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What about the Roma?

Analysis of EU's current Roma policy regarding the situation of
Roma in Europe

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Abstract

In Europe, Roma are marginalized, treated unequally, live in poverty and face exclusion on daily basis. Apart from the EU falling short in Roma integration, Roma continue to be subject of misconceptions and unfitting ideas regarding who they are. The outcast position has produced a vicious circle of distrust; Roma accused for not wanting to integrate by major society, while long term discrimination has made Roma apprehensive regarding assistance in their favour. The current situation of the group is further disfavoured by questionable actions by EU member states, such as displacement and deportation. As it were, systematic discrimination against Roma has taken a new turn in EU member states in recent years aroused by the 'freedom of movement' policy enforced by the EU. The consequence for Roma has been further discrimination in form of persecution and expulsion. This research concludes that through its official documents regarding the situation of Roma in Europe, EU is maintaining an already existing Roma discourse. Through discourse analysis this research has observed particular words and phrases used in the documents which indicate the way the EU refers to Roma.

Key words: Roma, situation of Roma, EU, 'culture', 'freedom of movement', integration, inclusion, Roma discourse

Words: 15 000

The European Union

When this research talks about 'member states' it refers to the 28 European countries which have officially been accepted as EU members states. The EU functions through a system of:

1) independent institutions (European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Council, the Court of Justice, the European Central Bank, the Court of Auditors, and the European Parliament), and

2) the Member States.

The European Commission (EC) is the executive body of the European Union responsible for proposing legislation, implementing decisions and upholding the Union's treaties.[1]

Roma

This research acknowledges the variety of sub- groups within the large Roma group; Roma, Sinti, Kale, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Travellers, Dom, Lom, etc.[2] However, as the proposed research aims to discuss Roma in the EU, to avoid confusion, it will use the same terminology as the EU. For this reason, all sub- groups within the Roma group will simply be referred to as 'Roma'. Nevertheless, this research will not refer to the situation of the Roma as an 'issue' or 'problem' as it is usually consigned; in order to avoid confirming the term 'Roma' as a synonym to 'issue' or 'problem' - and rather put focus on the 'situation' of the Roma as the 'issue'.

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[1] European Union
[2] What works for Roma in the EU? p.8

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1. Introduction

According to the European Roma Rights Centre, seven adults and two children died in 49 attacks on Roma communities in Hungary between January 2008 and April 2011.[3] Amnesty International reported in August 2013 that over 200 people, mostly Romanian Roma, were forcibly evicted from an informal settlement in Paris. The police evicted around 230 people and the community were given 24 hours notice to leave the site.[4] On April 2013 the ERRC[5] reported that Romani communities were anew evicted, in an informal Romani settlement in Milan, home to about 350 Roma. Municipal authorities went to the camp and informed the residents that the camp would be closed. Some left after this warning, whiles remaining Roma were evicted.[6] In January 2013, The Guardian reported that British immigration ministers were considering launching an advertising campaign in Bulgaria and Romania to persuade potential immigrants of not coming to the UK, as well as trying to make it tougher for EU migrants to access public services if they do decide to come.[7] According, there is a belief that the cancellation of the Schengen[8] regulation would result in many Rumanians and Bulgarians moving to England. In Sweden in September 2013 it became official that the Swedish police had kept a Roma register since the 90s. The Swedish police underscored the magnitude of the scandal, by confirming that they have illegally registered more than 4,000 Roma people living in Sweden.[9] According to EurActive, most of the people in the database have not committed crime, and many of the registered are children. Moreover, ethnic registration is illegal in Sweden and violates the European Convention on Human Rights.[10] The public society reacted by condemning the police register as 'racist'. All the presented examples form a pattern; appalling prejudice, discrimination, and general exclusion of Roma in Europe.

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[3] The Guardian; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/27/hungary-roma-living-in-fear
[4] Amnesty International; http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/france-new-roma-forced-evictions-shameful-2013-04-03
[5] European Roma Right Centre
[6] European Roma Right Centre; http://www.errc.org/article/far-right-groups-target-roma-with-violent-protests-in-italy/4132
[7] The Guardian; http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/jan/27/uk-immigration-romania-bulgaria-ministers
[8] Schengen Regulation; http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/l14514_en.htm
[9] EurActive; http://www.euractiv.com/socialeurope/swedish-police-illegal-database-news-530655
[10] EurActive; http://www.euractiv.com/socialeurope/swedish-police-illegal-database-news-530655

1.1. Who are the Roma?

There are diverse theories regarding the history of Roma, and how they came to settle in Europe. One theory explains Roma as an ethnic group descending from a group of people in Russian and German tablelands. Because of poverty and changing environment they were forced to move around.[11] Another theory explains Roma as a group originating from peasant societies in Europe, before the formation of the nation state. In accordance with this, the Roma belonged to the poorest of mentioned societies forcing them to move around Europe in search for better life.[12] The third and most common theory explain that Roma originate from India. In regard to this theory, the Roma left their homes in Northern India because of poverty and travelled through the Silk Road eventually reaching Europe. As it were, all theories have in common the explanation of Roma as a nomadic group usually imprinted with a nomadic lifestyle, 'moving around'. From 1300 there is documentation mentioning a group of people, referred to as 'future tellers', reaching and settling in Crete.[13] The most common presumption is that by the 14th century the Roma reached the Balkans, and by the 15th century, they had settled in Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Portugal.[14] In 1378 a law was passed in Greece regarding the Roma, which also affirmed their existence as a group. Although recognized as a group, throughout the 14th century the Roma were exiled and expelled from towns and countries, such as Egypt, Transylvania, France, Germany, Holy Roman Empire, Lucerne, Milan, Catalonia, Sweden, England, Denmark, Portugal and other.[15] The reasons were similar; Roma's were seen as untidy, bewitched, untrustworthy, and the Church was sceptical because they practiced peculiar traditions. From around 1596 the Roma were mainly enslaved, used and viewed in a degrading manner around Europe.[16] Around Europe, Roma children were taken from their parents to be fostered by non-Roma families. In attempts to assimilate the Roma they were also forbidden to travel around, while 'nomadism' was banned in countries like Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Poland and United Kingdom.[17] Within a couple of centuries, laws were passed around European countries forbidding the Roma from marrying spouses from other groups but also falsely accusing them of crimes and making sure they take part in

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[11] UR Kunskapskanalen; Documentary about Roma in Sweden; http://urplay.se/Produkter/177614-Alltid-fick-man-hora-javla-zigenare

[12] UR Kunskapskanalen; Documentary about Roma in Sweden; http://urplay.se/Produkter/177614-Alltid-fick-man-hora-javla-zigenare

[13] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html

[14] Gypsies; Collection of Various Messages Having the Same Theme; http://www.florilegium.org/?http%3A//www.florilegium.org/files/CULTURES/Gypsies-msg.html

[15] Gypsies; Collection of Various Messages Having the Same Theme; http://www.florilegium.org/?http%3A//www.florilegium.org/files/CULTURES/Gypsies-msg.html

[16] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html

[17] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html

assimilation schemes. Restrictions of pursuing Roma culture and 'nomadism' were commonly applied. The Romani language was banned from public performance in Bulgaria, and Roma women were forcefully sterilized around Europe.[18] The culmination of the European anti-Roma spirit was expressed during World War II, when the Nazis murdered between 220 000 to 1 500 000 people belonging to the Roma group.[19]

At present, Roma are found in diverse parts of the world, but the largest number is living in Europe and the Americas. Most commonly the Roma are all accredited to be 'the same' while the group actually consists of various minor groups. In Europe Roma are usually referred to as 'gypsies', 'Roma/Roms', and/or 'travellers'. It is not uncommon that these definitions have biased understandings and ideas attached to them, usually with negative connotation. Alas, it is important to note that the Roma are not one single, homogeneous group of people, but a group consisted of minor groups, diverse languages and lifestyles while sharing a distinct social heritage.[20] Roma do not share one single faith but many diverse beliefs, usually as the result of the country of residence. The culture, the routines and/or traditions vary between the minor groups within the group, such as practices regarding birth, marriage or death. There are similarities such as cultural/behaviour codes or the language (although different dialects). Many Roma tend to have similar occupations, such as recycling, which they have been engaged in for centuries. Other work includes agriculture, metal work, artisan skills, automobiles trading, road repairs and roofing and craft production.[21] The employment of Roma is connected to the history of the group and the general idea of who the Roma are.

1.2.   Roma in Europe

It is estimated that around four million Roma live in Europe, although Roma organizations estimate numbers as high as fourteen million.[22] It is difficult to establish with certainty the exact Roma population, as Roma tend to move and are therefore usually not registered in countries.[23] Across Europe larger Roma groups are found in the Balkans and Central European states such as Spain, France, Russia and Ukraine. Even though Roma are scattered across diverse countries, they share a strong connection to the history of their past. The idea

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[18] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html
[19] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html
[20] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html
[21] History of the Roma People; Online Source; http://www.crystalinks.com/romapeople.html
[22] European Social Watch Report; http://www.socialwatch.eu/wcm/Roma_a_long_history_of_discrimination.html
[23] Pairs; South East Europe; Transnational Cooperation Programme; http://www.pairs-see.net/page?view=15

of a common heritage of exclusion certainly contributes to the sense of shared identity, as well as the notion of always being the 'outsider' or the 'other' in the European context.[24] The Roma community can appear as an 'imagined community' as the group is dispersed across the continent, but the sense of community has a rather symbolical meaning for the group; remembrance of heritage and belonging.

2. Research Aim

The aim of this research is to examine how the EU refers to Roma, and whether the language used in EU official documents somehow shapes or maintains a Roma discourse, which is closely linked to the current situation of the group. To meet its aim, this research will analyse official EU documents concerning the situation of Roma. In other words, the ambition of this research is to try to examine whether the EU is referring to Roma in a particular way - and whether this particular way of referring to Roma may be shaping or maintaining their current situation.

2.1.   Research Questions
1) In what way does the EU currently address the Roma situation?
2) Is there specific use of words/terms in EU's Roma policy indicating a particular way of referring to Roma?
3) How can these be interpreted – do they have any consequences?

2.2.   Contribution and Significance
As presented, the situation of Roma is extremely challenging in both societal and theoretical terms. It is a highly complex and contemporary issue for the EU, as well as a broad and dynamic topic for research. This research therefore expects to contribute to the broad discussion regarding the situation of Roma in Europe, and more in particular, to the way Roma are referred to and discussed within the EU. The expected outcome of this research is to understand whether there is a current Roma discourse - and if it's being maintained by the usage of particular words and phrases reflected in EU official documents. There are two main perspectives on why Roma face a discriminated situation across Europe and how this situation should be contested; 1) some theoreticians prefer to see the role of the power in charge (EU) to be proactive and take on the responsibility for the group and their well-being; 2) other

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[24] European Commission; Who are the Roma; http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/roma/index_en.htm

theoreticians disagree with the prior and argue that the power in charge (EU) should not interfere with minority groups, as not to treat them differently from majority. Since the aim of the study is to explore how the EU refers to Roma, i.e. proactively addresses the Roma situation - I will choose material and refer to theories that show an active role of the EU in relation to the Roma matter. For this reason, official EU documents with focus on Roma will provide a preview and understanding of how the EU currently refers to and is addressing the Roma issue.

2.3. Delimitations

The vast scope of existing data in the chosen area of research requires filtering and narrowing down of information. With regard to the aim of this research, to explore how the EU *refers* to Roma, I will focus on finding data discussing the role of the EU in relation to the Roma issue. In this way I will delimit the study and rather focus on understanding the chosen perspective – a proactive role of the EU in the Roma matter. In regard, this research will not use interviews as a method of work as interviews are immaterial for discourse analysis – the chosen methodology for this research. Instead, by exploring official documents supporting the role of the EU in relation to the Roma matter, this research is able to closely observe how the EU refers to Roma. In order to make sense of the observed, discourse analysis will be applied. Another delimitation for this study is the inevitable subjectivity of the researcher, as all researchers are somewhat coloured by their own worldview. The diversity in the data will help me to distance myself enough from the 'known' and explore the subject or the 'unknown' with less subjectivity. In this research both discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis will be used as a method of work. However, it is imperative to mention that there is a difference between *discourse analysis* and *critical discourse analysis*. Critical discourse analysis views language as a form of social practice and examines how social and political domination are reproduced in text. Discourse analysis, which is the chosen method of work, focuses on language 'beyond' sentence boundaries and the naturally occurring language that has effects on social contexts and/or governance.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Theoretical discussion

The chosen theoreticians for this research are chosen in regard to the aim of the research. Pusca Anca has conducted studies on Roma as well as other topics. Understandably, her work considering Roma is relevant for this research, alas, also used as literature. Anca Pusca discusses the 'nomadic' feature so often added to the Roma 'culture', and how stereotyping Roma and conceptualizing their culture contributes to the current misconceptions and the very situation of the Roma. Pusca furthermore points out a contradiction in the right to 'freedom of movement' and Roma who are not 'as free' to move as other EU citizens. Susan Wright has mainly focused her research on anthropological studies, but her particular work on the phenomenon 'culture' is relevant to the Roma matter and this therefore to this research too. Susan Wright explains the process of meaning-making and how this process can make particular concepts become the given 'truth', whiles actually interfering with reality. Wright argues that 'culture' is socially constructed; therefore it can also be questioned. Gerd Baumann's research is relevant to Susan Wright's work, and therefore also to the aim of this research – because Baumann argues that in order to have justice and equality between diverse groups (minority/majority) national identity, ethnicity and the role of religion, must be questioned and contested. Baumann additionally explains 'culture' as something which is created by social interaction but also forms discourses, and points out that any discourses can be challenged no matter how dominant.

3.2. The Roma Problem' in the EU' [25] - Anca Pusca

Anca Pusca addresses the situation of Roma in the EU and asks the question why Roma are discriminated and because of whom. Pusca lines up a few possibilities, the nomadic lifestyle, their use of space to secure visibility and invisibility, and state's use of illegal instruments and approaches. Pusca argues that the situation of Roma is an economic and legal discrimination problem, but it is covered up by misleading phrasing such as a 'space' issue or issue of nomadism, etc. Pusca attacks member states as well as the EU for lacking adequate approach for Roma integration. Furthermore, the author argues that because of EUs lacking Roma policy, host countries as well as home countries have anxiety about receiving Roma. According to the article, the remedy for the issue is to start with addressing the 'space issue'

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[25] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 2

as many host countries argue to have. Pusca argues that Roma must be able to settle on their own terms, and not forcefully be 'constricted' or 'constructed'.[26]

According to Pusca, police presence and surveillance of Roma in member states has increased to better monitor Roma and especially those who have been deported (so that they don't return). France, Italy, Spain, the UK and other member states, are actively working on taking control over the movement of particular EU citizens.[27] Pusca argues that these 'particular' citizens are Roma, as their way of living and 'nomadism' represents a threat to the nation state. Pusca argues that the EU is lacking active action against further displacement of people even though the EU does criticize member states for failing in Roma integration. The situation is very critical when the EU justice commissioner, Vivienne Reding, compared Roma evictions in France (2010) to Nazi ethnic cleansing.[28] The entrance of new EU member states, has also made the situation of Roma more prominent and apparent in EU politics. Along with new member, the 'freedom of movement' policy has increased moving Roma. Unfortunately, because of Roma's life situation they are perceived as a burden by host countries. According to Pusca, because of lacking legal instrument that would force member state to action - the EU has tried to manage discrimination and marginalization of Roma by increasing targeted aid to Roma across Europe. Unfortunately, the targeted aid has been putting Roma in an awkward position, namely making other citizens feel that Roma are gaining undeserved privileges.[29] As an explanation to the argued, Pusca referrers to studies that show socio- demographic profiles of the migratory routes of Romani and non-Romani migrants around Europe - and how these in fact are very similar.[30] The same studies in Romania show that both desperate Roma and other Romanian families would resort to fraught solutions because their indigent life, such as trafficking, forced child labour or stealing.[31] On the basis of these insights, Pusca concludes that mobility is not a defining feature of Roma it is rather an important element of Roma's copying strategy to make a living.

Further in her research Pusca discusses whether Roma are the responsibility of the EU or member states. Member states have sovereign control and enforcement clearly limited by borders, which can be seen as contradictive when it comes to EU's policy of free movement.

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[26] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 2
[27] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 3
[28] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 3
[29] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 3
[30] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 4 (quoted Sobotka 2003, p. 92)
[31] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 4 (quoted Sobotka 2003, p. 92)

Roma expulsions clearly indicate that the guaranteed freedom of movement is limited by the individual sovereign states,[32] which makes the present situation of Roma simply the result of lack of options for Roma.[33] Pusca concludes that 'nomadism' is no different than regular migration patterns of people looking for opportunities abroad.[34] The undisrupted cultural and political tendencies to stereotype Roma and conceptualize their culture, contributes to the formation of particular ideas of who the Roma are. This idea, is according to Pusca also the reason why 'Roma' is a homogeneous label that often fails to grasp the significant cultural, religious, linguistic and economic differences that exist between different groups.[35] There is also the 'nomadic' label usually attached directly to Roma and their 'camps', which interferes with the law in many countries as the states do not tolerate 'nomadism' in the form of illegal temporary settlements.[36] Pusca states that nomadism is perceived as a bad thing while governments simultaneously favour camps as settlements, because having Roma in one place makes the 'Roma issue' easier to manage.[37] But paradoxically, Roma have to abandon the camps in order to become like 'normal' citizens and stop being perceived as a threat to the state.[38] In her research Pusca explains that fighting for nomadism as a right should not be confused with fighting for Roma's right to nomadism - because Roma's presence in camps and settlements is not an expression of their freedom and equality but of their vulnerability. The Roma issue is closely connected to the issue of nomadism, because a nomadic residence is unstable and creates significant challenges for the state's control mechanisms.[39] For the very reason nation states respond to nomadism with temporary camps and later on, with forced displacement. Displacement is clearly the result of trying to move the 'problem' somewhere else. The so-called 'camps' are usually invisible for the rest of societies, hidden and separated from the local communities.[40] Pusca's research gives examples of states like France who in 2010 limited free movement of Roma with diverse strategies and by monitoring the right to settle.[41]

In accordance with EU law, EU citizens have the right to settle for three months in another EU state in search for employment and housing – after three months they have to if no

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[32] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 5
[33] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p.5 (quoted Orta 2010, p.12)
[34] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 5
[35] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 5 (quoted Klimova 2000)
[36] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 6
[37] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 6
[38] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 7
[39] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 7
[40] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 8
[41] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 10

employment or housing has been secured as it is said, they then become a burden for the host society. Pusca points out that it would be hard for any economic migrant to support himself in accordance with this principle. Economic migrants usually come from bad economic and social conditions, making their situation and reason for moving different from those EU citizens who are spared from marginalization and discrimination. In other words, a migrant coming from poverty or hard conditions will have a hard time creating any opportunities for himself in a three months period. Pusca argues that the freedom of movement is ultimately a freedom to pursue economic opportunities, but when it comes to Roma it is restricted – mainly because of the embedded distrust in Roma's ability to ever integrate or settle.[42] Pusca is concerned whether EU policy targeting Roma may, if not carefully observed, separate Roma rights from the rights of other EU citizens and make them even more exposed. Pusca concludes that the Roma issue could be an opportunity for the EU to defend its vision of an integrated community of states and free movement.

3.3.   'The Politicization of Culture'[43] - Susan Wright

Susan Wright discusses the concept of *culture*. She presents two anthropological approaches to understand culture, the 'old' and the 'new' approach. The old approach explains culture as something clear, well defined, in balance, and something that implies a *shared identity*. In contrast, the new approach explains culture as something fluid and an active *process of creating meaning*.[44] The old concept sees culture as something people simply have, or are born into, whiles the new approach explains culture as something that has been created by people through meaning-making and something that can be politicized and used for hidden purposes. Wright gives an example of the latter, when the British right wing politicians used the word 'culture' while discussing nationalism, but actually promoting racist idea. This is an example of how terminology can be manipulated and used as a tool for misleading and hidden agendas. Wright argues that by recognizing and unraveling hidden agendas, it is first then possible to include and promote the perspectives of those who are silenced.[45] It is therefore *essential* to examine how decision-makers use the term 'culture' or other defining terms, in what context, and with what implication, analyze and *explore what effects it has on those who are marginalized or impoverished*.[46] Wright is critical to the old approach as it does not

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[42] Pusca Anca; 'The 'Roma Problem' in the EU'; p. 12
[43] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'
[44] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; Vol 14 No 1
[45] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 8
[46] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 8

account for changing political and economic situations – and prefers the new approach, because culture is rather defined as an *active process of meaning-making*. Wright concludes that *culture is not a homogeneous zone of shared meanings, but a zone of disagreement and contest*. The author further explains the process of meaning-making, as to show how culture is *socially constructed*. The process of meaning-making is the attempt by explicit agents to redefine *key symbols* which give a *particular view* of the world, of how people should be and behave and what should be seem as the 'reality' of their society and history; in short, an ideology. This particular view of the world then becomes institutionalized and works through non-agentive power. Wright even refers to Foucault's research that explains how particular knowledge can become the basis of new practices on which institutions are built. These practices further shape perceptions, categories and behavior.[47] In the process of meaning-making, there is an additional stage when a key term carries a new way of thinking about one aspect of life influences other fields - and *becomes a normal way of thinking in everyday life*. As it were, any ideology will most certainly appear as hegemonic because it becomes taken for granted to the point it is considered to be the only 'truth' - but as Wright entails it is fluid, so it is *not* hegemonic. When *key terms are defined concepts are given definitions*. Gramci explained that an ideology becomes hegemonic or the generally accepted 'truth', only when it is mixed with all other areas of everyday life. This argument implies that culture is not firm nor 'true', it is simply a result of constructed meanings and *accepted* 'truths'. In other words, the current state or 'truthiness' of a culture can change and therefore it is also *possible to intervene in 'culture'*.[48] Wright gives an example of Margret Thatcher's New Right party in Great Britain, that *consciously* engaged in the manipulation of words, especially the process of renaming and redefining key concepts after the World War II.[49] The party focused on reformulating the meaning of words such as 'nation', 'culture', and 'race' to suit their political agenda better.[50]

3.4. 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities' [51] - Gerd Baumann

Gerd Baumann explains 'culture' to be essential, processual and discursive. Nationalism and ethnicity are according to Baumann ways of finding and keeping cultural roots, but can also be used as strategies to argue for rights. Depending on contexts, people reify 'culture' and use

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[47] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 9
[48] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 10
[49] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 10
[50] Susan Wright; The Politicization of 'Culture'; p. 11
[51] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'

it as a strategy not merely to assert their identity but to *highlight their agency in the political arena.*[52] Bauman explains that giving meaning to a particular concept will eventually make it the given 'truth' and form a discourse. However, discourses no matter how dominant, they never remain unchallenged.[53] Cultural differences are not given by nature, but *created by social interaction*, which is why societies have 'majority' vs. 'minorities'. Bauman argues that racism is an issue created by the majority ('us' vs 'them') and not the minority, which is why ethnicity comes to be considered a determining characteristic of some groups and not others.[54] Every western nation-state has developed its own civil culture, with specific ways of discussing problems, of conflict resolution and *how* minority interests should be represented in accordance with *how* it defines with the common good.[55]According to this argument, it is mainly through school and education that states promote particular norms and standards. Baumann suggests that the larger majority should learn from social network groups, such as gay movements, socialists, feminists, green activists, etc – who usually have ways to include people of the so-called 'majorities' and the 'minorities', and that they entail dialogue between different minorities.[56] According to Bauman, Western nation-states seek to formulate laws and procedures that apply to all citizens or rather all *residents 'alike'*.[57] The governing elite of nation-states, its hegemonic media and dominant civil culture determines who is regarded as a minority and on what construction of difference.[58] Bauman argues that ethnicity is something that modern states communicate, which makes ethnicity not a given identity by nature but is entirely socially constructed. The author explains that the nation-state and ethnicity stand in direct relation to each other because if the tradition of *the nation-state concept.*

The way the term 'community' is used today implies inter-personal friendliness, shared interests and loyalty among ethnic minor groups. Baumann explores in his research whether 'community' is a collectivity that a person willingly participates in, or a conditioned communality projected onto someone based on their ethnic culture or alikeness with a smaller group within a larger community.[59] Bauman explains that 'community' can be bound to a strong discourse especially when it comes to ethnic minorities - because something that would be incorrect to say based on a solely ethnic belonging can instantly sound correct if one is

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[52] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.15
[53] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p. 12
[54] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.146
[55] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.151
[56] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.153
[57] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.154
[58] Gerd Bauman; 'The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities'; p.20
[59] Gerd Baumann; 'Contesting Culture; Discourses of Identity in Multi-ethnic London'; p.15

talking about 'community'.[60] In his research Baumann examines the 'culture' of Southall, a deprived multi-ethnic area in London. [61] In Southall diverse nationalities and cultures live alongside each other and share an indigent life. Baumann's research concludes that in Southall two different discourses can be observed, the 'dominant' and the 'demonic' discourse. What Baumann refers to as the dominant discourse means seeing 'culture' as something that belongs to an 'ethnic group' or a particular 'community', whiles the demotic discourse questions the relationship between 'culture', 'ethnic group' and 'community'.[62] The 'dominant' discourse reifies[63] culture, whiles the 'demotic' discourse treats culture as an ongoing process. Baumann's research indicates that regardless of the diverse ethnic belongings of people in Southall, the ethnic distinction is created by the groups themselves - who tactically use the dominant discourse to claim resources and 'position'.[64] Baumann discusses the concept of ethno-political activity, or the way ethnic 'labels' are used and validated as referring to actual 'ethnic groups'. For example, ethno-political activity can be (miss)used as a political and social tool. These so-called 'ethnic' groups are defined with reference to an identical and shared 'culture' they are assumed to share. Baumann's research shows that in politics and policy development where civil rights are contested on the basis of 'ethnic' and 'cultural' identities - if 'culture' is used as an definitive content that assumes the status of a 'thing' that people 'have', 'belong to' or are 'a member of' - can be misleading and have debatable outcomes.[65] According to Baumann the dominant discourse is contested by the demotic discourse which explains 'culture' and 'community', or 'ethnicity' and 'culture', as separated from each other. The main verdict of Baumann's research is that it shows that identity politics can be an important approach for minorities to change their situation and position in society - as long as they manage to engage in the dominant discourse.

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[60] Gerd Baumann; 'Contesting Culture; Discourses of Identity in Multi-ethnic London'; p.79
[61] London suburb
[62] Gerd Baumann; 'Dominant and Demotic Discourses of Culture; Their Relevance to Multi-ethnic Alliances'; p.209
[63] *Considering something abstract to be real
[64] Gerd Baumann; 'Dominant and Demotic Discourses of Culture; Their Relevance to Multi-ethnic Alliances'; p.214
[65] Gerd Baumann; 'Dominant and Demotic Discourses of Culture; Their Relevance to Multi-ethnic Alliances'; p.211

4. Methodological approach

The method for this research is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis has the aim to investigate and analyze power relations in society and to formulate normative perspectives on the possibilities for social change. Discourse analysis is not to be used as a method of analysis detached from its theoretical and methodological foundation. In discourse analysis theory and method are intertwined.[66] There are diverse premises that can be the basis for discourse analysis, but for this research a particular few are important to mention.[67] The first premise is that 1) our knowledge of the world is subjective, and what we call 'reality' is actually a product of discourse; 2) our view and knowledge about the world is a product of historical interchanges among people. This also means that discourse is a form of social action and that the social world is not pre determined – it can be changed; 3) social interaction creates common 'truths' and thereby also our understanding of the world; 4) the social construction of knowledge and 'truth' has social consequence. These premises represent a part of the different perspectives important for discourse analysis. Foucault developed discourse analysis theory arguing that the 'truth' is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false.[68] Foucault makes a link between 'power/knowledge', saying that 'truth' is embedded in and produced by systems of 'power'.[69] Foucault's concept indicates that we can never be 'free' from a discourse, and for this reason, the focus should be on *how* effects of truths are created in discourses.[70] Foucault's explanation of discourse analysis can be summoned as 'individuals determined by structures'[71], whiles new approaches explains people as 'masters and slaves of language'.[72] The latter is usually referred to as *critical discourse analysis*, and stresses that people are both discursive; '...products and producers in the reproduction and transformation of discourses and thereby in social and cultural change'.[73]

In this research both discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis will be used as a method of work. Discourse analysis is applied throughout the research in order to detect if particular terminology is used by the EU when referring to Roma and their situation. As

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[66] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 14
[67] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 15
[68] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 24
[69] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 25
[70] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 25
[71] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 28
[72] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 28
[73] Marianne Jorgensen & Louise Phillips; Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method; p. 28

mentioned, official EU documents will be the basis for such observations. Discourse analysis will allow for reappearing terminology to be observed in the documents and for this research to examine the informal exchange of reasoned views (how the EU refers to Roma). In discourse analysis the importance is not how well the reality is reflected in the language, but how language shapes and constructs reality. Critical discourse analysis enables this research to examine connotations related to particular words, which further may explain particular EU actions in the Roma matter. The expected result of combining discourse analysis with critical discourse analysis in this research - is to gain a broader understanding of the language in use (by the EU) which may be referring to Roma in a specific way (reflected in official EU documents). This in turn, will unravel how and if language has shapes and constructed a Roma 'reality', or 'culture'. It is of interest for the aim of this study to address this 'reality', i.e. or elements which may contributing to misconceptions (false truths) about Roma and thereby forming new ones

4.1. The role of the researcher

As the researcher it is crucial to be aware of subjectivity and bias on the issue. However, the very subject and reading on the topic has increased my knowledge vastly and provided with information I was previously to the research not aware of. This very fact makes me interested in any (valid) result, which is as at this point unknown and should not be influenced by subjectivity. By using discourse analysis as well as critical discourse analysis as methodology for the research, I have no subjective control over the outcomes of the analyzed material – in other words, the results are valid. For this reason the reliability of the study is assured.

4.2. Data collection procedures

The primary step in data collection procedures for this particular research was to read as much and diverse as possible on the topic. At first all material was interesting for the research, but the collected information seemed to naturally filter into two main perspectives. The two perspectives also became the basis for the aim of this research. The first perspective is against proactive EU involvement in the Roma matter, whilst the latter is pro. As the relation between the EU and Roma seemed the most prominent. As the understanding of the topic increased, it became easier to narrow down the data search. In order to get an as objective image of the situation as possible, the data was collected from media reports, official reports, previous research, and reports produced by NGOs and independent news. Information regarding the

work of the EU on the particular matter was collected from official EU reports that are introspective as they produce follow-up reports. Material regarding particular EU integration initiatives was composed from online sources, whiles data on the less favourable effects of EU integration was rather found in media reports as well as previous research. All in all, the collected data for this research is of great diversity and dynamic, which will give a broad overview of the addressed issue.

5. Data/Material

There are two main perspectives when the situation of Roma is discussed in relation to the EU. The EU defines Roma as a minority group, and is for the very reason also actively addressing the disadvantaged situation of Roma through a Roma policy. It is on this very point that theoreticians have diverged opinions. Should the EU actively make sure that member states take responsibility for the situation of Roma, and member states if they don't? Or should the EU stay out of any involvement as involvement per say is to continuously keep Roma in one position and never letting them develop and aspire freely their own future in the EU? The first perspective implies that the EU is (or any other) the ruling power which should take responsibility for a group that is badly treated and that obviously need protection. The same perspective argues that without proactive involvement the group will continue to be disadvantaged. The second perspective argues quite the opposite, that is less involvement by the ruling power as this increases the risk of defining a group as something they are not – and continuously keeping them in one/same position. Since the aim of this research is to view how the EU is referring to (or sees) Roma, this research will choose to look at and examine official EU documents concerning Roma. In order to examine and understand the active role of the EU reflected in the official policy concerning Roma – this research will apply the first perspective, supporting an **active** involvement of the EU. The chosen documents present the way the EU currently is addressing the situation of Roma:

1. *EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (up to 2020)*

2. *National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework*

3. *Annual Progress Report and Recommendation (26 June, 2013)*

4. *What works for Roma inclusion in the EU?*

5.1.   'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (up to 2020)'

The 'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies' was developed by the European Commission to acquire determined action in regard to the urgent discriminated situation of Roma. The Framework states that the social and economic integration of Roma is a two-way process which requires change in the general perception of Roma people, as well as of members of the Roma communities.[74] Presented research in the Framework indicates that greater participation of Roma in the labour market would improve economic productivity in countries, reduce government payments for social assistance, and increase revenue from income taxes.[75] In accordance, Roma integration through labour could foster greater openness in general society towards Roma, and improve respect for fundamental rights; including the rights of minorities, and elimination discrimination based on someone's race, ethnic, social origin or colour.[76] According to the Directive 2000/43/EC[77], all EU member states are under obligation to give Roma (as all EU citizens) non-discriminatory access to education, employment, vocational training, healthcare, social protection and housing. The strategies are supposed to be addressed at national, regional and local level, but also through dialogue with and participation of Roma.

Since the Roma face explicit needs it may not be enough for member states to rely on classical social inclusion measures, but have to create new and more rigorous ones. The Commission states that the principle of equal treatment does not prevent member states from maintaining or adopting other measures to prevent ethnic, racial, or other form of discrimination. In other words, the Commission gives member states free hands to find suitable tools and strategies that will be compatible with the principle of non-discrimination, both at EU and national level.[78] The four main goals that member states should focus on regarding Roma integration is: *access to education, employment, healthcare, and housing*. Regarding access to education, member states have the responsibility and duty to ensure that primary education is available to all children. The Open Society Institute has reported that only a limited number of Roma children complete primary school.[79] For that reason children

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[74] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 2
[75] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 3
[76] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 3
[77] EUR-LEX; Implementing The Principle of Equal Treatment Between Persons Irrespective of Racial or Ethnic Origin; http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML
[78] United Kingdom's local Traveller Education Support Services (TESS)
[79] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 5

who miss out on education subsequently do experience significant difficulties in later life, it is highly suggested that member states initiate second chance programmes for drop-out young adults including programmes with explicit focus on Roma children.[80] According to the Commission there is a significant gap between the employment rate for Roma and the rest of the population across the EU. According to a survey by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights, the Roma consider themselves to be highly discriminated in the field of employment.[81] High level infant mortality among the Roma community is reported across countries in Europe[82], which is partly a result of poor living conditions, lack of information, limited access to quality healthcare and exposure to higher health risks.[83] According to the Framework, discrimination by healthcare personnel is also a particular problem for the Roma.[84] For the mentioned reasons member states are asked to provide access to quality healthcare especially for children and women, as well as preventive care and social services to Roma as to other EU citizens.[85] In addition, where it is possible qualified Roma should be involved in healthcare programmes.[86] The Framework indicates that Roma generally have poor housing conditions and inadequate access to public utilities, such as water, gas and electricity. The Commission recommends member states to assure non-discriminatory social housing, and make it a part of the overall integration approach involving regional and local authorities.[87] As it were, member states should set achievable goals for Roma integration, identify disadvantaged and segregated neighbourhoods, have sufficient funding from national budgets, include strong monitoring methods, keep cooperation and dialogue with Roma civil society, both regional and local authorities.[88] The Commission advises member states to reinforce effective allocation of national resources, and make a greater use of the EU technical assistance for Roma targeted programmes.[89] In addition, it states that cooperation beyond EU borders is needed, because Roma in other European countries face even worse problems than in many EU countries.[90] The Commission assures it will contribute to the UNDP[91] programme on 'Roma household survey pilot project', through expanding the survey on Roma to all member states and regularly measuring the progress.

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[80] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 6
[81] Fundamental Rights Agency, European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, Main Results Report, 2009
[82] UNDP, EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 7
[83] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 7
[84] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 7
[85] Council of Europe
[86] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 7
[87] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 7
[88] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 8
[89] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 10
[90] EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020; p. 11
[91] UNDP; United Nations Development Programme

5.2. 'National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework'

In addition of the 'Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies' the European Commission designed an additional handbook for member states. In the 'National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework' there are clear guidelines outlined for action. According to the EU, Member States have the main responsibility and potential to change the situation of marginalised groups. The Framework argues that integration of Roma into member states societies has a direct impact on the wider EU, which is why each member state ought to focus on improving the situation of Roma. Through the Framework the EU argues that member states need to develop a sustainable approach for Roma integration including education, employment, health and housing. According to the handbook there are €26.5 billion allocated to support member states in benefitting disadvantaged Roma communities (period 2007-2013).[92] According to the handbook, some member states chose to revise existing national strategies in the light of the EU Framework, while other member states developed their first national strategies.[93] The national strategies vary according to the size of the Roma population and the challenges member states need to address. In the handbook the Commission states that all member states need to reduce the employment gap between Roma and non-Roma. In order to succees member states need to describe their objectives in terms of quantifiable targets.[94] States with a higher number of Roma population should identify appropriate activities to include Roma in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. 'Measures suggested in the EU Framework, such as providing access to micro-credit, employing qualified civil servants in the public sector and providing personalised services and mediation were addressed by only some Member States'.[95] The handbook outlines good measures carried out by some member states, like Spain who set a specific objective for the employment of Roma women through promotig necessary skills and facilitating access for obtaining employment. Then Austria promotes access of young Roma from Austrian and immigrant communities to the labour market. Bulgaria is also an example as it aims to raise the level of Roma in employment by 2015. Several Member States have activated programmes involving qualified Roma as mediators for improving access to healthcare, significant for the impact on the health gap between Roma and the rest of the population. Hungary aims to train Roma women with the help of the

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[92] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.2
[93] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.3
[94] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.7
[95] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.7

European Social Fund in healthcare.[96] Ireland has made available a wide range of Travellers-dedicated health services. The Commission argues that the made commitments need to be supported by clear timelines for their implementation and allocation of clearer financial means to reduce health inequalities.[97] The Comission further argues that addressing the lack of registration of Roma in the national registers is very important for ensuring equal access to public services. Discrimination and racism in member states must be addressed through awareness raising and facilitationg of de-stigmatisation. It is highlighted that Roma children are a particularly vulnerable group when it comes to access to fundamental rights, which is only rarely addressed outside the fields of education and health.[98] Accordingly to the handbook many Roma living in member states face the same challenges as migrants coming from outside the EU, even though they should enjoy the same rights as those granted to non-EU migrants. Overall, the main argumentation of the Commission's assasement is that states are making efforts, but that much more needs to be done at national level. Member states ought to continue a regular dialogue with the Commission to ensure that national strategies and action plans are coherent with EU laws and policies.[99] Further member states should involve regional and local authorities and work closely with civil society. The civil society and Roma organisations should be involved building trust between majorities and minorities. In addition, member states need to allocate sufficient resources for the implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategies, and for social inclusion and poverty, improved access to funds and their better coordination and integration, and an investment priority dedicated to the integration of marginalised communities such as the Roma.[100]

5.3.   'Annual Progress Report and Recommendation (26 June, 2013)'
(for the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies)

The Progress Report is an initiative of the European Commission, developed to annually report on the implementation of the 'EU Framework for national Roma Integration strategies' in member states. The annual progress report examines the efficiency and accomplishments by member states governments in the four targeted areas; education, employment, health and housing. The first progress report was presented in May 2012 (IP/12/499)[101], and the second in June 2013. With two years apart from the submission of the Framework, the 2013 report

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[96] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.10
[97] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.10
[98] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.11
[99] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.12
[100] National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework; p.12
[101] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610)

has more results to examine than the prior one. The 2013 progress report looks at how member states have established the right structures for effectively implementing Roma integration policies. The main and overall finding is that the progress has been limited and improvement on the ground too slow.[102] According to the report, the involvement of the society can be improved, as well as inclusion of organizations and the allocation of adequate resources to finance the integration of Roma. It is further found that public authorities should increase their fight against discrimination, because as the report indicates, racism towards and discrimination towards Roma continue.[103]

In comparison to the progress report in 2012, the progress report 2013 shows that there has not been much change in resource allocation, although argued to be a crucial strategy in the 'EU Framework for Roma Integration Strategy'. It is said that the financing of Roma integration is still inadequate.[104] In the progress report for 2013 the Commission is putting forward a series of recommendations to help guide the member states in better realization of their strategies. These include allocation of appropriate funds to Roma inclusion, enhanced involvement of local authorities, and strengthened cooperation within and between member states. The report additionally reminds all member states regarding EU legislation, such as the Race Equality Directive, which obliges the governments to give equal access to ethnic minorities, such as the Roma, in education, housing, health and employment.[105] The report also reminds governments of diverse funds that can be a source of funding for Roma integration projects; the European Social Fund, the European Development Fund and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development.[106] The report implies that member states have the primary responsibility for Roma integration, because the biggest challenges for Roma inclusion start on local level. In education it is found that only 42% of Roma children complete primary school, compared to an average of 97,5% for the general population across the EU as a whole.[107] This of course reflects on the labour market and employment where young Roma are less qualified to find a job. Regarding health, Roma have a life expectancy of ten years less than the average European, mainly because of poorer living conditions and reduced access to healthcare. Additionally, the Roma generally have poor water and

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[102] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 1
[103] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 2
[104] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 3
[105] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 4
[106] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 5
[107] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 5

electricity access which reduces the quality of housing.[108] The progress report 2013 finds that it is crucial that member states realise the benefits of Roma inclusion. Not only is it a legal necessity, but there are also economic benefits that might stimulate the process. Accordingly to the World Bank[109] full Roma integration in the labour market should bring economic benefits estimated to be around 0.5 billion Euro annually for some countries.[110]

5.4.   'What works for Roma inclusion in the EU?'

The document intends to support the work of policy makers in implementing National Roma Integration Strategies. According to the document, the Roma living in diverse EU member states do not constitute one homogeneous group but do share similar socio-economic characteristics and experience a similar rejection of the majority.[111] In this document it is argued that actors who are responsible for national implementation of integrating measures may find difficulties because of structural conditions. The Commission argues that it is crucial to prevent any identification between Roma and integration problems, so that the group isn't associated with 'issue'. In the document it is argued that improving the situation of Roma in Europe means developing policies that identify and handle aspects of the deprivation of Roma through an integrated approach – in this case an integrated approach means protection of fundamental human rights, fight against exclusion, and promotion of Roma culture as well as respect for Roma identity.[112] It is further stated that proactive action of member states can have serious impact on the situation of Roma, no matter social status. Proactive action implies that a comprehensive Roma policy ought to have adequate legislation and an orientation to full citizenship for Roma. In the case of Roma, the Commission states that all action with focus on Roma must be individualized and especially adapted to the need of each citizen of a group.[113] Accordingly to the Commission many failed attempts in Roma inclusion are the result of failure to take into consideration the cultural dimension when designing strategies.[114] In the document the Commission states that: *'It is important to avoid confusion between the Roma as an ethnic group and those Roma groups experiencing ...//... social exclusion. Policies that neglect... //... send the message to society that dealing with Roma issues signifies*

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[108] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 5
[109] World Bank, Roma Inclusion: An Economic Opportunity for Bulgaria, the Chez Republic, Romania and Serbia – September 2010
[110] Roma Integration: Progress Report and Recommendation (European Commission; Memo/13/610); p. 5
[111] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 7
[112] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 17
[113] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 19
[114] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 19

dealing exclusively with poverty and marginalization, and implicitly tells the Roma <u>their integration in society</u> is a matter of forgetting who they are if they want to achieve social advancement'.[115] Further in the document, it is stated that public institutions many times have practices which are inappropriate for integration; inadequate settlement policies; placing all Roma together because of the idea they all want to live together; lack of monitoring systems and permanent social-support programs, and other. It is clearly stated that: *"Roma integration is a personal itinerary, but in most cases this itinerary doest end with the access to a normal urban neighbourhood"*[116] or in other words, Roma always end up segregated. In order to battle segregation, governments ought to develop programs that involve other people or groups in similar circumstances. Simultaneously it is crucial to provide Roma access to public and mainstream services in other to avoid exclusion of any kind. The Commission argues that every member state's national policy should be oriented to combating segregation, increasing deterioration, stigmatization, and retreat of public authorities and increasing ethnic concentration.[117] The Commission explains practices which have shown to have bad outcomes, and that policies concerning Roma should avoid such. These practices include leaving neighbourhoods or settlements to their own dynamics; carrying out forced evictions, adopting laws or rules that lead Roma to a situation of illegality and despair; paying cash money to the inhabitants for them to leave when there are urban enlargement plans; installing and providing specific and segregated services for Roma; fuelling negative discourses publically blaming the Roma.[118] One of the main interventions for member states should be to give Roma active participation and full citizenship. Participation in society is directly linked to mutual respect and understanding which can only be achieved with structural change, i.e. Roma must take part in policy-making processes and other mentioned areas where they have been neglected. The Commission stresses that the Roma National Strategies, policies, action plans, strategies or projects – should all be designed so that Roma can fully enjoy their fundamental rights as other citizens of the EU member states. In the document, the Commission lines up the most prominent and crucial directives that member states should follow and focus on in their development Roma policy.[119] These include EU law as well as international law, but also all diverse conventions and declarations.

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[115] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 19
[116] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 30
[117] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 30
[118] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 35
[119] What works for Roma inclusion in the EU? p. 51

5.5. Summary of data

As presented data indicates the EU has developed an 'EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies' with the aim to address Roma's discriminated situation in the EU. The Framework lines up diverse areas which should be addressed by member states in regard to the issue. In addition to the Framework the EU developed the 'National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework' - straight forward recommendations and guidelines that concentrate on exactly those issues that to be addressed urgently. In the document the Commission discusses all the diverse difficulties Roma face on daily basis, and the diverse ways that member states could tackle the situation. Further, member states are even pointed out, both as good and bad examples. The 'Annual Progress Report and Recommendation' has the aim to annually follow up on practical accomplishments made my member states. If member states slack behind in some areas or show questionable action, it will be noted in the report. In the report there are also recommendations on future conduct. In 'What works for Roma inclusion in the EU?', the Commission goes one step further in guiding member states and presents statistics and models based on successful and failed past strategies. Through all the documents, it is clear that the Commission puts a lot of focus on responsibility which should be taken by member states - to treat Roma as any other EU citizen and to fight discrimination and marginalization with all adequate means.

6. Analysis

The analysis of this research will be divided into two sections. In the first section I will apply *critical discourse analysis* as to critically examine particular words or phrases used by the EU in the presented data. In the second section I will apply *discourse analysis,* as to understand if the detected words of phrases from the first section, create a particular meaning or context by which Roma are defined. The reason for dividing the analysis into two sections is because it clarifies the method applied on the text, but also because it makes it easier for the reader to follow.

6.1. Critical discourse analysis of official EU documents concerning the situation of Roma

-In the **'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies'**, the Commission refers to the situation of Roma in Europe as 'urgent discriminated situation of Roma'. This clearly shows that the EU considers the situation to be urgent and in need of vigorous action. It is stated that 'member states are under obligation to give Roma (as all EU citizens) non-discriminatory access to education, employment, vocational training, healthcare, social protection and housing'. The Commission essentially reminds member states their legal obligations to treat all EU citizens as equal and give equal opportunities to Roma as any other citizen. It is further stated that 'equal treatment does not prevent member states from maintaining or adopting other measures to prevent ethnic, racial, or other form of discrimination'. In this way the Commission calls upon member states to take their responsibility beyond the obvious, and search for better and more proactive ways of addressing the situation of Roma within their borders. This is confirmed by 'not enough for member states to rely on classical social inclusion measures, but have to create new and more rigorous ones'. It is obvious that the EU realises the diversity of the Roma matter, as Roma face similar but as well dissimilar situations depending on country in question – which is why member states are asked to find innovative and rigorous measures to address the urgent situation. By calling the situation 'urgent' it is obvious that the Commission is asking member states for very proactive devotion to the matter. In addition, the Commission lines up strategies which ought to be applied for a successful combating of the situation. It is stated that 'Roma integration through labour could foster greater openness in general society towards Roma', implying the importance of including Roma in the labour market, not only for their sake but also for the well-being of the state in question. In regard to education of Roma, it is argued that 'member states (should) initiate second chance programmes for drop-out

young adults including programmes with explicit focus on Roma children'. Here, Roma children are in focus as the Commission apparently considers education to be crucial for Roma integration. Further 'member states are asked to provide access to quality healthcare especially for children and women - as well as preventive care and social services to Roma as to other EU citizens'. The health aspect is crucial in the Framework, and 'member states (are recommended) to assure non-discriminatory social housing, and make it a part of the overall integration approach involving regional and local authorities'. The 'EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies' is clearly focused on Roma, as victims and a discriminated group of people that needs member states to take their vital responsibility – as Roma themselves obviously cannot change their situation without having the governments vowing for their cause.

-In the **'National Roma Integration Strategies: A First Step in the Implementation of the EU Framework'**, the Commission argues that 'member states have the main responsibility and potential to change the situation of marginalised groups'. This statement is designed to make member states realize that their action in the Roma matter is crucial, but the other effect of the statement is that Roma are presented not only as marginalized but as a group of people who are incapable of handeling their situation themselves. This can be understood from the fact that it is said that only states have 'the potential' to change the situation of Roma. The Commission also argues that member states should make combating the discrimination against Roma their agenda as 'integration of Roma into member states societies has a direct impact on the wider EU, which is why each member state ought to focus on improving the situation of Roma'. On the whole, the Commission is trying to indicate the snowball effect of the Roma matter, and that it is a local issue that has spillover effects on the rest of the EU. In the document it is also very clearly stated that the Roma matter cannot be an economic issue for member states as the EU has out a large budget aside that can be used for only Roma related matters, '€26.5 billion allocated to support member states in benefitting disadvantaged Roma communities (period 2007-2013)'. Further, the EU presents clear reccommendations on how member states ought to improve the situation of Roma,'reduce the employment gap between Roma and non-Roma'. The presented facts are obviously the reality of the situation of Roma, but the way the information is presented in the document – makes Roma appear as victims with *no* chances of getting emplyment on their own. Further, the Commission argues that 'the lack of registration of Roma in the national registers is very important for ensuring equal access to public services'. This particular point indicates clear segragation of the group,

and EUs awareness of the ongoing discrimination. The Commission even compares the situation of Roma, 'many Roma living in member states face the same challenges as migrants coming from outside the EU, even though they should enjoy the same rights as those granted to non-EU migrants'. The ambition of the EU to argue the urgency of the situation is obvious to the reader, but when Roma are compared to non-EU migrants they are indirectly said to be different or *special* in a negative way from other EU citizens. They need more assistance, and they need outside assistance to manage their situation. In addition, the Commission argues that the mentioned interventions must be 'supported by clear timelines for their implementation and allocation of clearer financial means to reduce health inequalities'. In order for national Roma integration initiatives to have sustainable outcomes 'member states should involve regional and local authorities and work closely with civil society. The civil society and Roma organisations should be involved building trust between majorities and minorities'.

-In the **'Annual Progress Report and Recommendations'** the main and overall finding is that 'the progress has been limited and improvement on the ground too slow'. This directly means that member states have failed to meet the set up goals for the concerned period of one year. The report further argues that 'there has not been much change in resource allocation' and 'financing of Roma integration is still inadequate'. In other words, the EU does not think that member states are doing enough in regard to the situation of Roma, and that they could act more in accordance with the Framework in order to have sustainable outcomes. The report also recommends 'involvement of the society can be improved' as well as 'inclusion of organizations and the allocation of adequate resources to finance the integration of Roma'. The report shows that the managing of the situation of Roma in member states requires further strategies as the ones presented in the EU Framework obviously seem to be unclear. It is once again stated that 'public authorities should increase their fight against discrimination, because as the report indicates, racism towards and discrimination towards Roma continue'. This statement indirectly refers to Roma as victims as they are discriminated and hand fallen in their situation as discrimination 'continues'. It is the choice of words that gives the reader an impression of a never-ending discrimination towards Roma, because the EU recommends diverse actors to get involved, whiles Roma are nowhere mentioned as actors to involve in the fight against discrimination. This is followed up by 'member states have the primary responsibility for Roma integration, because the biggest challenges for Roma inclusion start on local level'. This mainly indicates that member states ought to realise that the EU cannot

solve the situation of Roma if member states do not take their responsibility in all fields of society where Roma need assistance. Again, the main and primary responsibility is put on member states – based on clear facts that member states are failing in Roma integration – but because Roma are not being mentioned as an actor which will actively be included in the integration process, Roma come off as victims again. Member states are reminded that 'Roma have a life expectancy of ten years less than the average European, mainly because of poorer living conditions and reduced access to healthcare'. In the document the EU tries in every way to present the situation of Roma as marginalized as it is, although, the text instead presents Roma as a group of people in which each individual faces the exact same life situation – which accordingly to data is not the case.

- In **'What works for Roma inclusion in the EU'**, EUs statements and recommendations are far more rigorous than in the primary Framework. It is clearly stated that there are structural issues in institutions in member states that are counteracting integration, 'actors who are responsible for national implementation of integrating measures may find difficulties because of structural conditions'. In the document it is further argued that 'it is important to avoid confusion between the Roma as an ethnic group and those Roma groups experiencing ...//... social exclusion'. In this way the EU also states that Roma are a group of people with diverse situations which should be almost individually addressed, as well as most Roma face discrimination and marginalization 'just because' they are Roma. This is further confirmed by 'Roma living in diverse EU member states do not constitute one homogeneous group but do share similar socio-economic characteristics and experience a similar rejection of the majority'. By referring to Roma as a diverse group, but with similar experience in 'rejection', it is coming off as if Roma are victims – but in all cases, and in general. Because it is not specified who the *majority* is, Roma simply stand out as 'the other' and the 'special' group which is the victim of majority. Because of the mentioned, in the document it is argued that 'it is crucial to prevent any identification between Roma and integration problems, so that the group isn't associated with 'issue''. Having this cleared out the Commission continues with arguing that member states must be much more proactive, and make great structural changes in order to fully integrate Roma, 'proactive action implies that a comprehensive Roma policy ought to have adequate legislation and an orientation to full citizenship for Roma'. In order for integration to be successful, according to the Commission, it is important that 'that all action with focus on Roma must be individualized and especially adapted to the need of each citizen of a group'. This means that member states must see Roma as not only a discriminated

group of people but also as individuals and treat each Roma as such. Further it is stated that 'many failed attempts in Roma inclusion are the result of failure to take into consideration the cultural dimension when designing strategies'. In other words, member states have been designing strategies which are in conflict with Roma's culture or traditions – the Commission argues that this can be contested with 'participation in society../..directly linked to mutual respect and understanding which can only be achieved with structural change, i.e. Roma must take part in policy-making processes and other mentioned areas where they have been neglected'. The Commission is rigorous and criticizes member states for having practices which are inappropriate for integration. Some of the mentioned inadequate strategies involve, 'placing all Roma together because of the idea they all want to live together' or 'lack of monitoring systems and permanent social-support programs for Roma'. The document indirectly states that Roma are marginalized because member states are upholding strategies and approaches which have no positive effect on Roma. In other words, Roma are the victim of structural patterns resulting in inadequate Roma policies in member states.

The Commission obviously finds that the efforts made by member states as a response to the 'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies', are inadequate and not enough. It is obvious that member states are requested to put more efforts into solving the Roma situation in the EU, as the situation of Roma has not changed.

1.2. Discourse analysis: understanding the observed

The second sections of the analysis will focus on exploring whether the detected words and phrases from the first section, may have social consequence for the situation of Roma. Susan Wrights argues that the process of meaning-making is the attempt by explicit agents to redefine key symbols which give a particular view of the world. In regard to 'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies', the Commission refers to the situation of Roma as 'urgent discriminated situation of Roma'. In accordance with Wright, the reality of Roma's situation is defined as 'urgent' and 'discriminated'. Susan Wright argues that 'this particular view of the world then becomes institutionalized and works through non-agentive power'. If the EU refers to Roma in a certain way this is also what becomes the 'reality' of the group. The 'EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies' clearly defines Roma as a discriminated group of people that needs member states to take their vital responsibility – as Roma themselves obviously cannot change their situation without having the governments

vowing for their cause. In other words, Roma are indirectly said to be victims and this is because they are not mentioned in any way as crucial actors in the process of Roma integration. Wright argues that a particular view of the world can become institutionalized and later work through non-agentive power – which can be observed in Roma's case in Europe as they are said to be a 'space issue' which ultimately is the same as saying that Roma are 'unwanted'. In other words, the pre-decided view of Roma has become institutionalized and Roma are perceived as something that takes up space. The undisrupted cultural and political tendencies to stereotype Roma and conceptualize their culture, contributes to the formation of particular ideas of who the Roma are. This is what Wright refers to when arguing that culture is 'not firm nor 'true', it is simply a result of constructed meanings and accepted 'truths''**.** In 'What works for Roma inclusion in the EU', the Commission argues that every member state's national policy should be oriented to combating 'segregation, increasing deterioration, stigmatization, and retreat of public authorities and increasing ethnic concentration'. Baumann argues that 'nation-states seek to formulate laws and procedures that apply to all citizens or rather all *residents 'alike'*. In regard to Baumann's argument and the Commission's request on member states for action – Roma fall out of the equation as proactive players who can have impact and should be included in the process of Roma integration. Roma are not mentioned nor asked, and all responsibility is put on member states and the existing structures and policies. 'Governing elite of nation-states, its hegemonic media and dominant civil culture determines who is regarded as a minority and on what construction of difference' – Baumann argues that minorities, or groups such as Roma are continuously defined by the 'majority'. This can be observed in the presented EU official documents where there is no clear referring what Roma 'want' or aspire, nor that this in any way should be interesting to examine. Pusca argues that 'the undisrupted cultural and political tendencies to stereotype Roma and conceptualize their culture, contributes to the formation of particular ideas of who the Roma are'. Puscas argument can be supported by the fact that the EU in its official document indirectly presents an image of Roma as helpless and vulnerable. This is of course based on the fact that Roma are discriminated and marginalized, but this research finds that there is a fine line between **talking about the situation of Roma** and making the situation of Roma **become the Roma and their 'culture'**. In other words, because of particular word usage in EU official documents, Roma and their culture has become 'stereotyped' and 'conceptualized', which further contributes to the formation of particular ideas of who the Roma are. The Roma discourse which has been created slowly through history simply continues to exist because of the mentioned rationales. These 'conceptualized'

and 'stereotyped' ideas of Roma are clearly present in member states and expressed as segregation or marginalization and discrimination of diverse kinds. For example, the EU criticizes member states for being terrible with registration of Roma and argues that 'proactive action implies that a comprehensive Roma policy ought to have adequate legislation and an orientation to full citizenship for Roma'.

Baumann argues that 'giving meaning to a particular concept will eventually make it 'the given 'truth' and form a discourse'. In regard to the presented data, the EU official documents concerning the situation of Roma - it is clear that the EU is actively addressing the 'urgent' situation of Roma. However through its Roma policy, the EU is exporting an image of Roma as vulnerable and helpless group of people - which in turn may counter the development of the situation of Roma. The EU seems rather unconscious of the impact of the words used in the official documents, but the words to have social consequence – being, maintenance of the already existing Roma discourse. Baumann states that 'discourses no matter how dominant, they never remain unchallenged. Cultural differences are not given by nature, but created by social interaction, which is why societies have 'majority' vs. 'minorities'.' In accordance with Baumann, the idea of Roma as victims can be contested and reversed. This research finds that it isn't only a question of involving Roma in state politics as the EU implies: 'Roma must take part in policy-making processes and other mentioned areas where they have been neglected'. Besides involving Roma (which is crucial of course), there must be recognition of Roma as people capable of controlling their own situation, as their situation is not **who they are** but **what they deal with**. Baumann supports this by stating that 'racism is an issue created by the majority ('us' vs. 'them') and not the minority, which is why ethnicity comes to be considered a determining characteristic of some groups and not others'. He further argues that 'culture' is used as a definitive content that assumes the status of a 'thing' that people 'have', 'belong to' or are 'a member of' - can be misleading and have debatable outcomes'. In Roma's case the word 'Roma' has become conceptualized because it is attached to other words and phrases, usually to -vulnerability indicating a victim-position of the group. Unfortunately this idea of Roma exceeds all other understandings of the group/people, and is clearly the main idea/knowledge that both the EU and member states refer to when discussing Roma matters. An example of this is that Roma are referred to as a group with 'similar situation and rejection' whiles simultaneously the EU is stating that 'that all action with focus on Roma must be individualized and especially adapted to the need of each citizen of a group'. In other words, the EU is referring to Roma as a group but also recommends member states to address

Roma as individuals. In both cases, Roma are victimized as the EU never implies that member states should **stimulate Roma to take action on their own**, and aspire like a group or as individuals. It seems also that when Roma are considered as individuals instead as a whole group – they somehow seize to be 'Roma' and become only 'individuals'. On one hand this is good, as Roma are equal to any other individual in the EU and should self-evidently be treated as individuals in individual matters. On the other hand, the risk in Roma's case is that they 'seize' to be a 'Roma' when addressed as individuals, because of the conceptualized image of the group – where Roma are referred to as a group and not individuals. Baumann confirms this by arguing that states are happy to accept people as long as they are 'assimilated with the host societies'.

In regard to Wrights argument that 'culture is not firm nor 'true' it is simply a result of constructed meanings and accepted 'truths' - this research finds that the current 'truthiness' of who the Roma are and what they need - can changed if the EU realises its own contribution to the Roma discourse expressed in official EU documents. Wright argues that it is possible to intervene in 'culture' as it is socially constructed, or in other words, to reverse the current consequences of the Roma discourse – which is a stereotyped and conceptualized idea of who the Roma are.

7. Conclusions

Despite the already discussed disadvantaged situation of Roma, this research finds that the EU is being proactive in the Roma matter and trying to improve the conditions of the group. However, the responsibility for the situation of Roma in Europe seems to be pitched between member states and the EU because the constellation and political organization of the EU. The situation of Roma is affected by the fact that the EU doesn't have legal means to force member states to certain (structural) changes or particular action in regard to the situation of Roma. This phenomenon can be further explained through the 'idea of the nation-state', the traditional constellation of states which is built upon the idea of a territory defined by borders and autonomous control. In accordance, the state has a nation that shares the 'same' identity. This 'stateness' of nation states is challenged by EUs border-crossing politics and border-crossing issues – such as the Roma matter. Even though member states are part of the EU they may disagree with EUs politics, such as the right to free movement. Free movement has for example enhanced streaming of 'unwelcome' people or groups, such as the Roma. The EU lacks legal means to force member states to action, but relies on its member states to enforce their legal obligations such as protection of individual or group rights, etc. Alas, this research finds that an underlying issue that is affecting the situation of Roma is the 'tension' in responsibility-taking between member states and the EU.

In addition, the EU itself will not have sustainable impact on the current situation of Roma unless it changes its own idea of Roma - as victims - and as long as the Roma are not considered to be essential stakeholders in the process of improving their own situation. This research finds that in regard to the mentioned unresolved 'tension' between member states and the EU, it is crucial that the EU focuses on what it **can do** now – which is to realise the ongoing victimization of Roma. The consequence of the victimization is that Roma are bereaved the possibility to define who they are themselves, and what their aspirations as a group are.

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