley and Minder, “In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration.”


Mudure, "From the Gypsies to the African Americans," 58.

White, "What Constitutes a Protected Class," Avvo; "Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO)," National Archives.


Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies."


Chu, "Politics of Gitano NGOization."

NAACP, "Fact Sheet."

Cala, "Spain's Tolerance of Gypsies"; Chu, "Politics of Gitano NGOization"; Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration."

African Americans' sparking in the early 1900s and Spanish Gitanos' not until after the late 1900s, post Francoism. See pp. 14, 41.


The inability to make a thorough comparison in this area, as previously noted, is one possible source of error in this comparative process, thus much weight has not been given to this aspect.

This conclusion was derived in recognition of how close in time African Americans' and Spanish Gitanos' modern and most recent liberation movements began—the 1950s in the U.S. and the 1970s in Spain. However, as noted earlier, the legal protections of both groups is important but insufficient on its own. Thus, this facet was of medium weight and importance in the overall considerations of this comparison. For more on the relative importance of legal protections, see U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6.

Daley and Minder, "In Spain, Gypsies Find Easier Path to Integration."

"Lo único que ha impedido que la problemática de tales grupos haya adquirido trascendencia suficiente, ha sido, como decimos, su pequeño volumen." Cazorla Pérez, "Minorías marginadas en España," 26. It is important to note that Cazorla Pérez made this observation in 1976 at the very start of the post-Franco era (1975–present), a fact which lends even more credibility to the statement.

Mudure, "From the Gypsies to the African Americans," 69. Based on the body of research produced in the preparation of this paper, it can be inferred that Mudure's observation also applies to the specific relationship between the United States and Spain.


"La no inclusión del concepto 'raza' o 'etnia' en ningún tipo de publicación estadística no debe considerarse como un signo progresista de éstas. . . . Simplemente se trata de una ficción legal según la cual todos los españoles son iguales, incluidos los gitanos, que a efectos estadísticos no existen." Cazorla Pérez, "Minorías marginadas en España," 30.

Even though the Spanish census makes other inquiries into personal and private information such as level of education, nationality, and even whether or not respondents have running water, yet no data on race. Kingdom of Spain National Institute of Statistics, Censos de Población y Viviendas 2011 - Cuestionario, accessed August 22, 2014, http://www.ine.es/censos2011/censos2011_cuestionario.pdf.

I arrive at these conclusions not only from my own personal and academic observations, but also from the observations of other researchers of ethnic minorities in Spain, such as Margalit Chu. My observation is also supported by the state party reports of the U.S. and Spain to the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. See Chu, "Politics of Gitano NGOization"; Kingdom of Spain, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/431/Add.7; United States of America, U.N. Doc. CERD.C.USA.6.

A famous witticism related to this issue comes from former American professional football coach Barry Switzer, who said, "Some people are born on third base and go through life thinking they hit a triple," quoted in Tom Shatel, "The Unknown Barry Switzer: Poverty, Tragedy Built Oklahoma Coach into a Winner," Chicago Tribune, December 14, 1986, city edition, Sports, accessed August 4, 2014, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/chicagotribune/. The quote and the situation discussed in this section serve as a reminder for those involved in evaluating an individual's or group's socio-political status and progress compared to another: It is essential not only to consider the groups' statuses at the end of the period of comparison, but also the state of the groups at the start of the period of comparison. Continuing the metaphor, this step is imperative in evaluating which group was born on third, which is just up at bat, and which is still waiting in the dugout.

For example, racial segregation in schools was overruled in schools in the United States in 1954, whereas Spanish-Gitano legal protections regarding equity of treatment in education did not come until the post-Franco Spanish constitution of 1978.


Harry et al., "Minority Students in Spain and the US."

It is imperative in the process to keep in mind the particular needs and circumstances of each nation. A policy instituted in one state may not work in another with a different political or cultural background. For example, a system of reparations designed for the Rwandan Hutu-Tutsi conflict most likely would not have been compatible with African Americans and White Americans in the Reconstruction Era U.S.


This is further addressed in this paper in "Socio-political integration initiatives."


Nauert, “Integration Challenges Minority Identities and Values.”


Elizabeth Cady Stanton, The Declaration of Sentiments (Seneca Falls, N.Y.: Seneca Falls Convention, 1848), Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University, accessed August 1, 2014, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/senecafalls.asp. The 1848 Declaration of Sentiments was itself quoting—verbatim, save for one minor yet significant change—the U.S. Declaration of Independence. The original version of the 1776 manifesto reads, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" (italics added). The choice to quote the Declaration of Sentiments rather than the Declaration of Independence comes in recognition of the intersectional issues of discrimination that women African Americans and Spanish Gitanos face, as addressed on p. 31.

"Our inalienable rights are inherent in our human dignity." Kingdom of Spain, Constitution of 1978, title I, art. 10 (translation mine).

John Haywood, The Great Migrations from the Earliest Humans to the Age of Globalization (London: Quercus, 2008), 142. Leblon (Los gitanos de España, 48) mentions another portion of the Roma diaspora, which the diagram neglects to show, as many Spanish Gitanos were deported to Spain's colonies in Latin America in 1763 and 1764. N.B.: Haywood refers to the map with the pejorative term “Gypsy,” a fact that serves to highlight the lack of consensus and imprecision surrounding racial and ethnic terminology.
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