



# Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion

Expert reports building on  
forward-looking aspects of the evaluation of the  
EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies



[Written by José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer]  
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## Executive summary

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Public action for Roma inclusion, guided by the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, has treated the Roma population largely as a homogenous group. The recent evaluation of the framework found that the EU Framework (EUFW) had limited capacity to deal with diversity among Roma. This paper responds to this finding by conceptualising “diversity” and proposing several objectives, measures and indicators that could be taken up in a post-2020 EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion. Four issues are discussed in relation to the Roma population, namely gender equality, child rights, migration and intra-EU mobility, and intra-Roma diversity.

Gender equality had not been included in the 2011 EUFW but had been highlighted in several initiatives from the European institutions, both the Parliament and the Council of the EU. It also came up strongly in some National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS), claimed for by women’s rights activists as well as some Roma grassroot organisations. The paper lays out the dimensions of gender equality, both in terms of agency, recognition and protection. Roma women and girls face multiple discrimination and problems of access to health care and child support, but also are more vulnerable to domestic violence and exploitation. The concept of intersectionality is presented as meaningful analytical tool that allows to formulate policy. Furthermore, an analysis of gender identities, inspired by the contribution of Roma LGTBI activists, leads to a concept of multiple identities, which has the potential to overcome simplistic ethnicised ascriptions. Finally, specific measures are proposed to increase the socioeconomic status of Roma women, empower Roma women to overcome patriarchal control and abuse, and to support the participation of Roma women in all forms of public and political life.

Rights of the child are frequently vulnerated both in terms of access to universal basic services, equal participation in public life, general access to opportunities and protection from abuse and neglect. Non-take-up of early education and care, lack of educational achievement by Roma boys and girls at all levels, and educational segregation remain present in some Member States. The evidence demonstrates a specific need for protection of Roma children from abuse such as exploitation, trafficking, and early marriage. Roma children are still exposed to anti-Roma racism, which takes on the forms of bullying, segregation and institutional neglect. Furthermore, Roma youth requires specific public policies that empower them to gain self-confidence, visibility and access to the public domain. Specific measures are proposed to ensure both protection and counter racist persecution targeted at Roma children, and enable public services and Roma families to provide opportunities for children.

Migration and intra-EU mobility has been one of the underlying causes for the conception of the EUFW more than ten years ago. However, in general, migrant and EU-mobile Roma have not benefitted from any action devised within the NRIS. While hard evidence is extremely difficult to obtain, more knowledge on migration and mobility patterns – such as seasonal, circular or long-term – can help to formulate smart instruments that foster social and economic development both in sending and in receiving countries and municipalities. Critical voices, however, warn of a new migration model that identifies “dangerous groups” under a securitisation perspective or establishes a multi-layered

workforce regime that supports precarious and unprotected sub-standard employment. The paper calls for the inclusion of an objective for migrant and mobile Roma in the new initiative, as well as to tackle specific issues, such as statelessness, portability of social security and health insurance coverage, and homelessness.

Intra-Roma diversity has not received much attention, given that in the nineties the framing of Roma as a unitary pan-European minority that shares history, culture and identity has been celebrated as a historical achievement, which also would reinforce the enjoyment of basic civil and social rights. The paper distinguishes between two types of diversity, namely ethnic diversity and socioeconomic stratification. Whereas ethnic self-ascription generates a spectrum of identities, Roma unity is perceived by Roma activists as an important achievement. The challenge that exists is how to safeguard this achievement of recognition of the "sameness" or "unity", whilst, at the same time, fine-tuning responses to the "diversity" of different Roma-groups, so that no one is left behind and all voices are heard. Furthermore, the paper diagnoses a lack of attention towards middle-class Roma, which leads both to a pejorative framing of Roma as "vulnerable" or "excluded", whilst losing the potential to activate middle-class Roma through a wider strategy of Roma recognition and inclusion. A strong intersectional and multidimensional approach, which includes both social inclusion, non-discrimination and intercultural dialogue is recommended.

A post-2020 EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion will have to deal with the diversity, which in fact is multiple. Although hard data is generally lacking, there is much evidence on the specific conditions of Roma groups. Investing in Roma children and protecting and empowering Roma women should no doubt be a priority. Better understanding the living conditions of mobile and migrant Roma as well as the differentiation in the self-conception of "being Roma", both as matter of identity and class, will certainly help to better design programmes at national and local level.

## Abbreviations

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CBP	Common Basic Principles
CoE	Council of Europe
DG JUST	General Directorate for Justice and Consumers (European Commission)
EC	European Commission
ECEC	Early childhood education and care
ERIAC	European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture
ERGO	European Roma Grassroots Organisations Network
ERRC	European Roma Rights Centre
ERTF	European Roma and Traveller Forum
ESIF	European structural and investment funds
EUFW	EU Framework for NRIS
FRA	EU Fundamental Rights Agency
FSG	Fundación Secretariado Gitano
GCM	Global Compact for Migration
GRETA	Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (CoE)
LGBTBIQ	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersexual and queer
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (UNICEF)
MS	EU Member state(s)
NEETs	Youth not in employment or in education
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRCP	National Roma Contact Points
NRP	National Roma Platforms
NRIS	National Roma Integration Strategy
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RCM	Roma Civil Monitoring
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal(s)
SILC	Survey on Income and Living Conditions
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

## Background

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The EU Framework (EUFW) for National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) is coming to an end and a new post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion is being discussed. The main milestones at EU level have been the mid-term evaluation of December 2018 (EC, 2018a, 2018b)<sup>1</sup>, the publication of the latest 2019 Communication and Staff Working Document on the implementation of NRIS (EC, 2019a, 2019b), and the workshop on future policies for Roma.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, a number of contributions to the debate have been published by Roma activists and civil society organisations.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, a rich academic debate is taking place on key issues of anti-Roma discrimination, the welfare situation of Roma and respective policy measures as well as reflection on policy options for the future.

The overall consultation process on the post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion is the responsibility of the European Commission. Following the organisation of a workshop on 1 October 2019, the Roma team of DG Justice and Consumers (DG JUST) has published the workshop papers and a workshop report on the EUROPA website, in which next steps towards a post-2020 initiative have been indicated. Preparations also include an intensive process of consulting other Commission services as well as Member States. As for civil society consultations, during the preparations so far, feedback to the Commission by civil society actors has been provided via a number of channels such as for example (1) bilateral meetings and input before and after the workshop, (2) the discussions at the workshop itself, and (3) the option for written submissions. The post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion is expected to be presented by the Commission in the fourth quarter of 2020 (EC, 2020).<sup>4</sup>

In parallel, but connected to the respective debates and policy formulation processes managed by DG Justice and Consumers, the European Commission has contracted out the present assignment to a consortium in a competitive tendering process. The consortium is formed of three organisations – Fresno, the right link as consortium leader ([fresnoconsulting.es](http://fresnoconsulting.es)), the Centre for Policy Studies of the Central European University ([cps.ceu.edu](http://cps.ceu.edu)) and the Amalipe Centre for Intercultural Dialogue ([amalipe.com](http://amalipe.com)). The team includes the eight experts mentioned below. The assignment is to investigate deeper into three specific issues that have come up strongly in the mid-term evaluation and in other

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<sup>1</sup> The respective reports of the mid-term evaluation, namely COM2018/785 and SWD2018/480, as well as the background report, are available at this page [https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/mid-term-evaluation-eu-framework-nris\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/mid-term-evaluation-eu-framework-nris_en)

<sup>2</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu/workshop-future-policies-roma\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu/workshop-future-policies-roma_en)

<sup>3</sup> (Alliance Against Antigypsyism, 2019a, 2019b; Carrera, Rostas, & Vosyliūtė, 2017; Carrera et al., 2019; EPHA, 2019; ERGO, 2019a, 2019b; ERIAC, 2019; ERIO, 2017; ERRC, 2015; ERRC, Byrne, & Szira, 2019; ERTF, 2019; Eurodiaconia, 2019b; EuRoma, 2019; Fakali, 2019; FEANTSA, 2019; Fremlova, 2019; FSG, 2019a; Herfort & Munteanu, 2019; Matarazzo & Naydenova, 2019; Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2017; Misto Avilean, 2019; Phiren Amenca & ternYpe, 2019)

<sup>4</sup> See the “Strong Social Europe” Communication COM14/2020, p 13. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0014>

consultation spaces. Specifically, these are **diversity, participation and antigypsyism**. An initial framing had been provided in an issue note for the workshop that was meant to kick-start the debate (Fresno, Lajčáková, Zentai, et al., 2019).

The project counts on eight key experts and some support staff. The document on “diversity” has been drafted by José Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer; the document on “participation” by Violetta Zentai, Georgeta Munteanu and Simona Torotcoi; the document on “antigypsyism” by Jarmila Lajčáková, Mirjam-Angela Karoly and Marek Hojsik. Collaborators of the teams have been Skye Bain for Fresno, the right link and Teodora Krumova for Amalipe.

The consortium’s specific task has been to provide the Commission with three reports on the issues of diversity, participation and antigypsyism. The reports reflect the current state of debate and develop recommendations for future policy options related to each of the three issues. The recommendations shall provide concrete forward-looking suggestions for EU policy making and build on already existing knowledge and expertise. They shall be operational, concrete and evidence based, build on good practice and provide insight into what could work for the most vulnerable among the Roma, taking into account the need for implementation also at local level. The overall exercise has a twin objective to (1) provide policy advice to DG Justice and Consumers (and other DGs), and (2) provide an interim reflection to the wider society on potential policy priorities for the post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion in the field of the three thematic issues.

The research and policy advisory process was expected to be highly participatory. Together with an extensive literature review, the participation in the policy consultation process (such as in the 1<sup>st</sup> October workshop), access to civil society submissions to DG Justice and Consumers, and the experts’ own experience as activists, service providers and researchers, the research process counts on an additional tool included already in the Commission’s terms of reference for the assignment: the focus groups. These are meant to enrich the expected outcome – the three reports – by contrasting the findings in the course of the formulation with members of public administrations and civil society, as well as academia. Each theme had a small focus group of between ten and twelve persons. The members of the focus groups were selected as individuals for their trajectory and specific knowledge and experience, as well as based on system of balancing local, national, EU level experiences, as well as North, East and South, and public administration, academia and civil society. The selection and choice on the final composition has not meant to guarantee equal representation but to form three groups that are sufficiently diverse to enter into fruitful and controversial discussions in order to augment the depth and rigour of the analysis. The members of the focus groups were asked to participate at three stages of the drafting process, namely a written survey on key questions, an online discussion group and the feedback to the first draft.

The output of the exercise are three reports on each of the themes. These reports are authored papers by the respective experts. Hence, they reflect the opinion of the authors and are neither consensus papers nor positions of the European Commission.



## Introduction

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The Report on the mid-term evaluation of EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) up to 2020 found that the EU Framework (EUFW) had limited capacity to deal with diversity among Roma (EC, 2018a, 2018b).<sup>5</sup> The Communication identified shortcomings in the initial design of the Framework, one of which is recognising the intra-Roma diversity and taking it into account in the public response: *"While the framework highlighted diversity under the broad umbrella term of Roma, it proved to have limited capacity to deal with diversity within the Roma population. It did not pay sufficient attention to targeting specific groups among Roma, addressing the gender dimension or multiple discrimination (equity)."* (EC, 2018b) Hence, the post-2020 EU Framework for Roma integration should better account for the diversity of Roma in order to increase its effectiveness. The evaluation also stated that, at Member State level, more effort is needed to be more explicit in target setting and measuring in response to the diversity of the respective Roma population: *"The evaluation shows that NRIS should better reflect the needs of specific groups and the diversity of conditions across the Roma population. NRIS should include explicit targets and indicators to tackle the specific needs of vulnerable groups in each of the key areas. The target group among Roma of key inclusion measures should be specified in NRIS."* (EC, 2018b)

Particularly, the specific needs of at least four types of diversity within the Roma community have to be recognised: (1) a view on gender-related power relations and multiple or intersecting exclusion and discrimination, as well as the construction of gender identities within Roma communities, (2) the situation of Roma children, both girls and boys, together with the particular situation of Roma youth; (3) intra-EU mobility of Roma residing in the EU and migration of Roma from third countries, and (4) a differentiated look towards the Roma as a supposedly homogenous group.

In general, the gender dimension was found to be weak, with only some NRIS considering the specific vulnerabilities of Roma women. A child-sensitive approach would have required more comprehensive strategies tackling children's needs simultaneously in education, health and housing policies as well as in child protection. Multiple and intersectional discrimination is rarely addressed. Furthermore, it is crucial to address trafficking in human beings considering the age, sex and the consequences of the form of exploitation victims have been subjected to.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In this document, the EU Framework – which had been defined by the 2011 EC Communication (EC, 2011) will be referred to as "EUFW". The 2011 EUFW had been reinforced by the 2013 Council Recommendation (Council of the EU, 2013) and is inspired by the 2009 common basic principles (EC, 2010; EPSCO, 2009). The strategies – or integrated sets of policy measures – at Member State level and in enlargement countries will be referred to as National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS).

<sup>6</sup> Art. 2 of Directive 2011/36/EU (Trafficking Directive) defines trafficking in human beings as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or reception of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."

Furthermore, the issue of migration and EU-mobility has not been taken up sufficiently in the current NRIS practices. Although a key trigger for the launch of the EU Framework intra-EU mobility after enlargement, the Framework and most NRIS lack consideration of the needs of EU-mobile Roma, non-EU nationals or stateless Roma.

Beyond the issues of gender, children/youth and migration/mobility, which have been highlighted in the mid-term evaluation, the ethnic and socioeconomic diversity within the Roma themselves is insufficiently reflected.<sup>7</sup> A frequently reiterated disclaimer in virtually all official documents on Roma policy read as such:

*The term 'Roma' is used in line with the terminology of European institutions and international organisations to refer to a number of different groups (such as Roma, Sinti, Kale, Gypsies, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Dom, Lom, Rom, Abdal) and also includes Travellers, without denying these groups' special characteristics.*<sup>8</sup>

Acknowledging the Roma as a unitary pan-European minority that shares history, culture and identity has been a historical achievement, which has given visibility and recognition to the Roma and has enabled to provide and request for equal treatment, protection, inclusion and equal opportunities. However, different groups claim to be respected in their differences as well. Beyond these cultural or identity differences, Roma as such are diverse in the "class" positions they have within the countries they live in. Socio-economic stratification is therefore a dimension that needs to be considered as well, when devising public strategies for equality and inclusion.

Hence, the evaluation as well as a considerable number of the voices in the civil society consultation reiterated that, whilst "the Roma" as a unitary subject is a useful policy construct, more differentiation in the public response towards the respective groups, livelihoods, self-reception, ages, and gender relations and identities could improve the impact in terms of social inclusion and anti-discrimination. Addressing these needs would require explicit measures and human rights-based practices.

The paper is structured in three chapters: gender/children, mobility/migration and Intra-Roma diversity/stratification. We are aware that each of these chapters covers an immense terrain, and, even worse, is based on very little quantitative evidence and only emerging experiences for better programming of public action. Specifically, the first chapter merges together two different matters that should be treated separately, namely gender equality and gender identities, on the one hand, and child rights, child protection, and child and youth participation, on the other. Additionally, it seems important to disentangle the latter into "children" and "youth". However, following the terms of reference for this report, we maintain the two issues in one chapter, differentiate between them and attempt to provide specific measures.

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<sup>7</sup> This additional dimensions of diversity – ethnicity and socioeconomic stratification – seems important to the authors but has been mentioned as well in the written submissions (Matache, Oprea, Taba, & Gelbart, 2020) and in the academic literature (Popov & Marushiakova, 2018).

<sup>8</sup> As this disclaimer is reproduced in most of the official EC documents, we refrain from giving a specific source.

# 1 Gender Equality and Child Rights

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This chapter inquiries into the situation of Roma women and Roma children and reflects on better responses by the public administration, focusing primarily on the instruments available at European level.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.1 Current EU Framework and NRIS

### *Gender equality and gender diversity*

There is broad consensus among scholars, politicians and Roma / pro-Roma activists that a proper response to gender equality has been missing in the current action on Roma inclusion and equality at both European and Member State level (Cvorovic & Coe, 2017; D'Agostino, 2016; EP, 2013; Kóczé, Zentai, Jovanović, & Vincze, 2018). While gender related forms of discrimination, including multiple discrimination, faced by Roma children and women are mentioned in the Council Recommendation on Roma Integration (Council of the EU, 2013) and some NRISs, the proclaimed strategies do not materialise on the ground. As the Roma Civil Monitor (RCM) reports claims, the

*[NRIS] acknowledge the generally gendered organisation of intra-and inter-group relations in Roma families and communities ... however, the gender perspective is hardly ever applied when it comes to the implementation of the strategies. (Roma Civil Monitor, 2018)*

Hence, the experiences with the current EUFW, and the omission of targeted action towards gendered power relations, raise a number of questions for a future EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion: How could the challenge of gender equality be included in the new European initiative? How can different gender identities be addressed? What are the possible approaches, priorities and challenges?

The following table captures the main commitments on gender equality from the 2009 Common Basic Principles, the 2011 EUFW, the 2013 Council Recommendation and a 2017 EP resolution.

	Current Provisions on gender equity
CBP	Basic Common Principle n° 5: Awareness of the gender dimension: Roma inclusion policy initiatives need to take account of the needs and circumstances of Roma women. They address issues such as multiple discrimination and problems of access to health care and child support, but also domestic violence and exploitation. (EC, 2010)
EUFW 2011	<i>[no explicit mention of gender equality]</i>
Council 2013	Combat all forms of discrimination, including multiple discrimination, faced by Roma children and women, and fight violence, including domestic violence, against women and girls, trafficking in human beings, underage and forced marriages, and begging

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<sup>9</sup> The lead author of this chapter is Deyan Kolev, with research assistance of Teodora Krumova.

	involving children, in particular through the enforcement of legislation. To this end, Member States should ensure the involvement in this exercise of all relevant actors including public authorities, civil society and Roma communities. In this context, cooperation between Member States is encouraged in situations with a cross-border dimension. (Council of the EU, 2013)
EP 2017	Calls on the Member States to ensure that a specific chapter on women's rights and gender equality is included in their National Roma Integration Strategies (NRISs), and that gender mainstreaming measures aimed at promoting women's rights and the gender equality perspective are applied in each section thereof, in particular in the allocation of funds, (...); calls on Member State governments and local authorities to involve Roma women in the preparation, implementation, evaluation and monitoring of the NRISs; emphasises the need for gender-disaggregated data to be systematically collected and regularly analysed, and calls on the Commission and the Member States to assess whether policies are achieving the desired improvements for Roma women and girls, and to take action if there is a lack of progress; (EP, 2017)

### ***Child rights and youth empowerment***

In terms of child rights, the Council recommendation on effective Roma integration measures in the Member States recognises

*The situation of Roma children in the Union is particularly worrying, due to a range of factors that may make them especially vulnerable and exposed, inter alia, to poor health, poor housing, poor nutrition, exclusion, discrimination, racism and violence. The social exclusion of Roma children is often linked to the lack of birth registration and identity documents, to low participation in early childhood education and care as well as higher education, and to elevated school drop-out rates. Segregation is a serious barrier preventing access to quality education. Some Roma children also fall victim to trafficking and labour exploitation. (Council of the EU, 2013)*

The support study to the mid-term evaluation of the EUFW up to 2020 outlines that

*Roma children are among the most vulnerable subgroups and often find themselves in unfavourable conditions, including facing discrimination, trafficking in human beings, early marriage, and bullying (ICF & Milieu, 2018, p. 195).*

The same mid-term evaluation found that the EUFW is coherent with EU anti-trafficking policies which also address the situation of Roma and their particular risks and vulnerability to trafficking in human beings.<sup>10</sup> In the context of the Second Progress report of the European Commission (EC, 2018c), several Member States reported on the heightened vulnerability of people from Roma communities, especially women and children to trafficking in human beings, with traffickers exploiting kinship. Women and

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<sup>10</sup> Directive 2011/36/EU and the related EU policy Framework take an integrated and holistic, victim-centred, gender-specific, child sensitive, human rights-based approach (EC, 2012, 2016a, 2017, 2018c). Article 5(3) of the Charter on Fundamental Rights prohibits trafficking in human beings. See also the recent studies on trafficking (Cancedda, De Micheli, Dimitrova, & Slot, 2015; Walby, Apitzsch, et al., 2016; Walby, Towers, et al., 2016)

girls with Roma background are reportedly victims of trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation, but also for the purpose of exploitative sham marriages. Roma children being forced to thefts and pick pocketing by adults was also reported by some Member States. In its 2016 resolution, the European Parliament highlighted the fact that Roma people are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking, due to their social and economic marginalisation, and pointed to the need of data regarding Romani women and children (EP, 2016).

Likewise, equal access to compulsory education, desegregation of schooling, including inscription of Roma children in special schools, and prevention of school drop-out has been the main priority of the EUFW and has been reiterated in successive communications from the Council and the Parliament (see table below). According to FRA data, education is the one area where most success has been achieved (FRA, 2014, 2018b, 2018a). However, other areas of child rights need attention.

Similarly, Roma youth are only indirectly mentioned in EU Roma and/or youth policies, as NEETs. During the consultation, the need was expressed to specifically target the issues of Roma young people, not only in relation to employment, but as well in terms of recognition of their identity, political representation and their condition within the wider Roma community (Herfort & Munteanu, 2019).

The following table captures the main commitments on child rights from the 2009 Common Basic Principles, the 2011 EUFW, the 2013 Council recommendation and a 2017 EP resolution.

	Current Provisions on Child Rights
CBP	<i>[no explicit mention of child rights]</i> (EC, 2010)
EUFW 2011	Ensure that all Roma children complete at least primary school Member States should ensure that all Roma children have access to quality education and are not subject to discrimination or segregation, regardless of whether they are sedentary or not. Member States should, as a minimum, ensure primary school completion. They should also widen access to quality early childhood education and care and reduce the number of early school leavers from secondary education pursuant to the Europe 2020 strategy. Roma youngsters should be strongly encouraged to participate also in secondary and tertiary education; Member States should provide access to quality healthcare especially for children and women as well as preventive care and social services at a similar level and under the same conditions to the Roma as to the rest of the population (EC, 2011).
Council 2013	Take effective measures to ensure equal treatment and full access for Roma boys and girls to quality and mainstream education and to ensure that all Roma pupils complete at least compulsory education. Combat all forms of discrimination, including multiple discrimination, faced by Roma children and women, and fight violence, including domestic violence, against women and girls, trafficking in human beings, underage and forced marriages, and begging involving children, in particular through the enforcement of legislation (Council of the EU, 2013). supporting Roma at all stages of their lives, starting as early as possible and systematically dealing with the risks they face, including by investing in good-quality inclusive early childhood education and care, targeted youth guarantee schemes,

	life-long learning ...
EP 2017	<p>Calls on the Member States...</p> <p>... to carry out birth registration without discrimination and to ensure the identification of all their citizens in order to avoid Roma people being denied access to all the essential basic services</p> <p>... to investigate ... cases [of unlawful removal of Roma children from their parents] without delay, and take appropriate measures in order to prevent them;</p> <p>... to give priority to children while implementing the EU Framework for National Roma strategies, in particular by providing access to health care, dignified living conditions and access to education for Roma children; stresses that combatting illiteracy among Roma children is key to the better integration and inclusion of Roma people, enabling the next generations to improve their access to employment.</p> <p>... fully implement Directive 2011/93/EU to prevent and combat child sexual abuse and exploitation and to protect victims.</p> <p>... to draw up and take specific school desegregation and other effective measures to ensure equal treatment and full access for Roma children to high quality and mainstream education, and to ensure that all Roma children complete at least compulsory education; highlights, in this regard, the importance of exploring the reasons for early school drop-out, in particular the role of anti-Gypsyism in this phenomenon (EP, 2017).</p>

## 1.2 Data and evidence

Using FRA data from 2011 and 2016 the support study to the mid-term evaluation of the EUFW outlines that

*Gender differences are noticeable among Roma regarding employment, and to a lesser extent in health (self-reported health situation) and education (early school leaving) ... The differences, between Roma men and women have not changed (in terms of statistical significance of the data) between 2011 and 2016, except in respect to employment: the gap with Roma men was of 18 percentage points in 2016 against 11 points in 2011 (34% of Roma men declared to have "paid work" in 2016 against 31% in 2011). In addition, the gender gap on the share of young persons (16- 24 years old) with current main activity neither in employment, education or training, increased from 11 points (62% of Roma women versus 51% of men) in 2011 to 17 points (72% of women and 55% of men) in 2016. In respect to discrimination, there is no statistical differences in experiences between Roma men and women (ICF & Milieu, 2018, pp. 187–188).*

Differences are even more visible when comparing the situation of Roma women with that of non-Roma women. We must stress that in all European countries there are significant differences in the situation of Roma and non-Roma women, especially regarding education/early school leaving and employment. The only exception is the share of women who self-declared their health as very good or good (ICF & Milieu, 2018, p. 189).

FRA data from 2011 and 2016 also reveals disturbing tendencies regarding the situation of Roma youth and especially the increasing percentage of Roma NEETs. The share of young Roma aged 16 to 24 who are not in employment, education or training (NEET) raised from 56% to 63%. It contains a significant gender gap (72% among young Roma

women compared to 55% among young Roma men). We should outline that this negative trend could be observed in 8 out of 9 countries included in the survey. Positive tendency could be seen only in Portugal where the share of Roma NEETs greatly decreased from 79 to 52% and presently is among of the lowest in the EU.

In terms of evidence on the situation of children, the FRA provides some of the most valid data (FRA, 2018b). However, little is known about the causalities, the mechanisms of exclusion, and resilience and resistance. The seminal study by Byrne and Szira sheds light on the state of the art of research on Roma children and calls for a more systemic approach towards a scientific stock-taking of the rights of Roma children. However, they detect a lacuna in the research:

*There is a notable absence of any coherent database, library, or body of Roma child related research or research programme among the academic child-rights research centres of excellence that could facilitate policy advocacy and development. (Byrne & Szira, 2018).*

The second EC report on the progress made in the fight against trafficking in human beings (EC, 2018c), indicates that Member State reports highlighted the particular vulnerability of children from Roma communities, with traffickers reportedly being from the same community, and Roma girls often trafficked for multiple forms of exploitation at the same time, such as: forced marriage, domestic servitude, sexual exploitation (and/or abuse). Civil society echoed this concern, highlighting that forced marriage also facilitates further exploitation.

Throughout Europe and particularly in South-East Europe, the prevalence of early marriage has been confirmed to be elevated within the Roma community.<sup>11</sup> Child marriage is recognised as a harmful practice, and its elimination is included in the SDGs.<sup>12</sup> Roma NGOs and academics warn of uncritically associating ethnicity with problematic behaviours (Popoviciu & Tileagă, 2019). Whilst it seems important to protect the Roma as collective against generalised ascriptions related to criminal behaviour, there is an imperative to protect individual Roma girls from harmful practices.

The Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA)<sup>13</sup> of the Council of Europe reports that:

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<sup>11</sup> For example, the most recent UNICEF MIC survey of Montenegro found the percentage of women age 20–24 years who were first married or in union before age 15 (SDG Indicator 5.3.1) to be at 21.5% in Roma settlements as compared to 1.9% in the mainstream population, before age 18 it was at 60% as compared to 5.8%. Likewise, the age-specific fertility rate for women age 15–19 years (SDG Indicator 3.7.2) is situated at 11 per 1,000 girls in the mainstream population, as compared to 161 in Roma settlements (UNICEF, 2019).

<sup>12</sup> SDG Target 5.3 calls to eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation and Indicator 5.3.1 measures the Proportion of women aged 20–24 years who were married or in a union before age 15 and before age 18.

<sup>13</sup> GRETA, the Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by the Parties, see <https://www.coe.int/en/web/anti-human-trafficking/greta>

*Although the lack of official disaggregated data according to ethnicity precludes a reliable assessment of the occurrence of human trafficking in the Roma communities, there is evidence that Roma, in particular Roma women and children, are highly vulnerable to trafficking due to structural forms of ethnic and gender discrimination, poverty and social exclusion which result in low educational achievement, high levels of unemployment, domestic violence and difficult living conditions that affect predominantly women and children. (GRETA, 2017, p. 48)*

GRETA further underlined that the absence of registration at birth mainly affects children from the Roma communities.

On the other hand, there are voices within civil society that argue that stressing the issue of trafficking in human beings with specific attention on the Roma community will reinforce prejudice.<sup>14</sup> It is critical to consider that the framing of Roma victims of trafficking as a “Romani problem” risks reinforcing sensationalist accounts and ultimately feeds into ethnicised biases (ERRC, 2011; Jovanović, 2015).

### **1.3 Critical debate**

**Gender equality** reflects on the impact that socially constructed gender identities have on equal opportunities and equal treatment. We include in this category the specific situation, resources and needs of both women and men, reflection on their specific situation of power, both social and economic, and lack thereof. Roma women find themselves in a situation of multiple disadvantage, not only as Roma but also as women within their community. A whole stream of research documents the agency by Roma women to navigate in their position of multiple exclusion (Kóczé et al., 2018). Public policy, however, has been struggling in operationalising responses that would take this multiple discrimination into account and adapt their responses both in universal services and specific targeted responses (D’Agostino, 2016).

Moreover, the application of the concept of “vulnerability” carries the pitfalls of essentialism, stigmatisation, and paternalism, not just in legal reasoning but in policy planning as well. In that respect the concept of “marginalisation” is increasingly replaced and a shift to the terminology of “rights deprivation” is suggested by some stakeholders. This entails a genuine shift of the focus from supposedly “weak”, “poor” or “vulnerable” people – that often goes alongside with a paternalistic or victimising attitude towards a systematic detection of formal and informal barriers in the environment and a recognition of the agency of the excluded actors, much of which is summarised in the concept of “empowerment”. This then, well understood, can lead to an authentic shift in programming of public intervention: a shift away from a largely charity-minded, person-centred interventions – whose frequent failure often end up in blaming the victims

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<sup>14</sup> Specifically in the focus group discussion, it was criticised that the EC 2019 communication (EC, 2019a) subsumed the fight against trafficking in human beings and the efforts to control the abuse of children for street begging in the section of “antigypsyism and anti-discrimination”. According to the participants, this implies that specific “behaviour” *by Roma* is the reason of anti-Roma racism exercised *by the mainstream society*. This therefore implies, it was argued, that by stopping begging and trafficking, Roma would not be the objects of racism. This argumentation thus places the burden and the weight of racism on the victims of racism.

(Steindl-Kopf, 2019) – towards a focus on institutions and their exclusionary proceedings and a dealing with “beneficiaries” as right-holders, that recognises their agency and acts on the interface between their needs and the constraints imposed on them by their environment, be it institutional, social or economic (FSG, 2019b).

**Gender identity.** Theoretically as well as in practice, one of the most promising routes seems to reconstruct the gender identities and self-perceived and ascribed characteristics. Studying the Roma LGBTIQ movement allows for deeper essentialising of binary categories and the shift towards a concept of multiple identities (Fremlova, 2019; Jovanović & Csilla, 2015; Kóczé et al., 2018). In that respect, the feminist and LGBTIQ rights movement seems to be able to contribute far beyond the defence of their own immediate rights towards conceiving notions and ultimately policies that transgress the petrified contraposition between Roma and Non-Roma and can inform smart public policies.<sup>15</sup>

**Intersectionality.** The concept of intersectionality is crucial to understanding the complexity and the contradictory nature of some issues in the field of Roma inclusion. The concept refers to the fact that different practices of oppression based on “race-class-gender” that individuals or groups experience are linked and reinforce each other. Importantly, intersectionality is not to be blurred with multiple discrimination. The latter refers to the phenomenon that certain people may experience disadvantages in relation to more than one of their “protected characteristics” (e.g. race, gender, class); moreover, it is more relevant in anti-discrimination litigation, while applying the concept of intersectionality is rather useful in social inclusion policies. (Roma Civil Monitor, 2018)

**Child rights.** The rights of Roma children need specific attention not only because they suffer more vulnerability in terms of discrimination, segregation, poverty and exclusion but also because the population pattern shows that the median age of the Roma population is significantly lower than their peers in mainstream society.<sup>16</sup> That means that the share of underage members of the population is far higher within Roma. Investing in Roma children seems to be the most effective measure to consolidate a generational shift towards greater social inclusion.

### ***Specific issues of gender equality in the new EU initiative***

Reasons/arguments for incorporating specific issues of gender diversity in the new EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion are related to:

- The situation of departure: the need to address the discrimination/exclusion gap of Roma women, children and youth.

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<sup>15</sup> The needs of LGBTI and other specific groups in Roma community based on gender identity were included after written submission by participants in October 1 seminar and discussion during the Focus Group

<sup>16</sup> As always rigorous data are difficult to obtain, see the statistics reproduced in (de la Parra et al., 2009), these have been confirmed in a latest study for the case of Spain, see (FSG & ISEAK, 2018)

- The lack of response: The absence of policies to addressing this gap in the current EUFW.
- The benefits of these policies: women are 50% of the Roma population, they play an important role in changing the patterns and behaviours of the Roma community. Likewise, youth and children represent a high percentage of Roma, as compared to the mainstream population. They represent the future.

**Situations of disadvantage, interlocking axes of inequality and exclusion of Roma women, children and youth:** scholars, activists and politicians provide numerous evidences for the disadvantaged situation of Roma women not only compared to majority women but also compared to the situation of Roma men. We can state that this situation is a result of structural, double and even intersectoral discrimination. The disadvantaged situation of Roma women contradicts some of the basic EU principles and documents and needs to be promptly solved.

**The potential of Roma women's & youth movements** to contribute not only to advancing Roma integration but also for accelerating the women/youth emancipation at European and national level (via overcoming certain traditional/patriarchal habits, etc.): as stated by A. Kóczé et al "*Various experiences of injustice that Romani women have are also shared by non-Romani women and Romani men. Romani and non-Romani feminists argue that patriarchy is a common experience of many or all women in varying degrees in all communities and cultures.*" (Kóczé et al., 2018). This possibility of Roma integration policy to strengthen the implementation of mainstream European policies, such as education, employment, health care or housing policies, is an important tool that needs to be used. It is one of the main arguments for incorporating specific problems of gender diversity in the new EU Roma initiative.

Thus, supporting gender equality and diversity in the Roma community has the potential to contribute simultaneously to the advancement of rights and further development of opportunities of the Roma community and to the strengthening the solidarity between Roma and non-Roma. This double benefit both for the Roma community and for the mainstream societies as well as for strengthening the solidarity between Roma and non-Roma has crucial importance since the big social distances, increasing antigypsyism and the lack of supportive public environment form key obstacles before the implementation of Roma inclusion policy.

Furthermore, there is a growing Roma youth movement in Europe as well as certain Roma youth initiatives at national and European level, promoting participation and self-organisation, building up a strong Roma identity and supporting Roma inclusion (Phiren Amenca & ternYpe, 2019). Nevertheless, there are still many obstacles to the participation of Roma young people at community, social and political level (Herfort & Munteanu, 2019).

### ***Problems and challenges***

Roma women, youth and children meet specific challenges that have not been properly addressed until now. The post-2020 EU Framework for Roma equality and inclusion and the respective NRISs should take these needs into account. The literature reviewed, the written submissions the EC received before and after the 1st Oct workshop, the survey

results, the deliberations in the focus group from the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 2019 outline the following specific challenges:

**Regarding Roma women:** early school leaving of Roma girls, low employment rates of Roma women, early motherhood and reproductive health concerns, maltreatment in maternity care, domestic violence, trafficking in Roma women and children, child/early marriage in Roma communities, very low level of Roma women in the public administration and in elected positions, stereotypes and prejudices towards Roma women, etc. Some of them are very sensitive issues: severe forms of human rights violations (especially in the case of girls), with a potential of stirring anti-Roma sentiments among the surrounding majority societies. At the same time, it would be a mistake to not include these topics and goals regarding them in the new Roma related strategic documents. That is why these topics should be framed in an appropriate way.

Some of the challenges are linked with specific sectors while others are intersectoral. We suggest the sectoral challenges to be placed in the sector chapters (education, healthcare, employment, living conditions). Cross-sectional challenges could be placed in the specific chapter on Roma women, children and youth. For example, trafficking, child/early marriage in Roma communities, Roma women's participation, negative stereotypes towards Roma women and others should be placed in the specific chapter.

**Regarding Roma youth and children:** child poverty, state care, violence against children, young people who are not in education, employment or training, substance abuse, unhealthy nutrition, impact of migration on children, etc. The list is not exclusive, and a thorough definition on how the rights of Roma children shall be considered in the new post-2020 initiative and second-generation NRIS needs to be agreed upon, with the cooperation of existing child rights networks. We suggest the sectoral challenges to be placed in the sector chapters of NRIS (education, healthcare, employment, living conditions). Cross-sectional challenges could be placed in the specific chapter on Roma women, children and youth. The nature of exclusion of Roma children and youth supposes predominantly cross- sectoral and integrated measures.

Beyond child rights, it seems important to disentangle the age groups and distinguish between children and youth. Education targets need to include secondary and tertiary education. Youth should be tackled not only in the areas of education and employment, but as well in terms of cultural expression and political participation. For example, the position paper of the Roma youth networks on the post-2020 EU Framework proposes twenty challenges faced by Roma youth (Herfort & Munteanu, 2019).

**Regarding Roma LGBTI:** a number of written submissions<sup>17</sup> received before and after the 1st of October 2019 workshop insist that Romani LGBTI people face a range of facets of discrimination: firstly, as Roma, secondly as LGBTI people, thirdly as LGBTI people in Roma communities. Due to the deeply embedded cultural and religious traditions governing sexuality still observed among the various different Romani communities, the position of people of minority sexual orientation(s) is particularly challenging and fragile.

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<sup>17</sup> David Tišer, ARA ART; Dr Lucie Fremlova, University of Portsmouth as well as participants in the Focus groups

In some traditional Romani communities, sexuality and sexual orientation are still taboo subjects. As a result, some Romani LGBTI people resort to suppressing this aspect of their identity and personality.

## 1.4 Policy proposals

There is widespread consensus that a comprehensive gender equality approach should be included in the new initiative, both as a self-standing area as well as cross-cutting throughout all other areas, including universal services and the anti-discrimination effort. In the fields of both Roma inclusion and gender equality, the “dual approach” (or “twin tracking”) that combines targeted initiatives with the transformative strategy of mainstreaming proved to be the most effective one (Fresno, 2012, 2019).

The post-2020 EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion would bring strong added value through:

- Setting specific EU goals regarding Roma women, children and youth together with requiring awareness of the gender equality dimension in all the other fields.
- The main EU ambition could be to **empower Roma women, children and youth** to overcome the socioeconomic gaps, to fully exercise their rights and to realise their potential as well as to become active agents of change both in their communities and mainstream societies.

Specific goals and targets for achieving this ambition could be set in the three areas of (1) Social inclusion; (2) Anti-discrimination/equal treatment; (3) Participation and empowerment. Specific objectives and targets are suggested in the annexes.

### ***General proposals***

Currently the issue of gender equality and child rights are mixed up in most of the EU and national documents. Whilst empowering women is proven to have a high impact on child welfare and opportunities, the two issues need to be disentangled. A separate line of action needs to be defined for gender equality, both self-standing and mainstreamed throughout the other areas. Likewise, specific issues of the rights of Roma children need to be addressed specifically. Amongst these, the core issues of the child protection system stand out, namely alternative care, violence against children and justice for children.<sup>18</sup> Roma youth – understood as the age bracket from 14 to 25 – need to be considered specifically and deserve specific targets.<sup>19</sup> To that end, Member States need to be guided with proposals for specific action in Roma youth participation, inclusion and equity.

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<sup>18</sup> See the European consensus on the Ten Principles for Integrated Child Protection Systems [https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/rights-child/child-protection-systems\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/rights-child/child-protection-systems_en)

<sup>19</sup> Delimiting the age bracket of “youth” is a well-known challenge: Whilst the Youth Guarantee has been extended in some countries from 25 to 29, the ERASMUS plus definition entails 16-30, and the Council of Europe assumes the age from 16 to 35. Probably, the adherence to national definitions would be most useful.

It is paramount to deepen the co-operation across the Commission and, particularly, with other EU agencies, specifically EIGE and FRA.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, international actors that have gender-specific and child-related expertise in the field of Roma rights, such as UNICEF-ECAR, UN-Women, UNDP, WHO, CoE and the World Bank, should be more systematically involved, in policy conception, joint programming, and learning. Furthermore, the Roma issue should be mainstreamed into the civil society networks that work on gender equality, such as the European Women's Lobby, the lead advocacy umbrella organisation of women's rights and equality.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, research and hard scientific evidence remain scattered and the cross-disciplinary character obstructs a systematic compilation of the knowledge stock. More focussed research coordination and the creation of centres of excellence can mitigate this. To that end, an explicit approach towards research funding, concentration of means and the establishment of long-term observatories could provide for a continuous documentation of the available knowledge base and promote its uptake into national and European policy making.

### ***Regarding Roma women***

The following objectives for gender equality are proposed to be part of a post-2020 initiative. Respective goals and targets will need to be defined.

1. To increase the socioeconomic status of Roma women in order to reach the status of majority women, especially regarding:
  - a. Education: reducing early school leaving of Roma girls; increasing the participation of Roma girls in all the levels of education;
  - b. Employment: increasing the percentage of Roma women in paid work and self-employment;
  - c. Healthcare: increasing the percentage of health insured Roma women; increasing the life expectancy of Roma women to the average life expectancy of women in the respective society; decreasing early pregnancy and birth.
2. To empower Roma women to prevent and overcome domestic violence, early marriages and other forms of patriarchal control and abuse. Ensure conditions for increased access to justice for Roma women.
3. To support the participation of Roma women in all forms of public and political life, including in the public administration.

Concrete measures to reach these objectives (at EU, national, civil society level) are suggested in the annex "Objectives, measures and indicators".

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<sup>20</sup> Without doubt, the FRA has taken on the challenge to document the fundamental rights situation of Roma in the Member states and advise country governments on possible action, see the documentation on the FRA web-site <https://fra.europa.eu/en/theme/roma>. EIGE, on the other hand, could still embark on a more dedicated effort towards gender quality within the Roma population and the themes of multiple and intersectional exclusion, see [eige.europa.eu](http://eige.europa.eu).

<sup>21</sup> [womenlobby.org](http://womenlobby.org)

### **Regarding Roma children**

The following objectives for child rights are proposed to be part of a post-2020 initiative. Respective goals and targets will need to be defined.

1. To reduce child poverty in the Roma community to the respective national levels, including:
  - ECEC: to guarantee the enrolment of all Roma children in early childhood education for at least 2 years;
  - Education: to assure the schooling of children in non-segregated schools and their attendance in quality and inclusive schools; to assure fulfilment of compulsory secondary education for all Roma children; to introduce intercultural education, education for tolerance and education that presents Roma culture, history and language;
  - Healthcare: to guarantee free and quality healthcare services for all the children starting from pregnancy; to ensure quality healthcare services close to where they live, including in rural areas and in the big Roma urban neighbourhoods; ensure healthy nutrition;
  - Housing: to introduce support mechanisms for families without proper housing to ensure good living conditions for their children; in case of eviction to ensure that no child is left without shelter; to introduce social housing for poor families.
2. To guarantee proper child protection in the Roma community, including in cases of begging, early marriages and others – it could include prevention, support for families and the possibility of placing children in child protection systems if necessary; putting an end to the practice of Roma children to be placed in state care institutions, except as a measure of last resort; support for the process of deinstitutionalisation, including support for raising the capacity of poor Roma families to provide for their children; protection of Roma children from violence and sexual abuse, including a specific focus on Roma children in respect to the Directive 2011/93/EU on combatting the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and child pornography<sup>22</sup> and the Lanzarote Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse.<sup>23</sup>
3. To eradicate all forms of racism, bullying and segregation that affect Roma children in preschool and school age as well as to introduce intercultural education and education for tolerance.

### **Regarding Roma youth**

The following objectives for Roma youth are proposed to be part of a post-2020 initiative. Respective goals and targets will need to be defined.

1. Skills and employment: To reduce the Roma NEETs to the average of NEETs in the respective societies;

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<sup>22</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/dir/2011/93/oj>

<sup>23</sup> [www.coe.int/en/web/children/lanzarote-committee](http://www.coe.int/en/web/children/lanzarote-committee)

- Provide access to second-chance education opportunities;
  - Provide access to vocational training;
  - Strengthen Roma youth's access to university education and lifelong learning and training;
  - Support Roma youth's access to the labour market: through promoting "first job" operations and participation of Roma youth in them; public awareness activities among employers;
  - Devise schemes of affirmative action, in order to increase the employment rate of Roma youth in the public administration;
2. Participation and representation: to empower Roma youth to become active agents of change both in their communities and mainstream societies; and to support the participation of Roma youth in all forms of public and political life;
  3. Non-discrimination: to eradicate all forms of racism, discrimination and segregation that affect Roma youth, introducing intercultural education and education for tolerance; promoting youth tolerance campaigns, etc.

### ***Linking policy with funds***

ESI funds and especially the European Social Fund need to be better linked to the needs of Roma women, children and youth. The enabling conditions 2021-2027 ask Member States to include the needs of Roma women and youth in their NRIS and provide for specific interfaces of participation and monitoring which should be adhered to and, in consequence, used by civil society representatives. Wherever Roma inclusion policy is named among the conditions, gender-sensitive and other intersectional agendas could be laced in. Specifically, the national level Operational Programmes should reflect the diversity of the Roma: for example, to include the needs of Roma women, children and youth and to support operations for overcoming the challenges faced by these groups.

The EC – especially DG EMPL, REGIO, AGRI - should recommend that MSs Partnership agreements and operational plans include information on (1) what funds (not only EU Funds) will be allocated to the promotion of gender equality, child rights and youth empowerment; (2) which mainstream funds and policies will be linked to Roma diversity; (3) how EU Funds will contribute and how impact on gender equality and child rights will be evaluated. This gender-sensitive focus should specifically include the Youth Guarantee and the upcoming Child Guarantee.

A post-2020 initiative could and should contribute to advising this to be done at European and national level. One of the present achievements of European Roma inclusion policy is its links with European funds regulations and especially ESF regulations: the existence of investment priority Socioeconomic integration of marginalised communities, such as Roma, ex-ante conditionality about the existence of National Roma integration strategy, etc. The post-2020 Roma inclusion initiative should preserve these strengths as well as recommend connecting them with the needs of Roma women, children and youth. In that respect, the evaluation of the EUFW stresses that need to strengthen the link between NRIS and EU funding, and proposes a detailed list of measures (EC, 2018b, pp. 7–8).

## 1.5 Key indicators

The new EU initiative needs a robust measurement framework, which is gender-sensitive and can measure accomplishment of child rights. In general, all indicators of social and economic reporting, such as the surveys on living conditions and the labour force, are disaggregated by gender and age. It is a recurrent claim that some of their variables should also be disaggregated by ethnicity, as already widely proposed within the SDG reporting.<sup>24</sup> More specifically, all mainstream indicators of the NRIS and the European reporting tool should also be disaggregated by gender and age. In a third step, we propose to formulate specific indicators related to gender equity and child rights.

To that end, we propose three types of indicators: *Social inclusion indicators*, *Anti-discrimination/equal treatment indicators*, and *Participation and empowerment indicators*. In every type of indicator, we differentiate between main indicators which are linked with the specific goals (regarding Roma women, children and youth) and horizontal indicators which could be placed in the other fields (education, healthcare, employment and housing). In other words, the main targets and indicators would measure the state of the situation as tackled by the *self-standing* action, whilst the horizontal indicators measure to what extent the *cross-cutting* action has been effective. These targets could then orient the programming of actions and the allocation of funds.

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
<b><i>Routine data collection in SILC and LFS</i></b>	Advance in the inclusion of ethnic disaggregation in routine statistical reporting on some key indicators on living conditions and labour status.
<b><i>Social inclusion</i></b>	<p><u>Main indicators</u>: Roma youth NEETs; child poverty in Roma community; poverty amongst women in Roma community.</p> <p><u>Horizontal indicators</u>: average age for first marriage in Roma community; average age for first birth in Roma community; child mortality; percentage of early school leavers among Roma girls; net ratio of participation of Roma girls in all the levels of education; average percentage of Roma women in employment; percentage of health insured Roma women; life expectancy of Roma women.</p>
<b><i>Anti-discrimination /equal treatment</i></b>	<p><u>Main indicators (linked with the specific goals regarding Roma women, children and youth)</u>: social attitudes/distances towards Roma, including Roma youth and women<sup>25</sup>;</p> <p><u>Horizontal indicators</u>: percentage of Roma children who study in segregated institutions (kindergarten and schools); percentage of educational institutions that apply intercultural education and education for tolerance.</p>

<sup>24</sup> The FRA is working decisively to link up the fundamental rights with the SDG (GRETA, 2017). However, the EU – Eurostat – does not report on ethnically disaggregated data. See the discussion in the European Handbook on Equality Data (EC, 2007)

<sup>25</sup> Measuring social distances is a sociological method, based on regular inquiries that include questions about the willingness to live and interact with representatives of a certain group

	Roma culture contents in the educational curriculum
<b><i>Participation and empowerment</i></b>	Roma youth and women employed in public administrations; Roma youth and women in elected positions. Roma women's and gender equality groups present in the civil society coalitions consulted when drafting NRIS, in further NRCP and NRP actions, and civil society monitoring follow up. This includes the participation in oversight mechanisms of ESIF.

All indicators from the European and national systems for monitoring the advance of Roma inclusion should be measured both in relation to Roma boys and men as well as compared to majority girls and women.

The EC should guide Member States with a target and measurement framework that is both more flexible to adapt to the respective country as well as more binding in terms of which data is collected and how. To that end, Member States could be called upon to include in the respective NRISs specific goals, targets, actions and indicators regarding Roma women, children and youth together with requiring awareness of the gender dimension in all the other fields. Some of these should be common across Europe, while others should be derived from an opt-in menu that allows for adaptation to the respective country situation and the point of departure in terms of exclusion and discrimination.

To that end, the new initiative could give impulse to the following minimum commitment in the post-2020 NRIS:

- **Targets:** regarding the specific goals and targets, each Member State can select the most relevant for its situation, as well as add additional goals and targets. At the same time, it is necessary that each Member State is required to select at least one target for each of the three areas proposed above: Social inclusion; Anti-discrimination/equal treatment; Participation and empowerment.
- **Indicators:** each Member State could select the most relevant indicators respecting the requirement to have at least one indicator in every type. Member States should ensure baseline information about the present situation regarding every selected indicator when the National strategy is approved.

More suggestions can be found in the annex "Objectives, measures and indicators".

## 2 Mobility and Migration

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The Roma population is dispersed across Europe, albeit with different densities and share in respect to the majority population, demonstrating a concentration in Eastern and South-East Europe.<sup>26</sup> There have always been migratory movements. However, the opening of borders due to the fall of the totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe in the nineties and, later, the freedom of movement related to the EU accession, has generated a general migration from the East and South-East to the North and West of Europe. Many Roma joined this movement, seeking not only economic opportunities, but less pressure from racist persecution as experienced in their countries of origin. Also, the Yugoslav wars from 1991 to 2001 caused a large number of refugees, many of whom were Roma. In effect, these population movements have produced further diversity within the Roma in Member States, which might be captured in terms of “autochthonous Roma” and “migrant Roma”. This being a basic distinction, the patterns of migration and the respective socioeconomic situations differ to such an extent, as discussed below, that further disaggregation seems indispensable when understanding the phenomenon and devising policy responses.

It has been widely acknowledged that, while EU-mobility of Roma was in the political root causes to trigger the conception of the EUFW, the issue has not been taken up explicitly in the NRISs (Balch, Balabanova, & Trandafoiu, 2014; Piemontese & Magazzini, 2019), a fact that was stressed in the mid-term evaluation (EC, 2018b; ICF & Milieu, 2018). In the late 2000s, the mobility of Roma became a matter of concern for West-European policy makers. The response was driven rather from a security perspective than from a perspective of social policy or non-discrimination (Cortés Gómez, 2019; van Baar, 2018).

Consequently, the issue of migration and mobility raises several questions which need to be responded to in the post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion. Amongst these are: How can the new EU initiative take up the issue of migration and intra-EU mobility? What are the approaches both in receiving and sending countries? How can the NRISs address the issue? How can the positive effects of migration in sending and receiving countries be strengthened? How are mobile and migrant children cared for and protected, when left behind, on the move or settling into a new community?

### 2.1 Mobility and Migration: Definitions, data and policy context

**The distinction between EU-mobile Roma and Roma migrants.** In the EC policy documents, a clear distinction is drawn between “EU-mobile Roma” and “Roma migrants from third countries” outside the EU (EC, 2018b, 2019). In the official publications on Roma moving from one country to the other, the term “Intra-EU mobile Roma” refers to Roma citizens from EU Member States that make use of their right to mobility within EU Member States, as stipulated in the TFEU guarantee of free movement of workers (Article 45) and the Directive on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States (2004/38/CE “Free

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<sup>26</sup> The lead authorship of this section is with José-Manuel Fresno and Stefan Meyer.

Movement Directive”).<sup>27</sup> The concept “Migrant Roma”, on the other side, refers to citizens from third countries (non-EU), to which the EU migration policy applies.<sup>28</sup> The term “EU-mobile Roma” could lead to confusion because it could wrongly be understood as a reference to a semi-sedentary lifestyle such as in Traveller or “gens du voyage” communities. However, itinerancy within the country of origin as a lifestyle is not the issue referred to here, but the relocation of residence from one country to another.<sup>29</sup>

**Migration patterns: permanent, temporary, seasonal, circular.** A categorisation of both patterns and the respective socioeconomic situations of Roma migrants comes from the literature (Kancs & Lecca, 2018; King & Lulle, 2016; Latek, 2019). **Seasonal:** displacements for seasonal work, namely in agriculture, construction or other manual work, as well as short term displacement for certain weekdays, for example periodic cross-border movements for caring tasks for children or elderly (Sardelić, 2019). **Circular:** temporary displacement for a specific period in order to accomplish certain goals, such as financing housing etc. Often this type of migration requires separation of families and distant parenting. **Permanent:** relocation of the residence to another country with the aim of permanent stay, often linked to the unification of families and the aspiration to acquire citizenship.<sup>30</sup>

**Challenges and opportunities of migration.** The non-binding Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM), known as Marrakech Migration Pact, addresses the normative migration policy objective 10.7 of Agenda 2030 and defines

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<sup>27</sup> “Freedom of movement” in the EU is not unconditional as safeguards have been established by Member States that request EU citizens who move to their territory to be either economically active or self-sufficient.

<sup>28</sup> In November 2011, the Commission defined the key objectives for the external migration policy in the Communication on the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (COM2011/743). In 2015, the European Agenda on Migration (COM2015/240) had been presented, which has been reported against in 2019 (COM2019/481). The agenda is driven by DG Home and, amongst other things, is mainly concerned about containing irregular arrivals of refugees and migrants, very much focussed on the “Western Balkans route”. On the other hand, the competence on integration of third-country nationals lies primarily with the Member States. However, the EU can provide incentives and support for Member States to promote the integration of migrants. The Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals (COM 2016/377) provides the framework for the EU’s support. The policy focus on Roma migrants is primarily on the Western Balkans. The population size of Roma estimated to live in the enlargement countries in the Western Balkans (AL, BA, ME, MK, RS, XK) is slightly above 1 million, as per Council of Europe estimates annexed in the 2011 EUFW communication (Com 2011/173). The estimated Roma population size in Turkey is 2.75 million. However, in the 2019 update on the enlargement process (SWD 2019/220, page 40), the issue of Roma migration is not mentioned.

<sup>29</sup> There are certain policy measures promoted to ensure welfare, safety, access to services, and inclusion for these, mainly domestic, communities, for example in France or Ireland, such as maintenance of camp sites or ensuring access to education and formal examinations within this lifestyle. Here, these type of measures are explicitly NOT referred to, when speaking about Roma migration from within or outside the EU member states.

<sup>30</sup> However, a more nuanced description of the patterns of migration and its political, social and economic drivers has been undertaken by a number of micro-territorial anthropological research (Nacu, 2011; Toma, Tešar, & Fosztó, 2018). In that respect, the European funded *MigRom* project generated some specific insights on the circular migration of Romanian Roma to Italy, Spain and the UK (Matras & Leggio, 2017). See *MigRom - The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe: Causes, effects and future engagement strategies. 2013-2017*. [migrom.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/](http://migrom.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/)

development policy objectives for managing migration at the level of individual Member States.<sup>31</sup> The design of regular migration and the strengthening of development-promoting effects of migration are often a challenge for the countries of origin.

Beyond country to country comparison and cross-border mobility, recent research distinguishes patterns of mobility at EU level on a more fine-grained level: it detects interregional inequalities in which large metropolitan centres fare much better than other EU regions and thus appeal to more immigration (ESPON, 2019; Eurofound & JRC, 2019). Such attractiveness of booming economic centres influences the migration choices of Roma as well. A regional planning approach towards intra-EU mobility highlights the need for coordinated *multilevel governance of mobility and migration*, which includes all administrations from local up to EU (Eurocities, 2017, 2019). As a policy implication, this opens the arena for transnational *municipal* cooperation, given that wider kinship ties are specifically located in a very concentrated spatial area, both here and there.

**From containment of immigration to attraction of skilled workers.** Critical studies highlight the current utilitarian shift in the generalised containment of migration towards a selective approach of managed migration which reinforces the transformations of labour markets towards greater segmentation and precariousness (Maroufi, 2017). Furthermore, the studies show significant change in the value systems and the skills level of the intra-EU mobile Roma families. Therefore, scholars argue that incorporating the needs of EU-mobile Roma is not only a precondition for advancing Roma integration but also for accelerating the development of the EU (Messing, 2019). Circular migration has turned into a driving force for European integration and progress in the three dimensions of economic growth, social convergence and political development.

**Ethnically disaggregated data on EU-internal and third country migration.** Quantitative data on EU-internal mobility and third country migration of the Roma population is generally not available. Three landmark policy studies by multilateral organisations (FRA, OSCE, UNDP) from ten years ago had defined notions, rights frameworks and policy practices related to Roma migration (Cahn & Guild, 2010; Cherkezova & Tomova, 2013; FRA, 2009a, 2009b). Still, no quantitative data nor estimates existed by then nor now. Consequently, the latest FRA proposition for a measuring framework on Roma equality and inclusion does not mention the issue of migration and mobility (FRA, 2019). The most prominent political statement on Roma migrants is likely to be the 2012 CoE declaration that exposes arbitrary collective expulsion and discriminatory policing practices, however, it falls short of recommending specific action (CoE, 2012). A range of anthropological or sociological research has described the migration patterns from a qualitative point of view and can inform policy (Piemontese & Magazzini, 2019). However, evidence on Roma migration is patchy and unconfirmed. This is rooted in at least two restrictions. For one, the practice of registering migrants ethnically ascribed as "Roma" is often undertaken by home security departments. Their mandate is motivated by crime prevention and control of irregular

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<sup>31</sup> In target 10.7 the Nations States that have adopted the Agenda 2030 commit to "facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies", see <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-10-07-02.pdf>

entry into the country, which in itself potentially carries racial prejudice when it recurs to ethnic profiling (Mijatović & CoE, 2019). On the other hand, methodologically, the very concept of "Roma migrant" runs into the danger of essentialising the Roma identity, and ascribing certain, mostly negative, features such as "vulnerable", "destitute" or "itinerant" as innate character of the Roma population (Messing, 2019).<sup>32</sup>

## 2.2 Critical debate on mobility and migration of Roma

This section firstly gives a general account of the political framing of Roma mobility and migration, and then discusses specific issues that impact the equality, welfare and inclusion of Roma migrants.

### ***General discussion on intra-EU mobility and migration of Roma***

Most literature from academics, activists and human rights defenders does not share the terminological distinction between mobility and migration, as established above. Roma rights activists claim the Roma to be a European minority with a "very substantial pan-European transnationality" (Yıldız & De Genova, 2018) with the respective rights whatsoever the nationality (Bhabha, Mirga, & Matache, 2017). Furthermore, scholars and Roma activists warn that the very term "EU-mobile Roma" reinforces prejudice and leads to the framing of policy responses with a security lens.<sup>33</sup>

It was in the late 2000s, when restrictions on the free movement of workers of the 2004 and particularly the 2007 enlargement from Bulgaria and Romania after EU accession were lifted in 2014, the issue of Roma migrants came to public attention. Some of the EU-15 Member States applied questionable practices, namely France through collective expulsions (Balch et al., 2014) or Italy through setting up camps (Maestri, 2019; Manca & Vergnano, 2019; Picker & Vivaldi, 2019).

Analysing the ambiguity of "freedom of movement" as per Directive 2004/38/CE, critical scholars detect a sub-standard employment segment of racially-coded inferiority dedicated to often dangerous and unhealthy occupations (Vogel, 2019). Other authors insist in the wider context in which Roma migration is framed as a racialised issue in public debate as external ascription which ultimately leads to a public-private compact of fear in which "*Racialised rhetoric and spatialised material borders maintain the difference between 'us' and 'them'. Based on that, Romani people are fashioned as 'criminals', 'illegals', 'invaders' and 'nomads' who are taking 'our' resources and threaten 'our' security.*" (Kóczé, 2018). Yet another focus emerges from the study of the "campi" around Rome, in which the concept of "urban citizenship" is coined in contraposition to neoliberal commodification of urban space. In that regard, the author documents a shift

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<sup>32</sup> The generation of policy-relevant evidence regarding the living circumstances of Roma requires therefore to pursue an approach based on self-identification. Measurements that conceptualize Roma differently will produce significantly different outcomes in respect to data and indicators.

<sup>33</sup> Stated in the 1<sup>st</sup> October consultation workshop. Whilst acknowledging this reasoning, we will maintain the concepts, as for administrative reasons and policy response the distinction between EU-citizens and third-country nationals remains important, just as it is important for EU policy to separate between EU Member States and enlargement or neighbourhood countries when devising specific measures in countries of origin.

in the political engagement by Roma from ethnic self-identification towards linkages to universal social movements (Maestri, 2017, 2019).

A specific stream of research situates the current policy for migration and intra-EU mobility - as well as the public policy discourse around it - within a description of the emerging European model of neoliberal governance of the economy and the territory, in which controlled free movement and selective law enforcement create a *"toxic symbiosis by which 'migrant' workers, including mobile EU citizens, are systematically stripped of employment 'rights' and social welfare entitlements"* (Yıldız & De Genova, 2018). New patterns of micro-spatial inequalities generate pockets of the "Global South" in the midst of booming metropolitan areas in Western Europe (Kóczé, 2018). The response is a securitisation of both the public framing as well as the response by public authorities (Van Baar, Ivasiuc, & Kreide, 2019). For Roma themselves, this creates a series of traps in which both economic marginalisation and ethnically-coded exclusion are petrified: *"While practices of deportation and deportability have led to their [the migrant and mobile Roma populations] forced mobility and contained circulation at the European level, practices of racialised ghettoisation due to eviction and durable segregation have resulted in situations that come close to forced immobility."* (van Baar, 2018). Under this perspective, Roma face racialised institutional action when service providers in the bureaucratic social fields introduce new modalities of vigilance and restrictions to deny income assistance, benefit entitlement and legal aid, and law enforcement is practiced based on ethnic profiling and collective surveillance (Magazzini & Piemontese, 2019).

### ***Specific issue on intra-EU mobility and migration of Roma***

A number of specific challenges are discussed in the literature:

**Employment:** Much of the literature focuses on precarious situations of unqualified and poor, often destitute, Roma migrants: Roma migrants are often only offered jobs informally as day-labour in construction, cleaning, and care work, whether contracted independently or through labour recruitment agencies, and are customarily paid well below the legal minimum wage and supplied no official record of employment. However, some accounts warn that the better integrated and professionally employed Roma members do not enter into the prism of scholarship, thus reinforcing the public imagery of the deprived unskilled Roma day-labourer (Yıldız & De Genova, 2018). A specific discussion surrounds the practice of begging.<sup>34</sup>

**Access to health care** for Roma migrants is a key concern in the literature (de la Parra, Rodriguez., & Derecho, 2009; EC, 2014; EPHA, 2016; Fésüs, Östlin, McKee, & Ádány, 2012; McFadden et al., 2018). No reliable statistic data is available, but evidence from

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<sup>34</sup> Some scholars inquire into the cross-national practices of circular migration, and the economic flows of remittances (Tesár, 2015). Similar research has been undertaken in Scandinavia, discovering that "structure of social capital within Roma households and communities can help explain why they are able to engage in transnational migration under extremely difficult conditions" and "'oppositional' Roma identities can help to explain why some are willing to engage in 'transgressional' activities" (Friberg, 2018). Other academics criticize the reinforcement of prejudice that go along with associating Roma migration with begging. They deconstruct the discursive framing of "Roma beggars" in order to unveil the fundamentally racist structure of policy response (Raithelhuber, 2019).

field reporting (Roma Civil Monitor, 2019) indicates that Roma face difficulties in both the target dimension of universal health coverage as established in SDG 3.8, namely the access to health care services and catastrophic health care spending (EPHA, 2019). Whilst children, as per the CRC, have the right to full access to health care services, the exclusion of their parents represents an informal barrier. Language barriers create an important impediment to accessing the services they need (McFadden et al., 2018). Insufficient evidence is available on the effects of sanitary exclusion, but, when researched thoroughly, blocking access to universal health care is “deadly” for immigrants, dangerous for the mainstream population, and inefficient for the care system (EPHA, 2018; Fésüs et al., 2012; Juanmarti Mestres, Lopez Casasnovas, & Vall Castelló, 2018; Sándor et al., 2017).

**Access to education** in situation of migration is a challenge, very much depending on the patterns of migration and the constellation of family reunification, as well as the specific preparedness of local educational settings and neighbourhoods to manage diversity (Law, Vajda, Nekorjak, & Daniel, 2009). A specific challenge arises from patterns of short-term circular migration where migration of parents for three month periods disrupt the continuous school attendance of their children. Whilst leaving the children behind does not seem to be a solution either (see below), some efforts have been undertaken to offer particular transnational service agreements that could help children to navigate their mobile lifestyle, both in terms of formal certification and material acquisition of skills (Misto Avilean, 2019).

**Sub-standard housing and settlements.** Roma migrants face poor housing quality and spatial segregation in substandard settlements. Housing policy and urban planning affects migrant Roma but insufficient effort is placed in working on programmes, such as investment in integrated neighbourhood development, intercultural mediation or provision of communitarian services, that might offer solutions for both deprived local and immigrant population (Manca & Vergnano, 2019). Being faced with the precarious makeshift housing of Roma immigrants, often *“the state takes a punishing approach towards the shantytown population such as police raids, dismantling of shacks, or offering support for so-called voluntary return.”* (Vrăbiescu, 2019). Lack of security of tenure is a particularly acute problem for Roma communities living in informal settlements or in rented accommodation. Homelessness and rough sleeping are the ultimate consequence of precarious access to the housing market, reinforced by both economic exclusion and ethnic discrimination. However, national strategies to combat homelessness have not been sufficiently adapted to give meaningful responses to the situation of mobile and migrant Roma (Eurodiaconia, 2019a, 2019b; FEANTSA, 2019).

**Poverty** is widespread amongst Roma migrants. Their exclusion from social assistance is often detected as a racialised means of social engineering (Kóczé, 2018). This disproportionately impacts women and children (FRA, 2009a). The interface between minimum income schemes and migration policies have become ever more restrictive: *“The ‘mechanisms’ applied for sorting and excluding unwanted Roma communities are grounded in a set of punitive rules enacted through national and local legislation with the purpose of expulsion. Accordingly, limiting access to social services gradually replaced migration policies as a new process of selection regarding undesired European migrants from A8 countries [2004 enlargement]. Service providers in the neoliberal bureaucratic*

*social fields introduced new modalities of surveillance and restrictions to deny income assistance, benefit entitlement and legal aid.” (Nagy, 2019)*

**Statelessness** remains a challenge, which had already been identified in the EUFW, specifically for the enlargement countries. Legal visibility needs to be ensured by birth registration, facilitation of personal documentation, measures to re-register and statelessness determination (Müller, Friedman, & Papa, 2018). Universal birth registration, as established in SDG target 16.9, is not yet fully achieved, neither in EU MS nor in the enlargement countries. A recent report by UNHCR indicates that there is a risk of statelessness/lack of documentation and access to rights among Roma in the EU (UNHCR, 2019). Particularly focusing on children, UNICEF and UNHCR have published clear policy guidelines on how to reduce the number of children in situation of statelessness, which would allow them to gain both access to basic rights and universal services, as well as full citizenship rights. Following the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness and the 1997 European Convention on Nationality, the measures to be established are safeguards against statelessness in the nationality laws and dedicated statelessness determination procedures. Also, a range of measures on a more operational level can be taken by public administration at all levels, in order to prevent statelessness, namely through safeguards at birth, as well as to mitigate exclusion, namely through providing access to universal services for children that suffer such situations. (UNHCR & UNICEF, 2019). National administrations should provide options for resolving the situation of statelessness by issuing identification documents and facilitating citizenship if possible.

**Access to justice and protection from arbitrary police interceptions.** Due to undefined legal status, many Roma are pushed towards precarious livelihoods. Being deprived of redress and protection, some Roma migrants face being exposed to arbitrary action by law enforcement as well as collective treatment which is contrary to their citizen rights (CoE, 2012). Critical scholars denounced the overall public response as “Securitisation of the Roma in Europe” (Powell & Van Baar, 2018; van Baar, 2018; Van Baar et al., 2019). Racial or ethnic profiling in policing is becoming widespread practice and its increasingly supported by technological innovation (Mijatović & CoE, 2019).

**Left-behind children.** The notion of “Left-behind children” refers to children of EU-mobile citizens who are living outside their home countries (either one parent or both) and who leave the children in their respective countries of origin. Sometimes, left-behind children are also referred to colloquially in European institutions as “Euro-orphans”. Reports document this phenomenon mostly in Romania and Bulgaria, as well as other East-European and Baltic countries. They are more likely to have lower school performance and early leaving (Bogdanov, 2019; Bogdanov & Zahariev, 2016; Zahariev & Bogdanov, 2014). In response, Romania has been experimenting with “School Dropout Early Warning System”, which include monitoring the absence of parents and support from local service networks (Gatti et al., 2016). Similar initiatives are being discussed in Bulgaria (Bogdanov & Zahariev, 2018).

**Forced repatriation.** Since 2014, several EU countries have included countries of the Western Balkan on their lists of “safe countries of origin”. Asylum-seekers originating from these countries, albeit some of them having being fully integrated into Northern European Societies for decades, are submitted to fast-track procedures, leading in most cases to protection refusals and consequent deportation (Vathi, 2019; Wenke, Baković

Jadžić, & Jeremić, 2016). Collective expulsions of entire groups of Roma migrants have been reported as well. These are prohibited under the European Convention on Human Rights. However, Roma from the Western Balkans have at times been granted refugee status in EU MSs on grounds of widespread discrimination in their countries of origin. Forced repatriation is denounced to destroy fragile roots of societal inclusion (Bačlija, Brezovsek, & Hacek, 2008). This is specifically the case for Roma children who are being uprooted from their livelihoods and deported to countries they barely know. Effective reintegration of Roma returnees has been promoted by a number of bilateral and multilateral agencies (Morrica & Stavrou, 2019). In contrast, forced return of Roma families has been criticised as a racialised practice of establishing a multi-layered system of citizenship governed by “*securitising*” social issues (Ciulinaru, 2018; Collyer, Hinger, & Schweitzer, 2020; Filippou, n.d.; Müller & Mattli, 2016; van Baar, 2018).

### **2.3 Policy proposals for ensuring rights of EU-mobile Roma and Roma migrants**

The post-2020 EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion could bring a strong added value when it considers the dimensions of transnational mobility and migration. This could be done in four dimensions: at EU level, at Member State level, by connecting policy to funding, and via transnational cooperation.<sup>35</sup>

#### ***Setting specific EU goals***

A post-2020 initiative for Roma equality and inclusion should consider specific EU action to guarantee the rights of EU-mobile Roma and migrant Roma, to advance in their integration, as well as to use their development potential in both countries of origin and of destination. EU-level action could entail the following:

- **Well-managed and safe migration:** Integrate the attention towards Roma mobility and migration as a self-standing issue in the new initiative, considering its linkages to general frameworks such as the EU anti-discrimination policy, the European Pillar of Social Rights and the migration framework as guided by SDG 10.7.
- **Gender-sensitive migration policies:** Include a gender-sensitive perspective within the policy response to migration and mobility, both in terms of patterns of migration and people who stay behind, including care work for elderly and children, as well as the gender-related division of labour in the destination countries, including informal work and social protection.

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<sup>35</sup> This section considers the written submission to the EU in the framework of the 1<sup>st</sup> October 2019 workshop on a future EU policy towards Roma equality and inclusion (EPHA, 2019; ERGO, 2019a; ERIAC, 2019; ERRC et al., 2019; ERTF, 2019; Eurodiaconia, 2019b; EuRoma, 2019; Fakali, 2019; FSG, 2019a; Herfort & Munteanu, 2019; Kovats, 2019; Misto Avilean, 2019; OHCHR, 2019; Stejskalová, 2019), as well as the written answers to the survey and the contribution to the focus group session held on 5<sup>th</sup> of November 2019, which were undertaken as a tool for gathering information and propositions in the process of this research. We want to express our gratitude to all the public servants, Roma rights activists and academic to grant us their time and expertise.

- **Data on Roma mobility and migration:** Invest in meaningful and policy-relevant research and data collection on European level on mobility and migration patterns and flows, based on methodologically shared research principles oriented at self-identification, as recommended by Human Rights frameworks.
- **Participation of mobile and migrant Roma:** Include non-autochthonous Roma in the guidelines for participation and policy consultation at MS level.
- **A Western Balkan Strategy:** Foster dialogue within MSs to develop long-term perspectives (with a time horizon over a generation) for Roma equality and inclusion in the overall strategy for Roma in Balkan countries and to reassess return schemes for third-country nationals.
- **Experience exchange and learning:** Benchmarking positive practices among EU MSs (and enlargement countries) dealing with mobile Roma, particularly in relation to mainstream public social inclusion policies and to targeted measures. This could involve the EURoma network but should go beyond managing authorities and include civil society and academia.
- **Rights of the Roma children:** Ensure that Roma children are fully considered in the upcoming Child Guarantee.<sup>36</sup>

#### ***Guide Member States to include Roma mobility and migration in the NRIS***

A renewed European initiative for Roma equality and inclusion should call upon Member States to include specific goals, actions and indicators in the respective NRISs regarding EU-mobile Roma and migrant Roma, in both countries of origin and countries of destination. MSs could make more investment efforts in the places of origin as well as enable mechanisms to provide adequate responses in the places of destination. Beyond these MS actions, transnational cooperation mechanisms should be defined bilaterally between MSs. More specifically the following approaches should be pursued:

- **Data and evidence.** The EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion should request MSs to incorporate analyses and data on mobile Roma as part of the baseline assessment of the situation of Roma in each MS. Common and country specific objectives, together with measurable indicators should be envisaged. MSs should be encouraged to explicitly identify the needs of mobile Roma as part of their overall Roma needs assessment and to accordingly define targets and specific measurable indicators within overall and particular objectives (Fresno, Lajčáková, Szira, et al., 2019).
- **Homelessness strategies.** EU-mobile and migrant Roma who live in destitute housing situations, spatially segregated substandard houses and lack access to

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<sup>36</sup> The Child Guarantee proposal has been conceived as a follow up on the 2013 Commission Recommendation "Investing in children: breaking the cycle of disadvantage" (2013/112/EU). Being one of the core commitments of the incoming van der Leyen Commission, it would establish a commitment by Member States to tackle poverty and ensure access to critical services for children in vulnerable situations. <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1428>

proper housing should be integrated in national strategies for homelessness (Eurodiaconia, 2019a, 2019b; FEANTSA, 2019).

- **Facilitating access to formal employment.** Access to and retention of formal worker status for Roma should be considered as an objective within the NRIS. More efforts are needed to reach out to EU mobile Roma with activation policies.
- **Integrate home office actions into the general objectives for and action on Roma equality and inclusion.** EU mobile Roma and migrant Roma need access to justice as detailed in SDG target 16.3.<sup>37</sup> Policing needs to ensure protection from violence, security of tenure and safeguards against unlawful expulsions. Disproportionate use of force by law enforcement as well as ethnic profiling should be monitored by oversight bodies.
- **Statelessness:** Tackle statelessness by ensuring universal birth registration, as established in SDG target 16.9, by establishing formal statelessness determination procedures and facilitating the assimilation and naturalisation of stateless persons, as well as by guaranteeing access to universal services for stateless persons, including children.

### ***Link policy to funding***

The new EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion should recommend the linkage of ESI funds, and especially the ESF, to the needs of EU-mobile Roma and migrant Roma:

- No European funds shall be spent on initiatives that perpetuate spatial or educational segregation, as is explicitly defined in the regulation of the funds, in both the current (EC, 2015, 2016b), as well as in the upcoming cycle 2021-27;
- The European Commission should promote a common understanding of good practice in programming, including operational implementation and evaluation. A decisive strengthening of learning and experience exchange networks, namely EURoma, should be envisaged. Precise guidelines following the 10 Common Basic Principles (EC, 2010) could be developed to specifically tackle the challenges and opportunities of Roma mobility and migration which involves different migration patterns and action from all levels of the administration (EuRoma, 2019; EURoma, 2018).
- The most relevant programmes, in terms of scale and duration, oriented towards inclusion and equality of mobile and migrant Roma should be submitted to independent evaluation exercises (Fresno, Lajčáková, Szira, et al., 2019).
- More effort is needed to generate a response on the interconnection between national policies for migration and asylum seekers, on the one hand, and policies towards Roma migrants. Particularly the issue of forced repatriation to the Balkan

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<sup>37</sup> SDG Target 16.3 aims to promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all. The indicators are supposed to be disaggregated by ethnicity.

countries cannot be handled only with funding local projects but needs a transnational line of action.

### ***Promote transnational cooperation processes***

The future EU initiative for Roma equality and inclusion should include a transnational component of Roma inclusion by incorporating Roma mobility needs in the EU transnational cooperation processes. Bilateral “mobility partnerships” within EU MSs could replicate the lessons emerging from the Global Compact (GCM) and the migration policy objective 10.7 of Agenda 2030.<sup>38</sup> These could also include municipal cooperation given that kinship linkages and migration networks often concentrate the migration and mobility movement towards on specific city. Specifically, the following bilateral agreements should be fostered:

- **Portability of health insurance and coverage within circular migration patterns.** The acute issue regarding the health insurance of EU-mobile Roma must be resolved between countries (EPHA, 2016, 2019). Attending Roma migrants, both children and adults, in mainstream health care services, particularly with the main entry point in primary care as opposed to emergency care, is both a human right and more efficient for the national health systems. Services need to include dental health and mental health.
- **EU mobile Roma children’s access to education in destination countries and upon their return.** Some migration from Eastern to Western countries is reported to be circular for periods of around three months. Children are either left behind or travelling with their parents, thus continuous school enrolment represents a challenge. NGOs report difficulties related to transnational cooperation between schools, which in consequence impedes returning Roma children to register in schools due to lack of documentation and evidence of their previous educational achievements in migration destinations as well. Similarly, hosting schools may create barriers, due to formal or informal requirements or discriminatory attitudes. Transnational cooperation mechanisms need to target the situation of this group with measures in origin and destination countries (Misto Avilean, 2019). The EC could promote synergies, benchmarking and mutual learning at different levels (national, regional and local).
- **Devise transnational schemes to unleash the economic potential of circular migration:** Circular migration promotes remittances as well as the acquisition of skills. Whilst these are assets of the private realm, coordinated public policies can multiply the developmental impact in communities of origin by engaging with migrants.

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<sup>38</sup> “Mobility partnerships” refer to cooperation arrangements that provides the bilateral framework for dialogue and practical cooperation to address relevant migration and mobility issues of mutual concern. These are concluded primarily with EU neighbourhood countries, including short and long-term mobility. They are an important tool of the EU’s Global Approach to Migration and Mobility, providing the overall framework for governing various forms of legal movement between the EU and third countries. Such partnerships are agreed with those third countries that have in place effective mechanisms for readmission of irregular migrants.

- **Cultural cooperation for recognising Roma as a genuine transnational European minority.** ERIAC, in a submission to the consultation process claimed that the policy framing of Roma is principally oriented towards their vulnerability or deficiency. Future policy should recognise their contribution, particularly to European culture and arts. Considering relatively high historical and contemporary mobility of Roma EU citizens across Europe, public policy should provide resources to Roma-led organisations to reinforce their European identity. To that end, national funds for arts and culture could foster cross-country collaboration (ERIAC, 2019).
- Creation of a **specific fund** in order to give support to local initiatives of transnational cooperation for social inclusion of mobile and migrant Roma populations. Such a fund would be co-managed by the EC and the different contact points in order to develop innovative projects.<sup>39</sup>

## 2.4 Indicators to measure mobility and migration-related needs and response thereto

Establishing hard data on the situation of EU-mobile Roma and migrant Roma is challenging. It is methodologically difficult as well as politically sensitive. The latest FRA discussion paper on a potential measurement framework does not mention the issue at all (FRA, 2019). It does, however, propose a meaningful structure which could initiate a more detailed discussion on how to get access to information on the living conditions and exposure to racism of Roma migrants and EU mobile Roma, as well as to measure the impact of public policies and programmes on these conditions. FRA proposed to distinguish between structure, process and outcomes. Likewise, the approach developed in the previous chapter on gender equality and child rights – to distinguish between inclusion, participation and anti-discrimination – could also be meaningfully applied to the migrant and mobile Roma.

In general, the framework for migration is defined by SDG-Indicator 10.7.2 (“Number of countries with migration policies to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people”) which is set out to be measured and reported against in the near future, as reiterated by the Global Compact for Migration.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> This suggestion had been raised by a MS government representative in the consultation process. A new dedicated EU fund can earliest be created after 2021-2027 financial perspective which is almost finalised.

<sup>40</sup> [migrationdataportal.org/global-compact-for-migration](https://migrationdataportal.org/global-compact-for-migration)

### 3 Internal Roma diversity and socioeconomic stratification

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When referring to intra-Roma diversity it is important to clarify that there are **two dimensions of diversity**.<sup>41</sup> The concept of *ethnic diversity* assumes that different ethnic groups are included in the term Roma. These are present throughout Europe with different traditions and backgrounds and different levels of representation in the countries, whilst all sharing a common identity. On the other hand, there is the diversity of *socioeconomic circumstances and social conditions* of Roma, as in fact the economic situation of Roma tends to be as diverse as the society, despite the fact that most of them are still at risk of exclusion and suffer high levels of discrimination. These differentiations lead to the following questions for a post-2020 initiative.

- **Intra-Roma Diversity:** How can the new EU initiative promote equality and inclusion, whilst taking into consideration the variety of ethnic identities and different self-ascriptions?
- **Socioeconomic stratification of Roma:** How can the new EU initiative promote equality and inclusion, without exclusively targeting “vulnerable” Roma?

Past Roma activism has strived to constitute the Roma as a single entity of a “European minority”. This claim has been recognised since the nineties, first in the context of the Council of Europe and OSCE and later by the EU. It is an answer to the demands of some Roma activist organisations for representation of what has been called by some as the “Roma Nation”. Now, this “unity in diversity” is recognised in nearly all documents in the first footnote that defines Roma as group, enlisting the different ethnic identities (see reproduced in the introduction of this paper). A post-2020 EU initiative is confronted with the challenge of how to safeguard this achievement of recognition of the “sameness” or “unity”, whilst, at the same time, fine-tuning responses to the “diversity” of different Roma groups, so that no one is left behind and all voices are heard. Likewise, it has been widely criticised that public policies reproduce prejudice when only targeting Roma as poor or destitute citizens. The common imaginary of Roma being uneducated, living in substandard housing and making a living from precarious, often unregulated work denies the fact that some Roma have achieved decent living standards.

#### 3.1 Definition and data

Any conceptualisation of “Roma” as a single unitary entity needs to take into account the following dimensions: (a) Ethnic diversity and groups; (b) Socioeconomic diversity; (c) Self-identification as Roma; (d) Identification by the society and public imaginary, which includes the patronising stereotypes of Roma; (e) Multiples identities, as every person has multiples identities (see the discussion in the section on gender identities). Rather than giving hard data – which will not be available – this section reflects on the conceptual framing that any statistical account will have to consider.

**The term “Roma”:** In all EU documents, the term “Roma” is used as an umbrella term which includes groups of people who have more or less similar, but not one and the

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<sup>41</sup> The lead author of this chapter is Deyan Kolev.

same, cultural and social characteristics, although their self-identification could be different. Differences among social groups within the Roma community regarding language, tradition, location (urban/rural), mobility, socioeconomic status, etc., are widely recognised by all stakeholders (including by the protagonists of Roma unity). They make a one-framed approach ineffective and require specific attention. In that respect Kovacs warns that:

*"an inevitable effect of the Roma Framework is to subsume numerous identities within a discursive Roma shorthand and to develop the concept of Roma within both national and international policy. (...) the Framework embraces a wide variety of different ethnic, social and cultural groups, living in widely differing political and economic conditions."* (written submission).

Many Roma – especially those who are better educated and relatively well integrated – prefer to hide their identity, not to declare any ethnic affiliation, or to declare another identity, such as the majority population, or even as another minority. This is one of the biggest problems in face of the further development and integration of the Roma community. On the one side, this creates internal problems within the Roma community building a wall that separates the emerging Roma middle class and other Roma. The negative consequences are that the educated and integrated individuals do not engage with any integration activities and cannot be involved as role models. On the other side, the problem seriously damages their public image, associating Roma only with the most marginalised groups and families (Focus Group and interviews with Roma activists).

Although precise data doesn't exist, the variety of identities, preferred identities and hidden identities could be outlined as main reasons for the differences between the number of Roma population according to the population census and expert estimations. This could be seen in the Annexed Table of Estimated Roma population elaborated on the basis of the CoE data at the end of EUFW: in all EU MSs significant differences are seen between the two types of data. It also provokes serious challenges in terms of monitoring and evaluation of the Roma integration policy. Likewise, self-identification frequently depends on the context. Given the historical legacy of persecution, there is still a strong rejection, in many countries, to register the ethnicity in an institutional environment or towards the public administration (Farkas, 2017).

**Diversity, sameness and unity in Roma community:** As explained, diversity reflects the richness of language, tradition, location (urban/rural), mobility, socioeconomic status, etc. within Roma community. It is recognised by all stakeholders around Roma integration. At the same time, social policies need a sensitive approach towards diversity in order to diminish any access barriers to universal services. Non-discrimination policies also need a diversity sensitive approach to ensure equal rights and persecution of exclusionary action and hate speech.

The concept of Roma Unity does not contradict the existence of diversity. Mirga-Kruszelnicka argues that "unity" does not need to imply "sameness": *"The Roma are very well aware of how they relate to other Roma communities - and multiculturalism is the daily reality of the Roma. The past Roma activism is based on a premise of extended network of solidarity, common origin and one struggle - but it never meant to override heterogeneity or impose a homogeneous identity."* (written feedback). Isidro Rodríguez from Fundación Secretariado Gitano states that *"Diversity is a fact within the Roma*

community. Acknowledging such reality does not seem a threat to 'sameness' but rather an accurate analysis of the existence of different needs to be able to respond adequately to them." (Written feedback)

**"Vulnerable groups"** and **"marginalised groups"**: These concepts are widely used in policies for Roma inclusion/integration. On the one side, they stress the social inclusion aspect of most of the problems faced by Roma, as well as stressing that Roma inclusion is not an ethnically based policy. On the other side, most Roma activists criticise the concept because it underestimates crucial aspects of Roma exclusion, such as antigypsyism and discrimination. It leaves out important parts of the Roma community and places a generalised social stigma on the entire Roma minority. *"Defining the target group mainly through social criteria (poverty, exclusion, and marginalisation) excludes those better off, while the social stigma invoked by these criteria falls on the entire Roma minority. Diverse sectors of Roma population are left out ..."* (Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, ERIAC, written feedback). From yet another angle, Martin Kovats warns against reinforcing ethnic self-affirmation by mingling it into policies of poverty reduction and social inclusion:

*While the Framework requires performance indicators, the ambiguity of Roma identity is not simply a matter of data collection, but arises from the instrumental, ethnically framed political discourse at the European level. In its explicit politicisation of Roma identity, the Framework is not reflecting but creating (by applying) Roma identity. At the same time, the Framework contends with the ambiguity of ethnically targeted policy. Is the purpose of the EU's intervention to promote ethnic difference (primarily) through the medium of Roma identity, or to reduce inequality and exclusion? (written submission).*

### 3.2 Critical debate

Social and group stratification within the Roma community is provoking intensive discussions among scholars and Roma activists. While the need to incorporate issues regarding "gender diversity" and migration/mobility in the new EU Roma Framework is recognised and required by almost all players, there is no consensus on how the social and group stratification should be included.

The debate is centred on the correlation between "diversity" and the "sameness" of the Roma community. Thus, it touches on questions about the core and the essence of Roma identity: social, ethnic/minority or political identity. It is not an abstract debate but rather has pragmatic implications regarding the approach of the future national integration policy and the role of the EU and the EC.

According to some scholars the existing diversity and differences among Roma groups are essential and the "sameness" of Roma/Roma minority identity is a political construct. Martin Kovats asserts that "Roma" is simply the political replacement for the generic identity "Gypsy" which covers a huge number of highly diverse communities with different political needs, aspirations, capabilities and interests, living in a wide variety of economic, political, social and cultural environments. He calls it "Roma nationalism" which claims that all "Roma" constitute a single and distinct political community which requires its own, separate political representation. According to Kovats "Roma nationalism" is *"incompatible with the integrative instincts of grassroots Roma politics,*

*[and]...can only be sustained at an elite level, divorced from democratic control by Roma people as a whole.” (Kovats, 2003)*

Regarding the main Roma integration approach, in 2003 he criticised “attributing the problems experienced by Roma people to the racism of their neighbours” and asserts the social inclusion measures undertaken at national and local level. Speaking about the potential EU role, Kovats insists that:

*Improving the situation of Roma people can only be done through local and national systems and institutions in individual states. The EU can support positive policies both discursively and through EU funds, but it lacks the moral, legal or political authority to compel a state and society that is not yet willing to take the necessary steps to ensure that their Roma citizens enjoy equality of opportunity in every respect. The EU has a very important role to play in the Roma policy paradigm, but not a decisive one. (Kovats, 2003)*

The EU’s Roma Framework should assert the responsibility of MSs for policies to promote integration and social inclusion.

*To succeed, the Commission will have to have the judgement and capacity to play its part in achieving this strategic goal. It has to be able to support key Member States to enable them to use EU funds more effectively. In monitoring the Framework, the Commission will not only need to capture the right information, but also use that information to contribute to national debates and enhance governmental accountability. The Commission will also need to become bolder and more sophisticated in how it deploys its legal powers with respect to anti-discrimination. (Kovats, 2012)*

Surdu shares similar ideas about the Roma identity (Surdu, 2016; Surdu & Kovats, 2015). His approach, however, is to criticise the concept of “Roma” itself as an epistemic construction of “experts” and “Roma elites”. He warns about the consequences this construct may have, once policies are developed based on it: *“reinforcement of the exclusion of those categorised as Roma, thus increasing the perceived need for Roma policy initiatives.”*

In contrast, other authors pay more specific attention to some of the key challenges of Roma policy, such as the growing antigypsyism, hate crimes, lack of supportive public environment, etc. (End & Cortés Gómez, 2019). The constructivist ideas of Surdu and the pragmatic approach by Kovats are strongly opposed by some Roma activists such as A. Mirga (Mirga, 2018). Being supporters of an identity/cultural and minority rights approach, they criticise the social inclusion approach for reducing Roma to a disadvantaged social group. Without denying the social and group diversity within Roma communities across Europe and agreeing that identity is also socially constructed and contested, they insist that Roma groups have specific ethno-cultural identity and that Romani mobilisation has the potential to forge a collective unity.

The ideas of constructivists like Surdu are contested by scholars who follow policy analysis approaches (Kóczé & Rövid, 2017; Kóczé et al., 2015; Sobotka & Vermeersch, 2012; Vermeersch & Van Baar, 2018) as well as critical theorists-activists who support the idea that antigypsyism is the root cause of Roma exclusion (Alliance Against

Antigypsyism, 2017, 2019a). Whilst the former (the policy analysts) describe Roma, within their diversity, as a distinct group with specific features that need a particular policy response to tackle discrimination and compensate for historic disadvantages, the latter (activist antigypsyism approach) claim that it is essential to shift the focus from Roma, and their supposed characteristics, to mainstream society and their attitudes and action towards Roma.

Summarising the suggestions for the new EU Roma Framework from a broad group of Roma activists and experts, Mirga-Kruszelnicka requests:

*The EC should consider re-assessing the framing of the target group – the Roma – ensuring balance between approaching Roma as an ethnic minority and as a socially vulnerable group. In this, the EC should be mindful of internal heterogeneity of Roma communities by adopting intersectional approaches and ensuring that no sector of Roma population is left outside of the scope of the EU Roma Framework... (Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 2017)*

The same author raises this suggestion in her written feedback after the Roma seminar on October 1<sup>st</sup> 2019. This view is shared by most of the participants in the Focus Group carried out on November 5<sup>th</sup>. The same idea is supported by a significant number of Roma activists.

### **3.3 Policy proposals**

The post-2020 EU initiative for Roma integration and the respective NRISs should consider the intra-Roma diversity and would highly benefit from it via:

#### **1. Applying a strong intersectional and multidimensional approach**

Programming of public policies can consider the diversity of Roma using the combination of the following approaches:

- Social inclusion with special accent on reaching the most marginalised and vulnerable groups.
- Action against antigypsyism which removes the external barriers for the dignity of Roma and creates favourable environment for any Roma integration policy.
- Recognition and solidarity which allows them to deal with diversified Roma identity, culture and to reach the educated and integrated Roma as well as to avoid linking integration with assimilation.
- Interculturalism, mutual respect and exchange of values between Roma and non-Roma.

The new EU initiative should guide the MSs to base their NRISs on thorough analysis of the variety of problems and needs faced by different Roma groups and social strata in their respective countries. On the one side, they must identify the most marginalised and vulnerable groups at risk of social exclusion and direct specific activities in the respective chapters of education, healthcare, employment and housing towards them. On the other hand, the challenges faced by Roma regarding social and economic status, similar to those of mainstream society, should be identified in order to envisage specific activities

for reaching out and targeting them as well and for empowering them to become active players in the inclusion process.

## **2. Setting specific goals and targets that can meet the challenges faced by Roma regarding social and economic status (similar to those of mainstream society)**

There is no doubt that Roma inclusion policy should improve the life of vulnerable and marginalised groups within Roma community. At the same time, it would be a mistake to exclude the emerging middle class among Roma for two reasons. Firstly, they also face certain obstacles that prevent them from obtaining their full set of rights, for instance, anti-Roma stereotypes and prejudices, all manifestations of antigypsyism, the huge social distances towards Roma are usually directed to all Roma groups and social strata. Secondly, the Roma middle class can significantly contribute for the integration of vulnerable and marginalised groups and even to become a driving force for this process if intra-Roma solidarity is properly encouraged. On the other hand, leaving out the integrated and educated Roma could build a wall between them and the other parts of the Roma community that would provoke further marginalisation. What is needed might be a gradual approach or progressivity of the Roma policies that consider the needs of all Roma (not only the most excluded) and allocate resources and priorities accordingly. Still, priorities should be set according to the degree of exclusion and scale/number of Roma.

## **3. Specific goals and targets for promoting Roma culture and art, as well as for introducing intercultural education, are possible examples in this direction.**

As stated by Mirga-Kruszelnicka *"Arts and culture represent useful tools which can contribute to greater mutual understanding and dialogue between Roma and non-Roma. Arguably, cultural and artistic measures are the most effective way to effectively communicate the diversity of Roma cultures, identities, realities and lifestyles, challenging the homogenising policy approaches towards Roma as a target group"* (Written feedback). The author recommends that goals, targets and activities for promoting intercultural education, Roma culture and art in MSs NRISs would be a strong asset.

At European level, the post-2020 EU Roma initiative could set specific measures for achieving the goals and targets expressed above, by continuing the acknowledgement of Roma as a unitary and diverse pan-European minority composed of diverse groups and subgroups; shifting the narrative regarding Roma from vulnerable and marginalised groups to a group deprived of rights with specific ethnic and cultural identities; introducing specific programmes (within REC or other programmes) for promoting Roma culture and overcoming anti-Roma stereotypes.

At national level, the post-2020 EU Roma initiative could set specific measures for achieving the goals and targets expressed above, by: approving and implementing a communication strategy to establish a supporting public environment for the NRIS; introducing intercultural education and education for tolerance; supporting a broad set of Roma cultural events and activities; and developing campaigns to combat anti-Roma stereotypes.

## 4 Conclusions

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The mid-term evaluation, numerous civil society inputs and implementation practice have demonstrated that the efforts for Roma inclusion and equality can be more effective if the diversity of the Roma populations in the EU Member States is taken into consideration in the conception of NRISs, as well as at European level.

Given the particular marginalisation of Roma children, more effort is needed to mainstream child rights considerations regarding Roma children into both universal services strategies, as well as targeted intervention towards Roma children. To that end, the whole lifecycle alongside the educational career, starting from ECEC up to tertiary education should be considered. Roma youth empowerment should move beyond education and employment and conceive Roma youth as an asset whose political participation and cultural expression can be acknowledged and fostered.

Gender equality and diversities in gender identities not only provide a much-needed entry point for increasing public interventions, it is also a welcome opportunity to overcome a monolithic conception of ethnic self-ascription and shift towards a concept of multiple identities and intersectional disadvantages.

Intra-EU mobility and migration has been at the centre of the EUFW since its conception phase. Nevertheless, surprisingly little has it been reflected in the NRISs and related actions. Innovative responses to EU mobility and migration from third countries could ensure both rights of mobile or migrant Roma, while fostering positive change – political and economic development – in both sending and receiving communities.

The intra-Roma diversity, both in terms of varieties of self-ascription of identities as well as the economic stratification of Roma groups, could be considered in a smart mix of non-discrimination measures, social inclusion measures and interventions for cultural and social recognition.

## Annex 1 – Synopsis of provision in EUFW and propositions for a new initiative

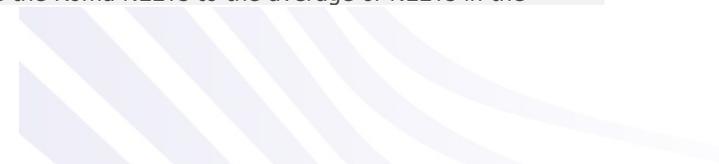
Provisions on diversity	EUFW (COM 2011)173	Council Recommendation 2013, 2013/C378/01	Post-2020 EU initiative: proposed recommendations
<b>Gender equality</b>			
<b>Gender equality</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	Protection of Roma children and women: (2.5.) Combat all forms of discrimination, including multiple discrimination, faced by Roma children and women,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Set specific EU goals regarding Roma women together with requiring awareness of the gender dimension in all the other fields</li> <li>- The main EU ambition could be to empower Roma women, children and youth to overcome the socioeconomic gaps, to fully exercise their rights and to realize their potential as well as to become active agents of change both in their communities and mainstream societies.</li> <li>- support the participation of Roma women in all forms of public and political life, including in the public administration</li> <li>- Participation of Roma organisations that work on gender equality and the recognition of gender diversity, such as LGBTi rights</li> </ul>
<b>Gender-based violence</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	Fight violence, including domestic violence, against women and girls, trafficking in human beings, underage and forced marriages, and begging involving children, in particular through the enforcement of legislation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Integrate focus on Roma women and girls in state action on Directive 2012/29/EU on victims' rights and Istanbul Convention</li> <li>- To empower Roma women to prevent and overcome domestic violence, early marriages and other forms of patriarchal control and abuse.</li> <li>- Ensure consistency and coherence with the EU legal and policy framework on trafficking in human beings, considering the horizontal mandate of the EU Anti-trafficking Coordinator</li> </ul>
<b>Sexual and reproductive rights</b>	<p>Access to quality healthcare especially for children and women as well as preventive care and social services at a similar level and under the same conditions to the Roma as to the rest of the population.</p> <p>High levels of infant mortality among the Roma community are reported.</p> <p>Discrimination by healthcare personnel</p> <p>Use of prevention services among the Roma population is low.</p> <p>Where possible, qualified Roma should be involved in healthcare programmes targeting their communities.</p>	<p>Take effective measures to ensure equal treatment of Roma in access to universally available healthcare services on the basis of general eligibility criteria.</p> <p>(b) improving access to medical check-ups, prenatal and postnatal care and family planning, as well as sexual and reproductive healthcare, as generally provided by national healthcare services;</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ensure equal access to quality mainstream services and make them accessible, affordable and acceptable.</li> <li>- Fight institutional discrimination by health care services and invest in intercultural training for staff, including the promotion of public sector employment of qualified Roma;</li> <li>- Recognition and reparation for damages caused by past programmes of reproductive health services providers and social services contrary to human rights standards (such as forced sterilisation and deprivation of custody over children).</li> <li>- Increase the percentage of health insured Roma women; increasing the life expectancy of Roma women to the average of women life expectancy in the respective society</li> </ul>

<b>Child rights</b>			
	<b>EUFW (COM 2011)173</b>	<b>Council Recommendation 2013, 2013/C378/01</b>	<b>Post 2020 EU initiative: proposed recommendations</b>
<b>Child rights</b>	[not mentioned specifically - only general reference to COM2011/60]		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Set specific EU goals regarding Roma children, both boys and girls</li> <li>- Incorporate an approach of the best interest of the child in line with UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to ensure care, protection, safety and participation of the Roma child.</li> </ul>
<b>Education</b>	<p>Ensure that all Roma children complete at least primary school. All Roma children should have access to quality education.</p> <p>Strengthen links with communities through cultural/school mediators, churches, religious associations or communities and through active participation of the parents of Roma, to improve the intercultural competences of teachers, to reduce segregation and to ensure compliance with the duty to primary school attendance.</p> <p>No Roma child should be subject to discrimination or segregation, regardless of whether they are sedentary or not.</p> <p>Roma children tend to be over-represented in special education and segregated schools.</p> <p>Widen access to quality ECEC.</p> <p>Reduce the number of early school leavers from secondary education</p> <p>Encourage initiatives of second chance programmes for drop-out young adults, including programmes with an explicit focus on Roma children.</p> <p>Roma youngsters should be strongly</p>	<p>Recommends that Member States take effective measures to ensure equal treatment and full access to quality and mainstream education and ensure that all Roma pupils complete at least compulsory education.</p> <p>States that this goal could be attained through measures such as those listed below. These measures include and go beyond those set out in the Communication:</p> <p>(a) eliminating any school segregation;</p> <p>(b) putting an end to any inappropriate placement of Roma pupils in special needs schools;</p> <p>(c) reducing ESL throughout all levels of education, including at secondary level and vocational training;</p> <p>(d) increasing access to, and quality of, ECEC, including targeted support, as necessary;</p> <p>(e) considering the needs of individual pupils and addressing those accordingly, in close cooperation with their families;</p> <p>(f) using inclusive and tailor-made teaching and learning methods, including learning support for struggling learners and measures to fight illiteracy, and promoting the availability and use of extracurricular activities;</p> <p>(g) encouraging greater parental involvement and improving teacher training, where relevant;</p> <p>(h) encouraging Roma participation in and completion of secondary and tertiary education;</p> <p>(i) widening access to second-chance education and</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [same as before in the 2011-2020 EUFW]</li> <li>- Better defined targets adjusted to the specific situation in Member States, covering the full educational cycle from ECEC to tertiary education</li> <li>- Reduce early school leaving &amp; dropout rate of Roma girls; increase the participation of Roma girls in all the levels of education</li> <li>- Guarantee the enrolment of all Roma children in early childhood education for at least 2 years;</li> <li>- Assure the schooling of children and their attendance at school;</li> <li>- Assure fulfilment of compulsory secondary education for all Roma children</li> <li>- Eradicate all forms of racism, bullying and segregation that affect Roma children in preschool and school age</li> <li>- Introduce intercultural education and education for tolerance</li> </ul>

	encouraged to participate also in secondary and tertiary education	adult learning, providing support for the transition between educational levels and support for the acquisition of skills that are adapted to the needs of the labour market.	
<b>Child poverty</b>	Action is needed to break the vicious cycle of poverty moving from one generation to the next.	<p>specific needs of geographical areas most affected by poverty</p> <p>micro-regions</p> <p>Poverty reduction through social investment: (2.6.) Combat poverty and social exclusion affecting the disadvantaged, including Roma, through investment in human capital and social cohesion policies.</p> <p>(a) supporting Roma at all stages of their lives, starting as early as possible and systematically dealing with the risks they face, including by investing in good-quality inclusive early childhood education and care, targeted youth guarantee schemes, life-long learning ...;</p> <p>(c) making social benefits and social services granted to the disadvantaged, including Roma, in accordance with national legislation, more adequate and sustainable through more joined-up social policies, through the simplification of procedures, and by combatting fraud and errors; ensuring the take-up of social assistance schemes; and providing adequate income support to those eligible.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Include Roma in specific debates and measures on child-sensitive minimum income schemes;</li> <li>- Include social services, both monetary assistance schemes and personalised support schemes as a self-standing area;</li> <li>- Highlight Roma children as specific beneficiaries of the future Child Guarantee;</li> <li>- Introduce support mechanisms for families without proper housing to ensure good living conditions for their children;</li> <li>- In case of eviction ensure that no child is left without shelter;</li> <li>- Introduce social housing for poor families</li> </ul>
<b>Child health</b>	Access to quality healthcare especially for children	<p>(c) improving access to free vaccination programmes targeting children and vaccination programmes targeting in particular groups most at risk and/or those living in marginalised and/or remote areas;</p> <p>(d) promoting awareness of health and healthcare issues.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [Same as before: vaccination; health promotion]</li> <li>- Deviate access to health care from emergency care to primary care and GPs;</li> <li>- Consider formal health coverage and catastrophic health care spending [SDG targets 3.8]</li> <li>- Include non-communicable diseases, nutrition, mental health and dentistry;</li> <li>- Guarantee free and quality healthcare services for all the children starting from pregnancy;</li> <li>- Ensure quality healthcare services close to living place, including in rural areas and in the big Roma urban neighbourhoods;</li> <li>- Ensure healthy nutrition</li> </ul>
<b>Violence against children</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	The situation of Roma children in the Union is particularly worrying, due to a range of factors that may make them especially vulnerable and exposed,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In line with the Child Rights Convention (CRC), effectively protect against all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, sexual harassment, peer pressure, bullying,</li> </ul>



		inter alia, to poor health, poor housing, poor nutrition, exclusion, discrimination, racism and violence. In this context [underage and forced marriages], cooperation between Member States is encouraged in situations with a cross-border dimension.	degrading treatment, etc., as well as protection against sexual, economic and other exploitation, drugs, forced labour etc. - Integrate focus on Roma children in state action on Directive EC/2011/93 on combatting the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and Lanzarote Convention
<b>Trafficking in human beings</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	In this context [trafficking in human beings, (...), and begging involving children], cooperation between Member States is encouraged in situations with a cross-border dimension.	- Ensure consistency and coherence with the EU legal and policy framework on trafficking in human beings, taking into account the horizontal mandate of the EU Anti-trafficking Coordinator - Foster transnational cooperation to protect Roma women and children against trafficking - Integrate focus on Roma children in state action on Directive 2011/36/EU on trafficking - Guarantee proper child protection in Roma community, including in cases of begging, early marriages and others – prevention, support for families and the possibility of placing children in child protection systems if necessary, while putting an end to the practice of Roma children to be placed in state care institutions, except as a measure of last resort
<b>Alternative care</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	[not mentioned specifically]	- Ensure that Roma children deprived of parental care are treated in their best interest and according to human rights standards; add a specific focus on Roma children in the deinstitutionalisation strategies promoted by EU and MS actors; inquire into patterns of discrimination in adoption schemes and practices; - Ensure that deprivation of parents from the custody of their children is applied as measure of last resort
<b>Justice for children</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	[not mentioned specifically]	- Ensure child friendly justice procedures for children as witnesses and in conflict with the law - Secure Roma youth's equal access to justice and their equality before the law by accelerating procedures of ensuring justice for the victims of hate crimes, and tackle the disproportionate criminalisation of Roma, namely in over-policing – including ethnic profiling, excessive stop-and-search procedures, arbitrary seizure and excessive use of force – and in under-policing of crimes committed against Roma youth.
<b>Youth</b>	[only mentioned in relation to education – see above]	(a) supporting first work experience, vocational training, on-the-job training, lifelong learning and skills development;	- Secure Roma youth's equal access to justice [see above]; - Promoting access to decent employment for Roma youth; - Reduce the Roma NEETs to the average of NEETs in the



(c) providing equal access to mainstream public employment services, alongside services to support individual job-seekers, focusing on personalised guidance and individual action planning and, where appropriate, promoting employment opportunities within the civil service;

respective societies

- Promote political youth presentation and empower Roma youth to become active agents of change both in their communities and mainstream societies; and to support the participation of Roma youth in all forms of public and political life;
- Eradicate all forms of racism, discrimination and segregation that affect Roma youth:
- Introduce intercultural education and education for tolerance



## Roma EU mobility and migration third country

	EUFW (COM 2011)173	Council Recommendation 2013, 2013/C378/01	Post 2020 EU initiative: proposed recommendations
<b>EU-mobile Roma</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	<p>(10) In the context of intra-Union mobility, it is necessary to respect the right to free movement of the citizens of the Union and the conditions for its exercise, including the possession of sufficient resources and of a comprehensive sickness insurance cover, in accordance with Directive 2004/38/EC ... , while also seeking to improve the living conditions of Roma and pursuing measures to promote their economic and social integration in their Member States of origin as well as their Member States of residence.</p> <p>(11) ... mobilise existing Union strategies and instruments with a view to securing the socioeconomic inclusion of Roma.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Include specific lines of action for integration of EU mobile Roma and transnational programmes to foster the economic and social opportunities of EU mobility, both permanent and circular, in countries of origin and receiving countries.</li> </ul>
<b>Roma migrants</b>	A significant number of Roma living in the EU are legally residing third-country nationals ...	(9) Roma who are third-country nationals staying legally in the Member States can also be placed in a vulnerable position, particularly when they share the same poor living conditions as many Roma who are citizens of the Union, whilst also facing the challenges of many migrants coming from outside the Union.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reconsider anti-Roma racism as reason for persecution and readjust the safe-country of origin declarations</li> <li>- Resolve access to health care for migrant Roma, whether documented or undocumented;</li> </ul>
<b>Statelessness</b>	[not mentioned specifically]	The social exclusion of Roma children is often linked to the lack of birth registration and identity documents,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strengthen the action in regards to the Conventions on statelessness with a specific focus on Roma populations, namely by reinforcing the emission of birth certificates, facilitating auxiliary documentation, dedicated statelessness determination procedures, as well as measures such as safeguards at birth, and resolving children that suffer such situation</li> <li>- Promote birth registration and access to identity documents, and facilitate the assimilation and naturalisation of stateless persons in the accession countries</li> </ul>

Diversity			
	EUFW (COM 2011)173	Council Recommendation 2013, 2013/C378/01	Post 2020 EU initiative: proposed recommendations
<b>Poverty and social stratification</b>	<p>Non-discrimination alone is not sufficient to combat the social exclusion of Roma</p> <p>Economic integration of the Roma will also contribute to social cohesion and improve respect for fundamental rights.</p>	<p>2.6. Combat poverty and social exclusion affecting the disadvantaged, including Roma, through investment in human capital and social cohesion policies.</p> <p>2.7. Depending on the size and social and economic situation of their Roma populations, consider making Roma integration an important issue within their national reform programmes or their national social reports in the context of the Europe 2020 Strategy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Devise programmes that reach out to the most vulnerable as well as programmes that engage with the Roma middle class,</li> <li>- Guide the Member States to base their NRIS on the complementarity of social inclusion with special accent on reaching the most marginalised and vulnerable groups</li> </ul>
<b>Ethnic diversity</b>	[recognised in first footnote]	[recognised in paragraph 6]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Acknowledge the Roma as a unitary pan-European minority</li> <li>- Guide the Member States to base their NRIS on the complementarity of               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Social inclusion with special accent on reaching the most marginalised and vulnerable groups</li> <li>o Action against Antigypsyism which removes the external barriers for the dignity of Roma and creates favourable environment for any Roma integration policy;</li> <li>o Recognition and solidarity which allows to deal with diversified Roma identity, culture and to reach the educated and integrated Roma as well as to avoid linking integration with assimilation;</li> <li>o Interculturalism, mutual respect and exchange of values between Roma and non-Roma.</li> <li>o Set specific goals and targets for promoting Roma culture and art, as well as for introducing intercultural education</li> </ul> </li> </ul>



## Annex 2 – Objectives, indicators and measures for post-2020 NRIS

Objectives	INDICATORS	MEASURES	CHAPTER
<b>Socioeconomic status of Roma women, youth and children</b>			
<b>Education:</b> reducing early school leaving of Roma girls; increasing the participation of Roma girls in all the levels of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Percentage of early school leavers among Roma girls</li> <li>Net ratio of participation of Roma girls in all levels of education</li> <li>Percentage of Roma children who study in segregated institutions (kindergarten and schools)</li> <li>Percentage of educational institutions that apply intercultural education and education for tolerance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introducing at least 2-year obligatory preschool education; introducing free-of-charge obligatory 2-year preschool education for vulnerable families.</li> <li>Creating scholarship programmes and programmes for financial support for travel expenses for students from vulnerable groups enrolled in high-schools and universities.</li> <li>Adopting legislative or normative changes for overcoming school segregation</li> <li>Implementing municipal and national level programmes for desegregation backed by proper financial instruments.</li> <li>Qualification of pedagogical staff in culturally sensitive approaches that consider the needs of Roma girls in education.</li> </ul>	Education
<b>Employment:</b> increasing the percentage of Roma women in paid work and self-employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Average percentage of Roma women in employment</li> <li>Average percentage of self-employed Roma women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introducing “first-job” operations and ensuring participation of Roma women in them (financed by state budget and/or ESF programmes).</li> <li>Introducing operations to support self-employment and entrepreneurship among Roma and ensure participation of Roma women in them (financed by state budget and/or ESF programmes).</li> <li>Measures and campaigns to combat discrimination during employing process and at the workplace for Roma and Roma women in particular.</li> <li>Community campaigns and activities to change attitudes and promote women’s employment in Roma community.</li> </ul>	Employment Antigypsyism Roma women, Children and Youth
<b>Healthcare:</b> increasing the percentage of health insured Roma women; increasing the life expectancy of Roma women to the average of women life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Percentage of health insured Roma women</li> <li>Life expectancy of Roma women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introducing legislation changes for a more inclusive health insurance system, such as appointing a status of “health insured” to pregnant women and introducing an obligatory number of specialised checks during the pregnancy.</li> </ul>	Health care Antigypsyism Roma women,

<p>expectancy in the respective society; decreasing early pregnancy and birth</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Child mortality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishing free health packages for pregnant women.</li> <li>• Community campaigns to raise awareness about health rights and obligations.</li> <li>• Eradicating discriminatory practices in the health-care system.</li> <li>• Qualification of medical staff in culturally sensitive approaches that consider the needs of Roma girls and women in the field of healthcare.</li> <li>• Increasing the number of Roma health mediators, including Roma women.</li> <li>• Programmes for support of Roma professionals in health care (preparatory courses for applying in medical universities, support, scholarships, mentoring, appointing).</li> </ul>	<p>children and youth</p>
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<b>Empowerment of Roma Women and girls</b>			
<b>Objectives</b>	<b>INDICATORS</b>	<b>MEASURES</b>	<b>CHAPTER</b>
<p>To empower Roma women to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• prevent and overcome domestic violence</li> <li>• prevent and overcome early marriages and other forms of patriarchal control and abuse</li> <li>• Ensure conditions for increased access to justice for Roma women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social attitudes/ distances towards Roma, including Roma youth and women</li> <li>• Average age for first marriage in the Roma community</li> <li>• Average age for first birth in the Roma community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Rule of Law and Non-discrimination chapter to be included on effective domestic remedies for protection against human rights abuses and discrimination against Roma women and girls, including intersectional forms of violence and discrimination (domestic violence, trafficking of human beings, gender-based violence) racially motivated crimes, segregation in education, racially segregated maternity wards, etc.</li> <li>• To take actions to put forward the issue of early marriages without the usual stereotypes, both from the Roma community and majority society and look at it from the perspective of developing the potential of the girl victims of early marriages. However, these issues should be framed in an appropriate way.</li> <li>• Developing a fund to support girl victims of early marriages to further continue their education.</li> <li>• To organise an awareness campaign among institutions and mainstream gender organisations on violence against Roma women (especially domestic violence); include specific targeted measures to address cases of violence against Roma women.</li> <li>• Revision of eligibility criteria for access to legal aid and how they are applied in practice to Roma women.</li> <li>• Informing about the legal aid system and how to access it, including with the support of legal mediators.</li> <li>• Collection of data about the number of Roma women who benefited from legal aid, compared to Roma men and non-Roma women.</li> <li>• To ensure access to justice for Roma women using community-based Roma legal mediators, which can provide legal and general advice to people on how to handle legal or administrative problems. Legal mediators can refer people to organisations that provide social and health services, can provide counselling and mediation. Informal legal mechanisms can include personal counselling, alternative dispute resolution (negotiation and mediation) and arbitration.</li> <li>• Promotion of establishment of Legal Aid Centres in segregated neighbourhoods, where legal mediators and lawyers cooperate to solve Roma women’s legal issues. Counting on staff that are trained on gender equality, gender-based violence, protection against hate</li> </ul>	<p>Roma women, children and youth</p>

		<p>crimes and anti-discrimination legislation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To include human rights (and protection against gender and race discrimination) education in schools and universities as part of the curriculum.</li> <li>• Raise awareness of legal professionals, judiciary and law enforcement officials, as well as all other professionals, working with Roma women on issues of antigypsyism, hate crimes, hate speech, stereotypes and the situation of Roma women in relation to multiple and intersectional forms of discrimination.</li> <li>• Bar Associations to include in their training curricula on continuing professional development programmes topics such as: protection against ethnic and gender discrimination; gender equality and gender-based violence; and hate crimes.</li> <li>• Development of programmes and support to civil society initiatives designed to provide services for Roma women, promotion of Roma women's rights, equality, gender equality, equal opportunities, non-discrimination and promotion of Roman women 's access to justice.</li> <li>• To collect and publish data disaggregated by sex and ethnicity on the situation of Romani men and women, while ensuring adherence to data-protection requirements.</li> <li>• To ratify the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence.</li> </ul>	
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<b>Participation of Roma women and youth in all forms of public and political life, including in the public administration</b>			
<b>Objectives</b>	<b>INDICATORS</b>	<b>MEASURES</b>	<b>CHAPTER</b>
<p>To support the participation of Roma women and youth in all forms of public and political life, including in public administrations</p> <p>To empower Roma youth to become active agents of change both in their communities and mainstream societies</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roma youth and women employed in public administrations</li> <li>Roma youth and women in elected positions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Include Roma women's and gender equality groups in civil society coalitions consulted when drafting NRIS, in further NRCP and NRP actions, and civil society monitoring follow up. Participation in oversight mechanisms of ESIF.</li> <li>Create training programmes and programmes for developing Roma women's potential for public participation.</li> <li>"First-job" in public administration operations and ensuring participation of Roma women in them</li> <li>Public awareness activities among employers.</li> </ul>	Roma women, children and youth
<b>Regarding Roma children</b>			
To reduce child poverty in the Roma community to the respective national levels	Levels of child poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introduce at least 2-year obligatory preschool education; introducing free-of-charge obligatory 2-year preschool education for vulnerable families.</li> <li>Measures to assure the schooling of children in non-segregated schools and their attendance in quality and inclusive schools; to assure fulfilment of compulsory secondary education for all Roma children; to introduce intercultural education.</li> <li>Measures to support free and quality healthcare services for all the children starting from pregnancy; to ensure quality healthcare services close to living place, including in rural areas and in the big Roma urban neighbourhoods; ensure healthy nutrition.</li> <li>Introduce support mechanisms for families without proper housing to ensure good living conditions for their children; in case of eviction to ensure that no child is left without shelter; to introduce social housing for poor families.</li> </ul>	Roma women, children and youth
To guarantee proper child protection in the Roma community, including in cases of begging, early marriages and others	Oriented at the Child Rights Convention and the SDGs such as SDG indicators 3.7.2 (teenage pregnancies) and 5.3.1 (early girl marriages), and target 16.2 (abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prevention measures and campaigns, including community campaigns.</li> <li>Training of social workers.</li> <li>Support for families and the possibility of placing children in child protection systems.</li> <li>Putting an end to the practice of Roma children being placed in state care institutions, except as a measure of last resort.</li> <li>Support the process of deinstitutionalisation, including support for raising the capacity of poor Roma families to provide for their children.</li> <li>Protection of Roma children from violence and sexual abuse, including a specific focus on Roma</li> </ul>	Roma women, children and youth

		<p>children in respect to the Directive 2011/93/EU and the Lanzarote Convention.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Measures to eradicate all forms of racism, bullying and segregation that affect Roma children in preschool and school age.</li><li>• Introduction of intercultural education and education for tolerance.</li></ul>	
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