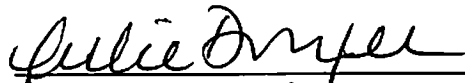THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE ROMA: THE PRODUCTION AND
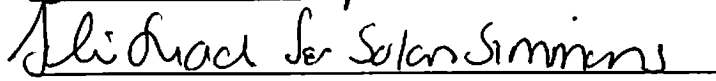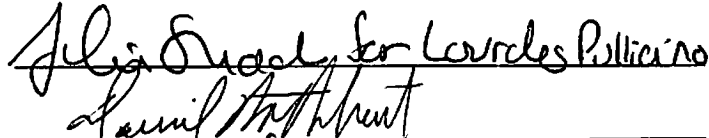SUSTAINABILITY OF MARGINALIZATION THROUGH SOCIAL POLICY

by

Krystal Thomas
A Thesis
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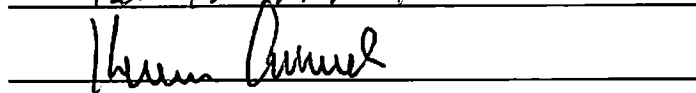
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The European Union and the Roma: The Production and Sustainability of
Marginalization through Social Policy

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University
of Malta

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my family and close friends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

European Union .... EU
Euro .... €
British Pound .... £
United Kingdom .... UK

ABSTRACT

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE ROMA: THE PRODUCTION AND SUSTAINABILITY OF MARGINALIZATION THROUGH SOCIAL POLICY

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George Mason University, 2014

Thesis Director: Dr. Leslie Dwyer

This dissertation discusses the tension between Roma and non-Roma communities within the EU. The recent news story about potential child abduction by Gypsies in Greece sparked immense interest about the Roma by the international community. The circumstances around the alleged child kidnapping revealed negative stereotypes and prejudices about the Roma community. This study was designed to provide insight into the historical origins of these negative stereotypes and prejudices. Understanding the historical development and significance of these negative stereotypes and prejudices provides clarification to the relationship between Roma and non-Roma communities. Furthermore, this study used these negative social images to understand the current social, economic, and political situations that are impacting the Roma community. The research question is how is the Roma identity socially constructed within the EU. The methods consisted of textual analysis and analyzed the history of antigypsyism, EU

perspective in regards to the Roma, and news and social media about the Roma

community.

CHAPTER ONE: INRODUCTION

Alleged Child Abduction in Greece

In October of 2013, the whole international community became concerned over the suspicious appearance of a girl with blonde hair and blue eyes in a Roma camp located in Farsala Greece. Local police had discovered Maria, at the time age 5 or 6, in the Roma camp. Authorities believed that a Roma couple by the name of Eleftheria Dimopoulou and Christos Salis had kidnapped Maria as an infant. The entire international news and social media community showed pictures of Maria and the ongoing investigation to reunite her with her true family. The story of abduction created a discussion on the history of Gypsies stealing children from poor families.

Images of poorly constructed makeshift shelters, Roma in tattered clothes with somber faces, and Roma children playing in muddy streets flooded every media outlet portraying the Roma as poor, social outcasts, and unclean. Here are some words used to describe the Roma from various news sources. "Child-snatching Gypsies," "sinister," "gangs," and part of the "baby-trade." Daily Mail, an online media source in the UK, reported the story of Maria with detailed pictures of illegal substances found in the Roma settlement. These banned items were not specifically found Dimopoulou and Salis residency. However, the use of photos attempts to persuade the Daily Mail's audience that Maria was in a very dangerous environment. Maria was referred to news media as a "blonde angel" that was rescued from the "Gypsies." Here is a quote from Costas

Yannopoulos, the Director of the International Center for the Missing, "She [Maria] was living under bad conditions and was very dirty, but is now safe" (Spencer et al., 2013). The idea of little Maria, clearly the victim, living in such horrid conditions was obscene. Several news stories attempted to counteract the notion that the "Gypsies" stole Maria by discussing how the media's response was based on stereotypes and prejudice towards the Roma community. However, these stories were mainly found on NGO websites dedicated to Roma issues or news sources from outside of Europe. The Roma community became the center of an intense international debate.

Social Impact of the Story of Maria

What this particular news story showed revealed the negative stereotypes that are still associated with the Roma community. The Roma, who have been historically categorized as *gypsies* or *nomads*, have been depicted as acting outside of social norms without any clear reasoning for their deviant behavior. As the mystery of Maria continued to be present in most countries headlines, the Roma community began being dissected by the rest of the international community. Who are the Roma? What were the explanations for their current situations? Furthermore, what does this image by news and social media of the poor marginalized Roma convey about the EU?

Marginalization of the Roma

The Roma are the European Union's largest minority group. Historically, the Roma have existed outside of mainstream society. There is very limited public knowledge about the Roma since there are very few social interactions between the Roma and non-Roma communities. The misconceptions of the Roma have led to members of

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the Roma community experiencing widespread discrimination and marginalization within the EU. Most members of the Roma community are living in situations of extreme poverty. The major issues affecting the Roma community are housing, employment, access to healthcare, and education. The majority of societies negative perceptions about the Roma community systematically reinforce these issues specific to the Roma community.

Potential Implications for the EU

As the EU continued to enlarge, many Eastern European nations that contain significant Roma populations have been integrated into the EU. In order to strengthen the economic and social bonds between EU member states, the EU permitted free movement within EU member states. This allowed the Roma, a majority who were from Bulgaria and Romania, to migrate towards Western European nations in substantial numbers. The EU must now address the unique needs of an entire population that has consistently operated outside the majority of society.

The EU is a series of European nations united to increase economic and social wealth. These unified nations achieve uniformity by adhering to previously established standards that must be addressed prior to becoming a EU member state. One key standard is effectively counteracting discriminatory policies and actions that result in the exploitation and marginalization of people residing within the EU. This news story, however, displays the Roma, Europe's largest ethnic minority group, in a manner that is both social exclusive and detrimental to the image of the Roma community. How is it possible to truly address the needs of the Roma and eliminate discriminatory behavior if

there is inadequacy of knowledge about the Roma? The question becomes, how is the Roma identity being framed based on historical context within the present-day EU.

Brief Overview

Literature Review

The literature review is divided into four major themes. The first theme is any academic studies or research associated with myths about the Roma community. This theme provides a basic understanding of the Roma and brief explanation of negative stereotypes associated with the Roma community. The second theme is marginalization. This theme will examine the ways in which the Roma are marginalized within society. The expectation is that these two themes provide further clarifications to the current situation the Roma are experiencing within the EU. The third theme is why understanding the situation of the Roma is important to the EU. The final theme is social identity theories. This theme explains the relationship between EU and Roma communities. Understanding this relationship will explain how social boundaries can shape the EU's concept of the Roma identity.

Methods

The methods chapter will use the results of the literature review to analyze three categories of data that are arranged individual chapters of data. The first category is the development of antigypsyist ideology in Europe. The second category is the EU perspective in regards to improving the current situation of the Roma residing within the EU. The third category of data is the news and social media perspective. The data will be analyzed using a type of textual analysis called critical discourse analysis. Since the Roma are described as marginalized by the majority of society, critical discourse analysis

will provide the proper lens to investigate the experience of the Roma throughout history and explain their current placement in society. Critical Discourse Analysis is an effective tool in understanding ideologies that solidify social structures in society. Examples of social structures would be social norms, values, power distribution, and prejudices. These factors are analyzed in order to understand issues of marginalization and social inequality.

Development of Antigypsyist Ideology

This category will further explore how and why antigypsyism developed in Europe. This can potentially explain the reasoning behind the existence of current negative prejudices towards the Roma community. Additionally, analyzing the history of the Roma community will provide answers to existing gaps found in the literature review.

EU Perspective

This category will analyze the 2014 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy. This strategy explains the ongoing approach the EU is taking to address the concerns of the Roma. The way in which the Roma in the text of the report might suggest how the Roma identity is being constructed by EU policies.

News and Social Media

This category will analyze the news and social media articles discussing the experience of the Roma community in various EU member states. This category will provide insight into how the Roma identity is framed by the news and social media outlets and EU member state governments.

Synthesis

This chapter will analyze the overarching themes discovered in the three categories of data. Furthermore, this section will build upon the findings and analyze them further with the lens of social identity theories. The three categories focus primarily on the perspective of members outside of the Roma community. This chapter will attempt to observe how members of the Roma community view their own identity. How does the way in which the Roma identity shaped by members outside the Roma community differ from the identity the Roma community constructed?

Conclusion

This paper will conclude with a brief summary of the findings and provide further recommendations to addressing the concerns of the Roma community.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Roma have become a major focus of interests for many European nations. As more members of the Roma community are migrating to Western Europe, the European Union (EU) is now responsible for a group of people who, historically, have been misunderstood and disregarded throughout the world (Fonseca, 1996). Due to the perception of difference and lack of a desire of certain members of the Roma community to assimilate to EU social norms, the Roma has been characterized as a threat to the stability of EU society. This perception of difference has potentially powerful implications for both the Roma community as well as citizens of EU countries. How is Roma identity being socially constructed within the European Union? More precisely, how is the identity group Roma created by members outside of the Roma community? Analyzing these perspectives in context allow for a greater understanding of the current experience of members of the Roma community within the European Union as well as how Roma are perceived outside of their community.

The Roma

Who Are the Roma?

Roma, as a term, is an "umbrella term encompassing the different groups and subgroups of the Romani communities, such as the Sinti, Manouches, Kalé, and Romiachals" (Ignatoiu-Sora, 2011, p. 1721). According to the Council of Europe,

however, the European Roma can be divided into three subgroups: Roma, Sinti (Manush), and Kale (Spanish Gypsies). The subgroup specifically called Roma consists of about 87 to 88%There are also two other groups: Dom, people who settled in the Middle East and Turkey, and Lom, people who remained in the Caucaus (In Other Words, n.d.). There are other names used by non-Roma to refer to Roma. These names fall into two categories: first category is terms associated with the belief Roma had origins in Egypt and second category is terms associated with *atsiganos* ("meaning untouchable in old Greek)(In Other Words, n.d). Terms that fall in the first category are Gypsy (English), Gitano (Spanish), and Gitans (French) (In Other Words, n.d.). Terms that fall under the second category are Tigani (Romanian), Cigány (Hungarian), Tsiganes (French), Ciganos (Portuguese), Zigeuner (German and Dutch), Zingari (Italian), cikany (Czech), and cigani/cigane (in Slavic languages) (In Other Words, n.d.).

In 1969, the Council of Europe wanted to use a term that would apply to all members of the Roma population in official text. The words used to refer to the members of the Roma community progressed in this manner: Gypsies and Other Travellers (1969), Nomads (1975 and 1983), Populations of Nomadic Origin (1981), Gypsies (1993), Roma/Gypsies (1995, 1998, 2000), Roma/Gypsi and Travellers (2001), Roma and Travellers (2004-2010), and Roma (since 2010) (In Other Words, n.d.). Roma became the official term following the signing of the Strasbourg Declaration on Roma after many Roma organizations found the previous terms to be offensive due to their association with negative stereotypes (In Other Words, n.d). However, many other countries still refer to the Roma in other terms specific to their region unofficially, some of which are

derogatory. For example, in Scotland Scottish Gypsies/Travellers (an acceptable term for some members of the Roma community) are at times called *Nawkins* or *Nachin* (In Other Words, n.d.).

The example in Scotland is one of many unofficial names used in various countries throughout the world. Even though there is tremendous effort to use Roma in official text, the frequent use of other words, respectful and derogatory, in reference to the Roma people will be a tremendous factor in understanding the Roma identity throughout the European Union. Names and terms contribute to how social categorizations are defined in the context of a society. Terms and names that are derogatory or terms used by the majority of society that are no longer used by a minority identity group limit the ability of members of the minority to be able to construct their own identity. The use of contradictory terms exemplifies the misconceptions of the Roma community.

Roma and Origins

According to linguistic similarities, most believe the origin of the Roma is Indian (Olivera, 2012) & (Gresham et al., 2001). Gresham et al. (2001) mentioned the similarities in social structure between Roma communities and *jatis*. The *jatis* refers to system used to determine caste in Hindu society. Each caste has particular roles in Indian society. The family structure within the Roma community has specific roles assigned to each member. The term Roma, specifically is used due to the belief that all of the groups (Roma, Sinti, Kale, and other members of the community) share a common Indian origin (In Other Words, n.d). However, since the term Roma encompasses diverse groups, there

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is significant amount of variation in language and places of origin between different Roma clans. Gresham et al.'s (2001) study found that there was a greater genetic difference between various Roma communities to one another than genetic difference between Roma and other Europeans (Gresham et al., 2001). Most academic articles discussing the Roma, often refer to them as being a unified single identity living in different nations (ex. Romanian Roma, Roma in Italy, Roma in France, etc.). Fonseca (1996) cited works by Bronisława Wajs, also known as her Romani name Papusza, who wrote about shared experiences of the Roma people. Although different subgroups that fall under the identity of Roma have faced similar experiences of discrimination, exclusion, and genocide, is it accurate to assume that there is an overarching identity that truly represents all people?

Roma and Place

The Roma are often categorized as migrant or nomadic people (Kabachnik, 2010). Roma are known as people without a sense of concrete place, often believed to be by choice – people without a need for place. This belief about the Roma has led to exclusion in housing other aspects of society (Kabachnik, 2010). Especially due to constant government resettlement, some members of the Roma community "show little interest in establishing practical or symbolic holds over the places they are made to live" (Gay & Blasco, 1999, p. 16). In Princigalli's (2003) documentary, the Roma community living in Bari purposefully constructed homes that were quick to build and deconstruct as if to be a norm. The families were evicted from their camp at the end of the documentary and had already begun to resettle in a new location (Princigalli, 2003). Place, in this situation, is a

specific physical site. Kabachnik (2010) compares this particular situation with a case of

a Roma community in England where communities openly fought against resettlement by

the government. Here, place refers to a quality of life that provides a social space of

meaning and ethnic identity (Stewart, 1997, p.72). The majority of society conceives

place as permanent residency on property that is legally owned by a person(s). The

person(s) are responsible for abiding by state government requirement's in order to

maintain rights to said property. Place, in this instance, implies a sense of sedentary

lifestyle that is both physically and socially grounded within society. Roma are being

socially categorized as one entity that operates outside of the societies concept of place.

These assumptions are based on stereotypes about the Roma community. The focus of

this paper is not to argue proper version of the word place to use, but rather how

conceptions of values and order become operationalized into society's social structure

that potentially exclude and marginalize portions of the population.

Marginalization

Resources and Laws

Most research studies about the Roma focus primarily on the ways in which the

Roma are marginalized. The biggest topics of discussion in regards to the Roma are

social exclusion in terms of housing, health, and employment (EU Policy 2010). The

European Roma Rights Center has used litigation in order to protect the Roma from

discrimination as a result of the Ostrava case (Ignatoiu-Sora, 2011). The Ostrava case

acknowledged the need to remove discriminatory policies and litigation against the Roma

community because it directly conflicted with the principles of the European Court of

Human Rights. With the help of European Roma Rights Center (ERRC), many members of the Roma community now have access to essential legal tools. These tools include advisors available to explain the legal systems to Roma communities unfamiliar to state policies and court practices. Ignatoiu-Sora (2011), however, argues that by portraying the Roma as merely a discriminated group of people, it can potentially imply that the Roma only need legal protection from discrimination and no other aid. Ignatoiu-Sora (2011) calls attention to the need for initiatives that "preserve and develop the cultural identity" of the Roma people (p.1711). "The focus on the discrimination issue wipes out an entire historical context, that of the encounters and interactions between Gypsies/Roma and the majority populations, and it can easily disrupt the balance achieved at local and community levels" (Ignatoiu-Sora, 2011, p. 1711). Focusing solely on how the Roma are discriminated against ignores the social institutions that support negative social perceptions about the Roma. Therefore it is essential to understand the historical significant of adverse characterization of the Roma community. Progress is being made to improve the lives of the Roma people. The concern is whether or not "progress" is actually addressing the all issues contributing to the social experience of the Roma.

Scholarly Work and Organizations

Tidrick (2010) discusses another issue that contributes to the Roma being marginalized. Researchers and NGOs can unintentionally further social stereotypes by portraying certain marginalized groups in a negative manner (Tidrick, 2010). Tidrick (2010) mentions two negative stereotypes previous researchers applied to the Roma: criminality and dishonesty. Political scientist Zoltan Barany wrote about the "higher-

than-average levels of Gypsy criminality" (Barany, 2002). Cesare Lombroso had a theory about Romas being a "race of criminals" (Tidrick, 2010). It was this belief of Romas being criminals that was used by the Third Reich to kill many Romas in World War II (Tidrick, 2010).

In regards to the social perceptions of the Roma being dishonest, here is a quote Tidrick (2010) gathered from her stay in Budapest: "They do not work; they just have babies so they can live off the social benefits system. Watch you pockets on the tram. Be careful in the Gypsy quarter –be sure not to go there after dark" (p. 121). The believed perception of Roma never wanting to work prevented many Roma from finding work (Tidrick, 2010). Also, it vindicated the use of sterilization on Roma women because the Roma were, quote from a Slovak official, "reproducing like mushrooms after rain" (Tidrick, p.123).

NGOs' efforts, inadvertently, can be equally detrimental to the Roma identity. In order to obtain funding to help the Roma, organizations depict Roma as living in awful conditions. These negative images sustain negative perceptions of the Roma with only a small fraction of the Roma population receiving any benefits (Tidrick, 2010). Tidrick (2010) stated, "No human being should ever be extended the false choice of either participating in a spectacle of one's own poverty or enduring hepatitis for lack of access to clean drinking water" (p.129). Tidrick (2010) emphasizes how those in power shape the lives in which the Roma are allowed to live. How is the social structure that is allowing portions of the population to be discriminated against being justified?

Another issue, however, is the fact that the Roma are left out of history. For example, The Roma were also targeted by the Nazi regime (United States Holocaust Museum). Very few articles reviewed mentioned the experience of Roma during the Holocaust. Housing, health, and employment are major concerns in regards to providing members of the Roma community with a quality life, but an appreciation of Roma history is essential in attempting to understand Roma identity. Furthermore, in order for progress to truly be made, grievances and traumas experienced by the Roma from the past need to be acknowledged by members outside the Roma identity and those affected must be able to truly grieve.

Antigypsyist Ideology in Europe

Antigypsyism has caused people given the label of "Gypsy" to be socially marginalized and discriminated against. End (2013) defines antigypsyism as consisting of two elements. The first element is that there is a strong sense of hatred towards people socially labeled as "Gypsies" (End, 2013). This hatred is sustained when the majority of society "shares images and beliefs and projects them onto specific social groups (mainly those who identify themselves as Roma, Sinti, Kalderashi, Irish Travellers, etc." (End, 2013, p. 23). The second element of antigypsyism contains the social structure that permits discriminatory and violent acts against Roma or others labeled as "Gypsies" (End, 2013).

End's (2013) main argument that is antigypsyism needs to analyzed as an ideology that contains a "set of images and stereotypes which are constructed, perpetuated and reaffirmed by majority of societies (p. 25). Most of the EU's and NGO

focus has primarily been on improving the living conditions of the Roma. Although this

is essential, End (2013) contends that the focus needs to be beyond instances of

discrimination in social structures to persistent patterns and functions antigypsyist

ideology has served throughout history (p.25). End (2013) goes into further explanation

with the five levels of antigypsyism.

The first level of antigypsyism is social practice. Social practice refers to the daily

experience of people who identify as Roma. Examples at this level are physical attacks

against the Roma, discrimination in employment or housing market, or being treated

poorly based on their identity, accurate or perceived (End, 2013). The second level builds

upon social practices. Social practices occur in the context of "historical and social

framework of political developments, economic crises, anti-discrimination laws, etc."

(End, 2013, p.25). Often times changes in political systems, economic crises, and laws

are seen as means to maintaining antigypist ideology because the Roma are blamed for

any deficiencies in society. End (2013) suggests in order for there to be social blame

towards the "Gypsies" there needs to be a preconceived internalization of negative

images, stereotypes, and conceptions of "Gypsies" (End, 2013).

The third level of antigypsyism is the images, stereotypes, and conceptions

associated with "Gypsies." This level is analyzing epistemology of "Gypsies" that is

continuously sustained by the majority of European society (End, 2013). In other words,

what is this shared depiction of a "Gypsy." The fourth level is analyzing the meanings of

these images, stereotypes, and conceptions of "Gypsies." The structure of meanings is

based on systems of communication that has maintained these images, stereotypes, and

conceptions throughout time (End, 2013). The fifth and final level refers to how this meaning of "Gypsy" contradicts the social norms and values of the majority of society. "Gypsies," then becomes the antithesis to a "good citizen" because the undesirable qualities are projected on people considered to fit the imagined prototype of the "Gypsy" (End, 2013).

This structure of meaning (mentioned in the fourth level) for imagined "Gypsy" is composed of three vital components: identity, parasitism, and absence of discipline (End, 2013). These structures are based on a competing relationship in which there is a good and bad (fifth level of antigypsyism). National identity is very core to people residing in Europe (End, 2013). According to End (2013), confirming the national identity results in becoming a member of identity group. This national identity group is considered to be "stable, rooted, fixed, and undivided" (End, 2013). Conversely, "Gypsies" were characterized as having an unstable identity with no ties to country or place (End, 2013).

"Gypsy" is symbolic of difference in all social norms. One of these norms is participation in the economy. "[Citizens] earn their bread by working hard" (End, 2013). In response to the good hard working citizen, "Gypsy" is considered to be parasitic for refusing to participate in "work" like the majority of society. End (2013) describes the antigypsyist view as "Gypsy" as "an archaic parasite who lives of the products of the hard work done by the majority of society" (p. 29).

The last component is that "Gypsies" do not possess the capacity to discipline themselves unlike the majority of society (End, 2013). This perspective considers the "Gypsies" as solely motivated by lust and desire instead of reason and responsibility.

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This portrays the imagined "Gypsy" as immature and irresponsible. All three of these components "Gypsy" nomads without an identity, "Gypsy" beggars and thieves, and "Gypsies" as irresponsible and lustful, have created an imagined characterization that is applied to people who operate outside of the social norms.

Importance to the EU

The fall of communism in late 1980's and early1990's, led to an increase interest in the welfare of minority groups, particularly the Roma, residing in Central and Eastern Europe (Ignatoiu-Sora, 2011). The 1984 Resolution on the Situation of Gypsies in the Community, via the European Parliament, attempted to draw attention to the fact that "gypsies still suffer from discrimination in law and practice" (European Parliament 1984, para. 1). The resolution acknowledges that the Roma were being discriminated against and asked for member states to address any discriminatory legislation (Ignatoiu-Sora, 2011). However, the resolution was ineffective in preventing the Roma from being discriminated against because it did not address the root cause of antigypsyist ideology embedded in EU member state's societies.

According to the EU (2014), the political shift in Central and Eastern Europe allowed for closer bonds to be formed with Western Europe, specifically the EU. In order to become a member of the EU, countries must fulfill the key criteria established by the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993. These key criteria became known as the 'Copenhagen criteria' (Conditions for, 2013). One of the 'Copenhagen criteria' states that the countries wishing to join the EU need to "have stable institutions guaranteeing

democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities"
(Conditions for, 2013).

Noticing the benefits of joining the EU, nations in Central and Eastern Europe had to fulfill the 'Copenhagen criteria' for accession by addressing the needs of the minorities within their state boundaries. The Roma, being one of the biggest minority groups within the EU, became the center of many organizations agenda. These efforts can be noted by the acceptance of Hungary (2004), Slovakia (2004), Czech Republic (2004), and Romania (2007) into the EU (Conditions for, 2013). These nations are mentioned frequently in research on the issues of the Roma along with Italy (1952) and Greece (1981). Italy and Greece, however, had EU membership even though many Roma continued to be socially excluded (Zachos, 2011; Princigalli, 2003).

Romania provided a key example of initiatives taken to address the ways in which the Roma are being marginalized. In Romania, there have been efforts to create television and radio stations that broadcast solely in the Romani language as means to so cultural appreciate for the Roma ethnic identity (Njegovan, 2011). Although there is extreme variation within the Roma community (language, culture, origin, etc.), efforts to not only include the history of the Roma, but also to educate others about their experience as well. There is hope to re-conceptualize the way in which each group views the 'other.'

Although some countries within the EU have taken action in bettering the lives of the Roma community living in the western nations of the EU, there is still significant progress to be made. Social structures allow for the continual marginalization of the Roma population due to discrimination and extreme poverty. As more Roma

communities are seeking permanent settlement locations, contrary to the stereotype about the Roma's desire to be nomadic, it is essential for the EU to be more inclusive in policy interpretation and implementation at local levels within the EU where people in direct contact with Roma communities. This should be done, not just out of potential threat of having large numbers of people operating outside of EU society migrating freely between borders, but because states within the EU, specifically in the west, have a moral obligation to uphold EU principles and mandates. Failure to do so reflects poorly on the EU's within the highly influential globalized international community.

Social Identity Theories

Throughout history, human beings have been able to survive due to their ability to categorize the world around them. From differentiating what is a threat and what is not, categories allow for humans to be able to process the world around them. Essentially, these categories also apply to how people evaluate one another. Similarities, such as locality, familial bonds, etc., between people resulted group cohesion and shared identity. Furthermore, it exposed incongruity in people without these similarities and the conflicts that result from difference. As highlighted in previous sections of the literature review, the tension between the Roma and the EU is based primarily on misconceptions of each other. To understand how the Roma identity is being socially constructed in the EU, one must have a basic comprehension of how identity is formed and maintained in society.

Identity is how individuals define themselves based on social categories of comparison. An individual possesses a multitude of identities that shift in salience depending on context of a specific social situation (Huddy, 2001). Identities can either be

acquired or ascribed. Acquired identities are identities that individuals can choose (Huddy, 2001). Ascribed identities are identities that have less fluidity in membership. Historically, these identities have been understood to be fixed and unchanging. An example of this would be one's ethnic identity.

Group identity, collective identity, is a valuable social phenomenon in which an individual feels a sense of community and security by belonging to that particular group. Especially in situations when the members of the identity group are in minority or socially stigmatize such as the Roma. Huddy (2001) acknowledges how modern theories suggest that an individual still has a choice in ascribed. Huddy (2001) states, "social identity theory researchers suggest that the salience of one's group membership is the sole determinant of identity" (p. 138). Individuals are able to choose how they define themselves. This is a very powerful notion because individuals are able to redefine meanings of social categories.

Individuals may choose how he or she defines herself, however, whether are not their decision is accepted by other members of the same group depends on the permeability of said group (Huddy, p.140). Huddy (2001) discusses the impact of *'external labeling'* when acquiring an identity. For example, it would be easier for an individual who was an East German to acquire a Western identity in comparison to an African American evade being categorized as black (Huddy, 2001). Certain external cues, such as skin color, gender, lifestyle, etc., impact social acceptance of an individual into a group. *'External labeling'* can happen outside of an individual's choice. When external forces define the characteristics, good or bad, of an identity group, the identity group is

treated based on those social perceptions. Members outside of the Roma community in part, shape the Roma identity. The way in which members of the Roma community are marginalized is based on the social perceptions of that particular identity group. To understand how the Roma identity is constructed, it is essential to understand group identity formation.

Group Identity Formation

Volkan (1997) describes group identity as consisting of five main components. The first is chosen traumas and chosen glories are selected in order to construct myths. The purpose of this is to explain *who we are*, or *our* story (Volkan, 1997).

Myths

*"*You know how I almost starved to death? Imagine you give somebody a tray full of food and he is so hungry that he would eat everything, and leave absolutely nothing for the others. So were the Romanians, they were poor, they were sad, embittered, hunger, and we, as gipsies, had absolutely no rights" (Princigalli, 2003). This experience has become a chosen trauma due to the fact that it unites members of the Roma by their experience with discrimination and ill treatment by the outsiders and created hatred towards Romanians (Volkan, 1997 & Princigalli, 2003).

Kinship/Ethnic Identity

According to Horowitz (1975), kinship is a strong sense of familial bonds in which people are united, or "related," by blood or common experience. Kinship, which can be shown within an ethnic identity, creates group cohesion through close ties, cultural traditions, and shared narratives or myths (Horowitz, 1975). As mentioned previously, the Roma are divided into various clans and identity groups that differ genetically,

culturally, and physically. Within each Roma clan or identity group, members are connected by blood and experience similar situations due to negative prejudice and discrimination by members outside the Roma community. Members of a particular Roma community live relatively close to one another in order to solidify group cohesion.

The second major component is shared reservoirs or suitable targets of externalization (STEs). Shared reservoirs (STEs) are symbols that act as being representative of the group identity and can be externalized by group members. Members of a particular group are exposed to shared reservoirs through his or her upbringing. Princigalli's (2003) documentary provides an example of this with the role of music in the Roma community in Bari. Songs are often stories about Roma's history and experience. These songs are often sung at family gatherings and taught to all members of the community (Princigalli, 2003). The third component in Volkan's (1997) concept of group identity is minor differences. Minor differences are when the differences between group members are minimalized in order for group solidarity (Volkan, 1997).

The fourth component of group identity: differentiation and integration. Differentiation and integration are the negative and positive suitable targets of representation (STEs) that a group apply to their own group and outgroups (Volkan, 1997). The tendency tends to be to apply negative representations to other groups resulting in negative feelings and perceptions of 'other' (projection) while using positive representations to describe one's ingroup (positive ingroup distinctions). Volkan (1997) states that projection can be used to rid an ingroup of negative images by applying them

to outgroups. Like in this particular conflict between the Roma and the Italian community in Bari.

Preserving Group Identity

The importance is to stress how determined this ethnic group is in preserving their group identity. As mentioned previously, each specific Roma community, particular clan, acts as a collective family unit. There is less emphasis on individual identity. Individual identity is defined as "a set of individual features and provides a basis for differentiating an individual from other people" (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). This quote sees the individual as being unique and distinct (Korostelina, 2007).

Although this collective identity provides a strong sense of support members belonging to the Roma community, individual freedoms must be sacrificed (Hobsbawm, 1994). This situation can also be explained by Melosik and Szkudlarek's (1998) definition of identity crisis. An identity crisis the internal conflict an individual experiences when forming a social identity. "By achieving a goal, I lose my freedom; by becoming someone, I cease to be myself" (Korostelina, 2007). Collective identity provides a sense of security for individual members (Melosik & Szkudlarek, 1998**).** Turner's (1985) social categorization model explains that individuals define themselves as members that belong to particular social groups. Social categorization happens in three stages. First an individual defines his or herself as members of a particular group (Turner, 1985). Second, members must show loyalty to their group by adhering to social norms and values promoted by the group (Turner, 1985 & Volkan, 1997). Finally, "group

categories influence the perception and understanding of all situations in a particular context" (Turner, 1985).

Us versus Them

Tilly (2005) describes social boundaries as a tool that allows "us" to separate ourselves from "them." Barth (1981) continues this concept by stressing the role of social identity in border formation specifically in response to perceived difference. This ideal stresses the importance of two things. First, that borders or social boundaries are not concrete and depend significantly on the context of a situation. Second, that boundaries rely on the *perception* of difference. For instance, the Roma community uses metacontrast in describing who they are by who they are not. Metacontrast, proposed by Turner (1985), is when members of the ingroup are seen as homogenous, emphasis on sameness, while differences of the ingroup to the outgroup are over exaggerated. This not only solidifies social boundaries between groups, but characterizes outgroup as one entity (Turner, 1985).

The Roma community in Bari perceive themselves as one close community against the 'others.' In the documentary, Roma refer to themselves as Rom, our people, and people who are not Roma as Gagio (Princigalli, 2003). On the other side of the Roma boundaries, Italian communities in Bari perceive the Roma as tremendously different from them. Furthermore, the Roma are seen as deliberately choosing to not assimilate to or engage in Italian societal structures which poses as a potential threat to maintaining their own boundary formation (Tilly, 2005).

Furthermore, boundary formation is also occurring with the Roma community in Bari to other Roma communities. There is a significant amount of variation within the Roma community (Njegovan, 2011). These different narratives, histories, traumas, and myths have created both concrete boundaries of cultural difference. In Princigallio's (2001) documentary, the men in the Bari Roma community talked about how they do not associate with Serbian Romas. This was a quote from one man, "they are not like us. They are Serbian Romas, far from my heart" (Princigallio, 2003). The need for boundary clarity is essential in not only strengthening group identity, but makes it easier to construct the other as an enemy. This quote also suggests the categorization of the Roma as a uniform identity could be problematic.

In both social groups, the lack of direct positive interaction has led to misconceptions of each other. The perception of difference results in boundaries that further and sustain misconceptions of the 'other.' Outside perceptions about the Roma living in Bari are that the members of this community are still relatively nomadic by choice (Kabchnik, 2010). Furthermore, the Roma are perceived as lazy due to the fact they would rather beg on the street and traffic lights rather than working a respectable job (Princigalli, 2003). Another big perception of the Roma is that they are extremely uneducated. The local authorities have made significant efforts to get the children of the Roma community enrolled in local schools. Many children, however, partially attend classes in order to beg on the streets with their families (Princigalli, 2003). Roma caught begging in the streets or at traffic lights are arrested (adults) and children are placed in temporary correctional facilities (Princigalli, 2003).

Princigalli's (2003) documentary focused more on how the Roma are perceived, but there were brief moments where members of the Roma community discussed their perceptions of Gagio. Three of the major perceptions expressed in the film. The first was that gagios were obsessed with the land and unwilling to share with the Roma. The second is that gagios are not inclusive to the Roma way of life. The third major perception is that gagios cannot be trusted (Princigalli, 2003).

This conflict is continuing to escalate due to tensions across social boundaries. Both groups are dehumanizing the other through the process of collective axiology**.** Collective axiology is "the moral guidance that defines boundaries for ingroup and outgroup membership" (Korostelina & Rothbart, 2006). Using mythic narratives, social groups are able to justify "actions, decisions, and policies" that pertain to outgroups based on generalized conception of who the 'other' is perceived to be (Korostelina & Rothbart, 2006). In other words, groups use a prototype, ideal representation of a particular group (Hoggs, 1992), for both their own group and the outgroup. For the local authorities, the prototype of the Roma community is a delinquent due to his or her lack of desire to assimilate or adhere to the policies established by the town of Bari. The prototype of 'outsiders' from the Roma perspective is evil and inhumane. This is due to the forceful removal of Roma from land and discrimination in employment (Princigalli, 2003). During Princigalli's (2003) film, the Roma community in Bari watched their camp be destroyed by local authorities due to the desire to build a public railway (Princigalli, 2003).

On both sides, there seems to be a high level of collective generality (ingroup categorizes 'other' as homogeneous) and low levels of axiological balance (perception of ingroup as morally pure and superior and the outgroup as evil and vicious) (Korostelina & Rothbart, 2006). Employers refuse to hire members of the Roma community due to negative projections of Roma as being deviant and troublesome, especially since members of the Roma community beg on the street. This discrimination places many members of the Roma community in vulnerable positions. Many members of the Roma community choose to beg since they are able to make more money working on the street for a day than getting paid under the table by employers (Princigalli, 2003). Social boundaries are then concretely clarified as both groups continue to separate.

Conclusion

This chapter provided insight into the current research on the issues of the Roma in identity construction and social marginalization. Including social identity theories provides another perspective lens to better understand the context of the relationship between Roma and non-Roma communities. Understanding this complicated relationship, based on social and historical situations, allows for a more thorough analysis of how the Roma identity is being constructed within the EU.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

How is the "Roma" identity social constructed within the EU? To answer this question, it is important to investigate the crucial circumstances in which the Roma identity is being debated. Using textual analysis, this study will analyze three categories of various forms of data to answer the question of the "Roma" identity formation and the discourse around what it means to belong to the Roma community. The categories are as follows: Development of Antigypsyist Ideology, EU Perspective, and News and Social Media Perspective. Further explanation of the categories is provided in the Data for Analysis section.

Data for Analysis

The literature review provided knowledge on obtaining all the necessary data for this dissertation. Data will be collected in all three categories between the years of 1930's to 2014. This time frame was selected to study the experience of the Roma during World War II, the waves of mass migration by many members of the Roma community, the Roma becoming the focus of EU policy on preventing discrimination (1980's), and current status of Roma in the EU. In other words, by looking at data within this time frame, exposes the formation of the Roma identity. A potential obstacle will be obtaining sources. The literature revealed that there is a significant amount of terms for Roma.

These terms also vary within each nation. Using the terms for specific regions allows for obtaining more quality sources.

Category I: Development of Antigypsyist Ideology in Europe

There seems to be a gap in the understanding of the Roma's history. The history of the Roma is significant in comprehending the current situation Roma residing in Europe, specifically on the development of stereotypes about the Roma and social exclusion. Furthermore, the literature review revealed that the Holocaust during the Second World War had a significant impact on the Roma community. Antigypsyist ideology, as defined in the literature review, provides substantial information on the experience of the Roma that the first two categories of data may not address and may offer insight into how the Roma identity has been shaped over time.

Category II: EU Perspective

Understanding the development of antigypsyist ideology in Europe provides a historical context to the relationship between EU member states and Roma communities. Antigypsyism directly opposes the EU's principle of antidiscrimination. Therefore, how is the EU responding to antigypsyist ideology and the Roma's quality of life? EU reports provide the necessary information in addressing this question. The literature review revealed that a significant amount of information about the Roma comes from EU Reports. These reports provide facts on current programs throughout the EU dedicated to addressing the concerns of the Roma people. These reports also provide numerical figures on the Roma population present in each of the EU's member states. Examining these reports is key to understanding how policy makers frame the Roma identity. This is

a necessary step in order to give context to the laws and polices that potentially affect the lives of members of the Roma community.

Category III: News and Social Media Perspective

After reviewing the EU reports, this category compares the EU reports with relevant news and social media about the Roma within the EU member states. News and social media are vital to understanding the framing of Roma identity. Media cuts across national boundaries and connecting the entire international community with one issue or cause. In regards to the Roma, examining news and social media will provide context current social issues of marginalization and discrimination impacting some members of the Roma community. Documentaries and videos focused on the Roma identity, both from Roma and non-Roma, also will be included.

Research Methods

Methodology

The methodology for this dissertation is qualitative. Rather than focusing on numerical figures, the question requires an analysis of words, symbols, stories, and images to truly answer the question. The sources of data will be both primary and secondary. Primary sources consist of the official EU website, NGO and other organization's websites, EU agreements, and statistical information on the Roma communities leaving in the EU. Secondary sources entails reports, newspapers, documentaries, and television news on the topic of Roma residing in the EU.

Methods

The most effective method of evaluating this data is to use textual analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the type of textual analysis used in this research

design. Discourse analysis, in general, focuses on the way in which meaning is produced, distributed, and integrated into social knowledge. Additionally, it is the way in which these constructs of meanings are contested or accepted depending on individual and group perception. Phillips & Hardy (2002) state that "social reality is produced and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourse that give them meaning" (p. 5). The concept of Roma identity has been constructed based on discourse. This discourse has been shaped by the context of social interactions throughout history.

CDA looks at how discourse contributes to social inequalities and distribution of power. In other words, CDA analyzes "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2005). These inequalities can be expressed in various forms especially in academia. Research studies, in particular, have been used to justify inequalities and abuses of power between various groups throughout history. For example, the Tuskegee research study that infected African American men with syphilis or research that fueled sterilizing the "feeble-minded" during the Eugenics movement. CDA perspective suggests that research conducted is based on the social influences of society and thus should be analyzed in that context. This is clearly expressed in previous studies of the Roma community and may impact how the Roma are portrayed in society today.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997), as cited by Van Dijk (2005), describe CDA in four major themes. The first is that the CDA perspective is essential in analyzing and

addressing social problems by not just identifying the issue, but explaining the issue in the context of society and social interactions (Van Dijk, 2005). The Roma are an identity group often categorized as a group who are socially excluded from the rest of society. What factors led the social divide between the Roma and other communities? Second, power relations are discursive. The distribution of power is based on a series of relationships. Third, discourse is historical. Discussions that are currently being conversed are based in prior situations in history. Fourth discourse is a form of social action. Contradicting previous norms or conceptions through dialogue is the first step to changing the status quo.

Encompasses All Levels of Society

Van Dijk (2005) argues that CDA as looking at various levels of analysis (microlevel, mesolevel, and macrolevel) as a unified whole. Analyzing from the microlevel of society would focus on "language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication" (Van Dijk, 2005, p.354). The macrolevel would center on "power, dominance, and inequality between social groups" while analysis at the mesolevel would be an intermediate between microlevel and macrolevel (Van Dijk, 2005, p.354). Thinking of social problems in a much larger context allows for a greater understanding of power dynamics, interactions between particular social groups, and the social structures and institutions that contribute to social norms, values, and perceptions (Van Dijk, 2005).

Understanding Power Relationships

The heart of the research study is analyzing the social construction of the Roma identity. How are the Roma defined as a social group within the EU. How the Roma

identity is shaped and its meaning results in the way the Roma are treated within society.

Therefore, groups or institutions that influence the Roma identity are exerting social

power. Social power Building on CDA's unified approach, how the Roma are perceived

by the EU impacts how national governments respond to the Roma, which impacts the

type of interactions that will occur between the Roma and EU local residents. Depending

on the source, the Roma are characterized as either marginalized victims or deviants of

society. Which depiction of the Roma impacts EU policies, news media, and/or the work

of NGOs? How does this impact access to resources in society? Are there other

conflicting ideas of who the Roma are?

Since the data will be text from different sources and various types relating to the

Roma, it is important to understand the types of power and how it plays into the

interaction between Roma and non-Roma. Van Dijk (2005) explains that the type of

power depends on the resources utilized to exercise power. For example, military use

coercive power because their exertion of power is by expressing force (Van Dijk, 2005).

Those with wealth use their access to money for influence while journalist, academia, and

authority figures use their access to knowledge and information as a form of persuasive

power (Van Dijk, 2005). Van Dijk (2005) argues that power is never absolute, but rather

a constant exchange of influence that is negotiation in various situations. Groups of

people are never completely controlled. The reason dominant groups of people are able to

gain so much power and control is based on the reaction of the other members of society

(Dijk, 2005). Van Dijk (2005) writes, "the power of dominant groups may integrated in

laws rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus taken the form of

what Gramsci called 'hegemony'"(p. 355). The institutionalization of hegemonic systems naturalizes "class domination, sexism, and racism" (Van Dijk, 2005). Van Dijk (2005) links power and discourse because those who are controlling the public conversation have substantial influence on social order. The discussions happening in policies, news, social media, and public institutions are part of cycle of power that determines social norms and behaviors as well as punishments for deviance.

How the Roma identity is being constructed impacts the way in which they are treated in society. With all the focus on the Roma in the news, it is questionable to ask who is in control of the Roma identity. Are the Roma able to contribute to their identity or do those in power solely shape it? CDA provides the right analytical approach to address many of these questions. In regards to power distribution, the role of power is essential when analyzing identity formation. CDA approach allows the researcher to examine how the Roma identity is defined based on power and influence. CDA is effective tool to understand how the Roma identity is defined and the purpose this identity serves to the social structure of EU society.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths

One of the strengths to this study is the relevance of the topic. Due to recent news media and efforts by the EU, the Roma has become the focus of many European nations. The amount of official reports, news media, documentaries, etc. by both Roma and non-Roma parties provides a tremendous amount of data for this dissertation which provides another strength to this particular. It is also important to note the research design

categories covers not only social and news media, but also official documents by the EU. The researcher attempted to obtain data from both Roma and non-Roma sources.

Weaknesses

   A major weakness to the study was being unable to conduct interviews. Speaking directly to members of the Roma community and NGOs (Roma and non-Roma) would have provided significant data for my research on the construction of Roma identity. However, this will be countered by the comprehensive categories for textual analysis. The text analysis includes a mixture of official documents, social media, and reports to cover the main means of exposure to the Roma community.

  Another potential weakness is focusing on the entire EU rather than just a specific country. The reason to focus on the EU as an overarching identity is due to the common standards all EU member states must uphold to maintain membership. This common collective identity allowed for a more inclusive range of data that improve the quality of text analysis. This is valuable to discovering which nations have the most interaction, positive and negative, with the Roma. Also, the EU (2014) promotes the idea of a unified Europe. As such it provides a significant amount of information on the Roma, organizations throughout the EU, and statistics of Roma populations by nation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIGYPSYIST IDEOLOGY IN EUROPE

What led to the imagined "Gypsy" to become the scapegoat in many European societies? Sonneman (1999) discusses how both state governments and Churches targeted "Gypsies." Duna (2009) has contributed research to further explain such negative societal response. The Roma were believed to have arrived in Europe during the 14th century in the Middle Ages.

"Gypsies" and Migration

It is now believed that the origins of the Roma are India. Besides linguistic similarities, researchers suggest that because the Roma refer to identify as *Rom*, it is possible that *Rom*, potentially, is a conjugation of Hindi *Dom* (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). In regards to this theory, the *Rom* was a series of various nomadic tribes that lived outside of the Indian caste system (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). Another theory argues that the Roma had been sedentary in Northern India, but were forced to migrate due to violent conflict (Kenrick &Puson, 1987). According to Kenrick &Puxon (1987), the Roma migrating from India in three large ethnic groups: the Rom, the Sinti, and the Kale.

There are various theories of the motivating factors that led to mass migration of the Roma community from India to Europe (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). Different texts place the Roma in different nations at varying in times prior to their arrival in Europe. At times it seems trivial to uncover the specific migration pattern of Roma to Europe, however, the

interactions between the locals and the Roma created the social stage of societal discrimination and marginalization of the Roma people. A portion of the Roma community arrived in the Middle East between the 5th and 10th century. The Roma who had settled in the Middle East were massacred and openly persecuted by the Armenians until the 14th century (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). Several tribes remained in the area while others migrated to the Central Asia region, referred to by Kenrick & Puxon (1987) as Soviet Asia during the Cold War. The Roma community migrated in various waves. Similar to migration patterns of Roma and other migrating communities today, smaller groups of the community migrate to a location in order to improve quality of life. If the newly settled area provides a better quality of life, the remaining community members will migrate in waves to the new location. Kenrick & Puxon (1987) suggest that another wave of migration occurred when a community of Roma left India much later than previous Roma communities and arrived in Eastern Europe by traveling through Asia Minor or present day Turkey. By the mid 14th century, there are various reports of Roma settlements in Greece and the Balkan regions (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). Members of the Sinti community migrated farther into Western Europe. Even though several Roma had already been established in Western Europe prior to the 14th century, this did little to prevent the development of antigypsyism in Europe (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987)

In order to travel westward, the Roma attempted to assimilate into Western society. Kenrick & Puxon (1987) suggest that "Gypsies" claimed to be on a seven-year pilgrimage for penance from being expelled from Egypt. According to Medieval town records analyzed by Kenrick & Puxon (1987), the Roma, saying they were Christian,

were able to find acceptance within Western European society and given alms and food.

For years, this allowed many Roma to migrate freely throughout Europe and become

established. However, the migration patterns of the Roma and negative stereotypes about

"Gypsies" resulted in local European towns becoming hostile towards the Roma. One of

the most prevalent stereotypes was that all "Gypsies" were nomadic. Conversely,

although a small percentage of the Roma communities still were nomadic, most Roma

moving westward were seeking a sedentary lifestyle (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987).

"Gypsies" and Colorism

Right away, Kenrick & Puxon (1987) mention the issue of colorism. Colorism

refers to the discrimination people may experience due to their skin color. Kenrick &

Puxon (1987) state, "The lighter-skinned Sinti were tolerated as migratory workers." In

Sweden during the 14th century, the Roma, due to the darker complexion, were often

referred to as black. Kenrick & Puxon (1987) quote a report of Roma arriving in a

European town, "The men were very black, with curly hair. The women were the ugliest

and blackest that I have ever seen. Their faces were all furrowed with wrinkles, their

black hair like a horse's tail. Their only clothing was a very rough old blanket fixed to

their shoulders by a strip or cloth or a string, with only a torn vest underneath. In short,

they were the most wretched creatures that had been seen in France in living memory" (p.

16). Firdausi, a Persian poet during the 10th century, wrote, "No amount of washing ever

whitens the black Gypsy" (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987, p. 19). Darker complexion was

associated with uncleanliness and filth. Kenrick & Puxon (1987) found this quote from a

Englishman protesting the relocation of a Roma family to a vacant home in town; "Gypsies only look black because they don't wash" (p. 20).

Kenrick & Puxon (1987) suggest that Christianity solidified the preference for fairer complexion by creating a cosmic war between light (good) and dark (evil). Kenrick & Puxton (1987) claim, "The doctrine between light and dark [is] personified in white angels and dark devils" (p. 20). Kenrick & Puxon (1987) acknowledge that the European perspective of *blackness* being associated with "inferiority and evil" had existed prior to the arrival of the Roma. Regardless, societal stereotypes based on color and difference played a significant factor in the lives of the Roma living in Europe.

Additionally, the myths about the origins of the Roma people supported the belief of "Gypsies" being unnatural and sinful. Kenrick & Puxon (1987) write about several beliefs about the origin of "Gypsies." The first is the belief that the first "Gypsy" was born due to "Eve lay[ing] with Adam after his death" (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987, p. 29). Another theory created alludes to "Gypsies" being the result of incestuous relationships (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987, p. 29). The social acceptance of the "Gypsy's" unnatural origins, led many people to believe that "Gypsies" had magical powers. Several sources describe the occupations of "Gypsies" as reading cards, fortune telling, and producing secret health remedies. This social perception created a mixed state of interest and mistrust towards the Roma people.

"Gypsies" and Understanding Terms

In Greece, due to the mysticism of fortune telling and palmistry/predictions, "Gypsies" were referred to as 'atsingani' (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). This word was

utilized to derive other words of similar meaning in other languages. Such words were 'Zigeuner' and 'cigano' (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). The term "Gypsy" also has contradicting meanings. In Western Europe during the Middle Ages, the term "Gypsy" was associated on Egyptian. "Gypsy" referred to people who had been expelled from Egypt (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987). Conversely, in Eastern Europe the use of "Gypsy" is strongly linked with the concept of 'nomad' (Kenrick & Puxon, 1987).

"Gypsies" and the Church

People who were considered to be "Gypsies" wanting to become members of the church were blatantly rejected (Duna, 2009). A quote by the Archbishop Petri of Sweden in 1560 stated to recommend treatment of "Gypsies," "The priest shall not concern himself with the Gypsies. He shall neither bury their corpses nor christen their children" (Duna, 2009). According to Duna (2009), people socially identified as "Gypsies" were denied acceptance from the Church based on two reasons. The first reason is that the motivations for joining the Church, assumingly, was based on a desire to obtain social acceptance rather than spiritually inspired (Duna, 2009).

The second reason is that the Church felt threatened by the social influence the "Gypsies" were having on society (Duna, 2009). The social boundaries between the Roma and Europeans resulted in a mystification of the imagined "Gypsy." The example provided I was "Gypsies" being magical because of the appeal of fortune telling and palm reading (Duna, 2009). The perceived influence the "Gypsies" had on the majority of the population potentially threatened the supremacy of the Church (Duna, 2009). People found to be participating in fortune-telling or palm reading were excommunicated or

forced to do penance (Duna, 2009). Religious leaders of the Christian and Islamic faith fueled the stigmatization of the Roma by refusing to accept them into society. "Gypsies" were denied the opportunity to participate in religious functions while those who had converted were treated as second-class members (Duna, 2009).

"Gypsies" and Trade Guilds

Another social group that was threatened by the presence of the Roma were the trade guilds due to the fact that many Roma were also involved in trade, specifically metalworking and other crafts (Duna, 2009). The competition of the Roma in the trade industry posed a threat to the existing guilds. Romas were hired throughout Europe as metal smiths and other members of the Roma community sold baskets, combs, and jewelry in market places (Duna, 2009). The impact of competition between the products of the trade guild and the Roma resulted in the local guild members losing business. This resulted in guilds passing laws that prevented the Roma, or "Gypsies," from working in particular trades (Duna, 2009). One law created banned the Roma from working within city limits (Duna, 2009). In Hungary, the Guild of Locksmiths had forbid "Gypsies" from performing metal work outside of their tents (Duna, 2009). In other areas of Europe, if the Roma were able to find employment, they had to pay additional taxes (Duna, 2009).

Duna (2009) argues that the lack of economic opportunities given to the Roma during this time caused many members of the Roma community to seek incomes outside of the traditional economic system such as "petty crime and trickery" (Duna, 2009). This source suggests that created the infamous image of the "Gypsy." However, negative stereotypes about the Roma seemed to exist in society prior to the response of guilds.

Still, the association between "Gypsies" and crime could potentially be a result of the conflict between the Roma and trade guilds.

Slavery

Many Roma were forced into slavery and were owned by local landowners, officials in government, and, at times, the Church (Duna, 2009).

Persecution

Following the formation of the association with "Gypsies" and criminal behavior, a series of anti-gypsy laws were passed throughout Europe in hopes of deterring "Gypsies" from settling in the area (Duna, 2009). "Gypsies" were accused of crimes such as child stealing, well-poisoning, and cannibalism (Sonneman, 1999). This characterization of the "Gypsy menace" was projected onto the Roma and was used to justify treating people labeled as "Gypsy" as less than human. Sonneman (1999) mentions how states initiated "Gypsy hunts." "Gypsy hunts" was a legally authorized event in which "Gypsies" could be hunted for sport regardless of whether or not a crime was committed (Sonneman, 1999 & Duna, 2009). Men, women, and children were all hunted and killed without any remorse. Duna (2009) provides a segment of a law justifying "Gypsy hunts, "in order to root out this brood of rascals…whether the Gypsies resist or not, these people shall be put to death" (Duna, 2009).

In the 19th century, the "Gypsy" was given the context of Rosseau's "noble savage" due to an increased interest in "Gypsy culture." It resulted in a drastic decrease in direct attacks against the "Gypsies," however, people identified as "Gypsies" were placed

at the bottom of a hegemonic system. The Roma and others labeled as "Gypsies" continued to be ostracized from society.

"Gypsies" and Pre World War II

This suggests that in order for the atrocities that occurred during the Holocaust to occur, the social stage had to be set in order to allow such events to happen. The negative feelings towards the socially constructed image of the "Gypsy" had already existed.

Medical Research Studies

These stereotypes of criminality and racial inferiority associated with "Gypsies" were strengthened by research studies conducting prior to the Second World War. A clear example of this would be the creation of the Racial Hygiene Demographic Biology Research Unit in Germany. Robert Ritter, a psychologist and psychiatrist, led the research unit by requiring the entire "Gypsy" population living in Germany, of 30,000 people, to register for studies to "prove the links between racial characteristics and criminality" (Sonneman, 1999). In 1942, Ritter, based on his findings, suggested that "Gypsies" be sent to labor camps (Sonneman, 1999). The research conducted by Eva Justin, an assistant to Ritter, also supported antigyspyist ideology. Justin argued that "Gypsies" could never be integrated into society. This view, in particular, is still held today in the current situation with Romas living in the EU. For example, the French government justified the deportation of Roma because they did not believe it was possible to integrate the majority of Roma into French society (Diehl et al., 2014). Justin, after her research was completed, proposed, "all educated Gypsies and part-Gypsies of predominately Gypsy blood, whether socially assimilated or asocial and criminal, should

as a general rule be sterilized" (Sonneman, 1999). Research studies continued during the Second World War. "Gypsies" sent to camps became subjects of various medical research studies.

Legislation in Germany

According the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Roma were registered in a central system in 1899. In 1922, Germany required all "Gypsies" to be fingerprinted due to their potential for criminal behavior. In 1933, German legislation was created against people who lived a "Gypsy" lifestyle due to the belief of "Gypsies" racially inferior (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

The Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Diseases

The Law for Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Diseases was created in 1933 to prevent people deemed "hereditarily unfit" from contaminating the German nation (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The "hereditarily unfit" or "biological enemies" included persons with mental and physical disabilities, Jewish people, "Gypsies," and other "asocial" groups. Persons that fell into these categories, due to medical research, were forcibly sterilized. As the conflict escalated, people within this socially unaccepted groups were executed using the Euthanasia program (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The Euthanasia program, which started as secret campaign, originally targeted children. The year October 1939 was when the first group of children was killed in "special pediatric units" (Heberer, 2002). The killing of children continued until 1945 resulting in the death of 5,000 to 7,000 German toddlers, infants, and young adults (Heberer, 2002).

Law Against Dangerous Habitual Criminals

The Law Against Dangerous Habitual Criminals had previously been

implemented to detain people who had been convicted of two prior convictions in

"protective custody" for unlimited amounts of time (BBC History, 2014). According to

BBC, "Protective custody" referred to labor camps. However, in 1933, the law was used

to justify the imprisonment of person deemed dangerous to social wellbeing (United

States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The law now included "beggars, vagabonds,

prostitutes, primps, and the workshy" (BBC History, 2014). "Gypsies," who were

considered to be a "race of criminals," were sent to prison indefinitely without trial

(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

Nuremberg Laws

The Nuremberg Laws were in effect September 15th 1935. These laws

institutionalized discrimination and marginalization of social groups deemed inferior in

Nazi ideology (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The Nuremberg Laws

first specifically applied to people identified as belonging to the Jewish community

(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). It revoked citizenship of Jewish

people and prevented any person who was Jewish from "marrying or having sexual

relations with persons of "German or related blood" (United States Holocaust Memorial

Museum, 2014). The purpose of this law was to prevent the birth of "racially suspect"

offspring (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). In November of the same

year, the Nuremberg Law was extended to other socially excluded Groups, including the

Roma.

Office for the Suppression of the Gypsy Nuisance

Heinrich Himmler, the SS chief and chief of the German police, established the Reich Central Office for the Suppression of the Gypsy Nuisance to centralize policies towards the "Gypsies" throughout all of Germany. The office was created to prevent "Gypsies" from dismantle social order (Bislim, n.d.). This office was used to protect the "image of Berlin" during the Olympics of 1936 (Bislim, n.d.). Prior to commencement of 1936 Olympics, "gypsies" was forcibly removed from the area to a camp in Marzahn. Marzahn was an open field that was located near a cemetery and sewage dump (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). Inhabitants of Marzahn were allowed to leave the camp to work, but had to return each night (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). After Marzahn was established, "Gypsy" camps were created throughout all of Germany by the request of local police and citizens from 1935 to 1938 (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

Porajmos, the 'Devouring'

The Holocaust, known as Porajmos in the Romani language, was one of the most traumatic event to the Roma community. Over half a million of Roma were affected by the Holocaust because they were stigmatized as being "Gypsies"(End, 2013). Antigypsyism is clearly expressed in the Holocaust during the Second World War. The social prejudice towards the Roma as the infamous "Gypsy," allowed for the genocide of the Roma and other people deemed as "asocial" by Nazis and other Axis partners (Genocide of European Roma, 2014)**.** End (2013) writes, "an estimated 500,000 people were killed as "Gypsies" from nearly every European country" (p. 23). The events that occurred during the Holocaust greatly impacted the Roma communities residing in Nazi

occupied territory (Lippman, 2014). During the Holocaust, "Gypsies" were branded with the letter "z" followed by a series of numbers for identification. "Z" represented the German word Zigeuner used to describe "Gypsies." The word Zigeuner originates from a Greek root that means "untouchable" (Sonneman, 1999). The Roma were forced to reside in ghettos, sent to concentration camps, or murdered (Lippman, 2014). The camps where the majority of Roma were sent were Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno, Belzec, Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Mathausen, and Ravensbrück (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

Invasion of Poland 1939

The invasion of Poland expanded Nazis territory referred to as *Generalgouvernement*. Nazis officers wanted to deport 30,000 German and Austrian Roma to the *Generalgouvernement* region.

1940

2,500 Roma and Sinti were sent to the Lublin District in Generalgouvernement to labor camps. The Roma sent to the labor camps fate is unknown. Most believe that survivors were sent to Belzec, Sobibor, or Treblinka to be killed in gas chambers.

1941

5,007 Sinti and Lalleri "Gypsies" were taken from Austria to Lodz. Of the Roma sent to Lodz, half died due to lack of food, fuel, shelter, and medicine (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). Roughly 30,000 Roma had been killed in the Baltic States and Nazis occupied areas of the Soviet Union. In Serbia, it is estimated that 1,000 to 12,000 members of the Roma community had been killed (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

1942

Survivors of the camp in Lodz were sent to Chelmo. Chelmo, referred to as a "killing center," were killed with carbon monoxide gas in vans. In Berlin, Lackenbach and Salzburg, hundreds of Roma were killed (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). In France, 3,000 to 6,000 Roma were detained in both Nazis occupied and unoccupied territories. According the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2014) a small number of the Roma who were detained were deported to camps in Germany. In Romania, 26,000 Roma were deported. In the Croatia, the entire Roma population, an estimated 25,000 people, was killed (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

In this same year, an order was implemented resuming the deportation of all Roma from the Greater German Reich. Local Germans residing near *Zigeunerlager*, or "Gypsy camps," had complained that the presence of the "Gypsies" was a threat to "public morals, public health, and security" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). There were three ways a person belonging the Roma community could exempt from being deported. The first is that if the person was of "Gypsy descent" but had integrated into Germany society. In other words, these people did not "behave like Gypsies" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The second exemption was if an individual has distinguished himself in the German military service. According to this exemption, he as his family would not be deported. The third exemption was if a person had "pure Gypsy blood" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). "Gypsies" of "pure blood" were viewed as harmless due to the belief that the Roma were originally Aryan. However, "Gypsies" of "mixed blood" remained a threat because their

ancestors had been "corrupted by breeding with lesser peoples" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). Those of "mixed blood" possessed degenerate blood that contained criminal characteristics.

Roughly 5,000 to 15,000 Roma were exempt according to the three exemptions. However, police often failed to make the distinction between "Gypsies" of "pure" or "mixed" blood. Even soldiers who were members of the Roma community were sent to "Gypsy camps" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014).

1944

Order that required all inhabitants of the "Gypsy" compound in Auschwitz-Birkenau to be executed. Many of the Roma had died due to infectious diseases and epidemics such as typhus, smallpox, and dysentery. When the soldiers approached, the Roma community living in the compound refused to leave their camp and armed themselves with anything that could be used as a weapon (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). The troops withdrew and returned the following day. 3,000 Roma able to work at labor camps were forcibly removed from Auschwitz-Birkenau. The remaining 3,000 inmates, mainly people who were ill, elderly, women, and children, were killed in the gas chambers of Birkenau (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2014). 23,000 people, people who were Jewish and Roma, had been sent to Auschwitz and roughly 19,000 had died there.

In other camps, the Roma were also being executed. Of the people who survived, tens of thousands were unwillingly sterilized, deported, or sent to detainment camps

(End, 2013). "Gypsies" that were considered to be mentally ill or "unworthy of life" were disposed of by euthanasia (Germany opens memorial, 2012).

Stories from Survivors

Sonneman (1999) interviewed a woman, identified as Sinti, who survived the Holocaust. Sonneman (1999) states that Sinti is part of the ethnic "Gypsy" population that arrived in North Europe centuries ago. The woman, referred to in the article as Rosa, and her family had been living in Vienna. Sonneman (1999) writes about Rosa, "Her family contradicts the stereotype of the traveling Gypsies: They had been settled in Vienna for generations, lived in a house instead of Gypsy wagons, and invited their non-Gypsy neighbors to their home for coffee." As Rosa shows Sonneman (1999) pictures of her family, Rosa mentions the members of her family who had died in the Holocaust. Rosa's family had been sent to a force labor camp titled Lackenbach and then transferred to Lodz Ghetto in Poland, which was later named Litzmannstadt. Rosa had managed to escape when she was 17 years old. Sonneman (1999) states that of the 255,000 people at Lodz, only 877 people survived. Rosa tells Sonneman (1999) that the "Gypsies" who had survived the outbreak of typhus were taken to an extermination camp and killed in gas chambers.

In Sonneman's (1999) article, it discusses how members of the Roma community were drafted into the Germany military until discharged in 1942. After being discharged from the military, people, who were identified as "Gypsies," were some were not deported while others were sent to concentration camps while wearing their uniforms (Sonneman, 1999). This happened due to an order by SS Chief Heinrich Himmler that

called for the "deportation of all German Gypsies to Auschwitz" in December of 1942 (Sonnenman, 1999). Rosa, who had escaped the camp in Litzmannstadt, had gotten married and was with child. After her child was born, Rosa was suffering from post-partum complications and needed treatment from a doctor. The doctor, identifying her as a "Gypsy," reported her to the authorities and she was arrested and transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau (Sonnneman, 1999).

In the interview, it is apparent that the trauma Rosa experience has greatly impacted the way she views the German people and her pride for her identity as a member of the Sinti, a subgroup of the Roma, community. Rosa, who had lived in Germany all her life, refuses to identify as German. She always refers to herself as Sinti (Sonneman, 1999).

Zoni Weisz, another survivor of the Holocaust, was able to escape deportation to Auschwitz at the age of 7. Weisz was able to escape with the help of a police officer. Weisz's mother and two siblings were killed at camp Auschwitz shortly afterwards (Germany opens memorial, 2012). Many survivors of the Holocaust that were labeled as "Gypsies" continue to live in Germany. Rosa and other persecuted people were given full German citizenship, but it still does not address the tension and resentment internalized by the Roma community.

After World War II

As mentioned previously, the Federal Republic of Germany justified the actions taken against the Roma community prior to 1943 as legitimate and not racial prejudice. Roma survivors were not able to seek justice for those who had been murdered,

"incarcerated, forcibly sterilized, and deported out of Germany for no specific crime" (Bislim, n.d.). The tragedy of the Holocaust set the stage for Europe's desire to focus on the marginalization of the Roma people. The end of the Cold War exposed much of the ethnic cleansing that was still occurring after the Second World War (Bislim, n.d.). Recently, there have been several initiatives have been taken by certain EU member states to acknowledge the sufferings of the Roma. For example, Belgium constructed a memorial in honor of the Roma who were killed during the Holocaust. Germany, after years of paying compensation to survivors of the Holocaust who were Jewish, are now planning to develop a compensation program for the remaining Roma survivors (Eddy, 2012). However, the delay and infrequency of these memorials and reparations may undermine the potential positive effect of these initiatives. Although the Roma were not the only minority groups that had been targeted by ethnic cleansing, the inability of the Roma people to seek restitution or acknowledgement of suffering has resulted in a strong mistrust of members outside of the Roma community.

CHAPTER FIVE: EU PERSPECTIVE

This chapter analyzes the 2014 report on Implementation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. This report provides additional context in the response of each EU member state in regards to the Roma and also the overall EU approach to the Roma. The way in which the situation the Roma people experience, may provide necessary insight into how the Roma identity is being constructed within the EU.

Introduction to EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies

The EU has sought to hold all member states to the same EU standards. The marginalization of the Roma, the largest minority group within Europe, directly confronts primary EU principles. In order to address this conflict, the EU decided to develop initiatives designed to be inclusive to the Roma community. This particular strategy was created in April of 2011 and will continue until 2020. Each year, the EU Commission makes a report to the European Parliament, European Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of Regions to see how the EU Framework for National Roma Integration strategies are being implemented. The annual report reviews the progress each of the EU member states has made in integrating the Roma into mainstream European society.

The EU Framework for National Roma Integration strategies takes into account the differences between member states. Therefore, the report makes recommendations

that are specific for each particular country. These recommendations, however, were only made for member states with "sizable Roma population." The report does not numerically quantify the threshold for a "sizable" Roma population. The number of Roma present in each nation determines the amount of funding a nation receives for implementing programs. The internal Roma Task Force was created in 2010 to ensure effective use of the funds by identifying key problems that Roma communities are experiencing. One of the biggest concerns was the Roma community's socio-economic situation. To assess the current situation, the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) conducted a pilot survey in 2011). The survey established the baseline of the situation many Roma were experiencing prior to the efforts of the Integration strategy.

All future progress is determined based on the results of the 2011 survey. This is potentially problematic. Accurate surveys are based on representative sample of the population in question. According to the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights website, the survey was administered to 11 EU member states and was administered to roughly 22, 203 people both Roma and non-Roma. In the year span of 2011 – 2012, there were 27 countries within the EU. Due to the research of other organizations such as the Worlds Bank and UNDP (United Nations Development Program), FRA only focused on the remaining 11 countries not included in previous research. Regardless, the EU Framework for the National Roma Integration strategy is based on the results of this survey that is not representative of the entire EU. Furthermore, according to the website, Roma participants were randomly selected for face-to-face interviews. In order to provide comparison, the FRA interviewed non-Roma living near by. The survey does not explain the breakdown

of Roma and non-Roma participants nor does it explain the processes for selecting members of the Roma community. The FRA website claims that all interviews were conducted face-to-face, yet it does little to explain the potential difficulty in overcoming the lack of trust many Roma have towards members outside of their community.

Regardless, the FRA survey provides a comparison in the situation between Roma and non-Roma members of various EU member states. Here are some of the figures produced by the FRA from their survey. **Figure 1** compares the average of employment and unemployment between Roma and non-Roma individuals. **Figure 2** compares the responses of participants in perceptions of discrimination. **Figure 2** also provides a comparison between Roma and non-Roma communities.

Share of respondents aged 16 or older who are currently in full time paid work

37%

Roma
13%
Survey average

Share of the unemployed who are discouraged to look for a job because of discrimination

Roma
26%
Survey average

Share of respondents aged 16 or older currently unemployed or without regular paid work in the last 5 years
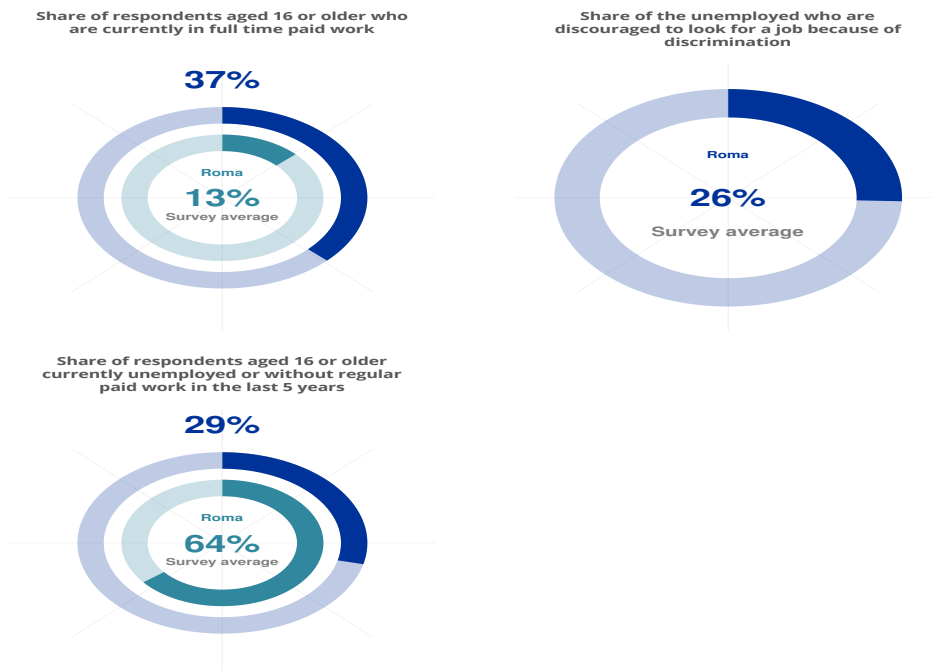
29%

Roma
64%
Survey average

Figure 1. Roma and NonRoma: Employment

Share of respondents aged 16 or older who felt discriminated against in the last 12 months because of their ethnic origin

4%

Roma

46%
Survey average
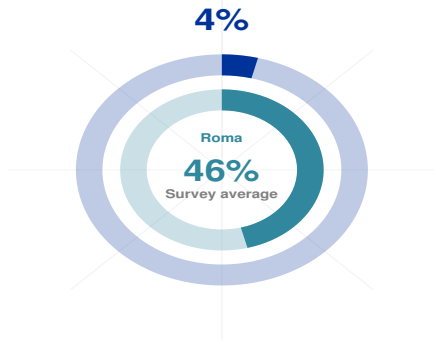
Share of Roma respondents aged 16 or older who participate actively in trade union, political organisation, Roma or other organisation
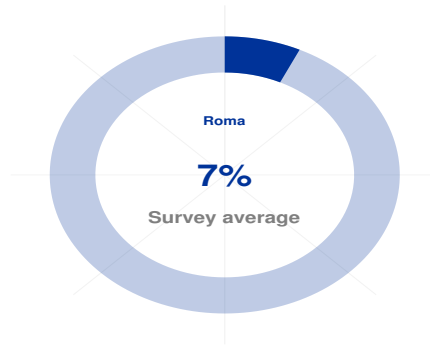
Roma

7%
Survey average

Share of respondents aged 16 or older who felt discriminated against in the last 5 years when looking for health services

Roma

21%
Survey average
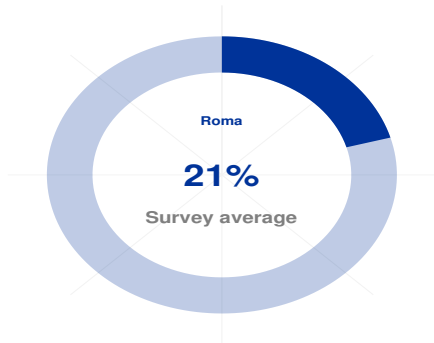
Share of Roma respondents aged 16 or older who are not aware of any organisation working to help the Roma
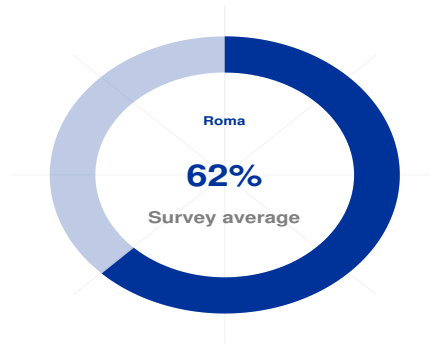
Roma

62%
Survey average

Share of respondents aged 16 or older who felt discriminated against in the last 5 years when dealing with an educational institution

Roma

19%
Survey average
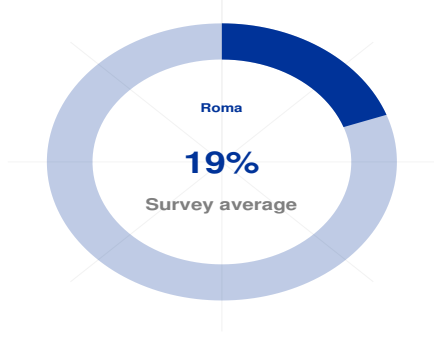
Figure 2. Roma and NonRoma: Perceptions of Discrimination

Figure 3. Roma and NonRoma: Perception of Discrimination by Country

Figure 3 clearly expresses the feeling of discrimination experienced by members of the Roma communities living within the sampled countries listed above. All questions of the survey were based in five categories: education, employment, living standards & health, housing, discrimination & participation. These categories would later become the major focus of the integration strategy.

EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy's Main Focus

As mentioned previously, the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy was created to address the perceived needs of the Roma community residing in the EU. Although each recommendation is country specific, there are uniform areas of

focus, based on the results of the FRA survey, for all 28-member states. The main areas

of focus each EU nation needs to address in regards to the Roma community are:

education, employment, health, and housing. The need for improvements in anti-

discrimination initiatives is mentioned as a core matter that all EU nations must address.

However, the section on securing financial support for sustainable policies is twice as

long. It is essential to make sure that funds are being used effectively to better the lives of

the Roma communities residing within the EU. However, this suggests that although

issues of discrimination are mentioned, the distribution of money proves to be of higher

importance.

Education

The integration of Roma children into the educational system has been see as the

most effective tactic to include the Roma in the majority of society because it targets the

entire Roma family. Roma families are encouraged to enroll their children in the school

system at an early age to potentially increase the chance of integrating the entire Roma

family. First, enrolling their children in the school system suggests a social investment in

the majority of society. Roma families with children enrolled in the school system

challenges the social stereotype of the Roma being solely nomadic. Sending Roma

children to school implies that Roma families are seeking permanent settlement. Second,

education is presented as a tool to increase members of the Roma community's

employment opportunities. Some EU member states provide educational opportunities for

Roma adults to learn new vocational skills and counseling in navigating the job market.

However, according to the report, there are several issues with the educational system that still needs to be addressed. For instance, the 2014 Report claims that, in several cases, local authorities have prevented Roma children from enrolling in schools due the lack of legal permanent residence. School systems were not prepared to address the needs of Roma children. Several studies have shown that Roma children are disproportionally placed in segregated special schools that provide a substandard level of education. This portrays a lack of understanding the educational system has towards the Roma population. The educational system must be inclusive to the needs of Roma students if it is truly possible for integration. The 2014 Report lists the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece as the EU member states whose educational systems for the Roma need to the most revisions. If the goal is to truly integrate, then it is necessary to have classes and programs that acknowledge the history and culture of the Roma while at the same time providing Roma students a quality education.

Another issue mention in the report is the effects of discrimination in the classroom. Several of media reports, specifically in Greece, showed that Roma children are teased and isolated from the majority of students. Stereotypes and prejudice towards the Roma is impacting the educational experience of many Roma children. Furthermore, teachers are not trained to address the current situation of Roma children. Many Roma families live on the outskirts of towns with limited access to transportation. Both of these factors potentially impact Roma children's school attendance. The report argues that the inability for Roma children to attend school regularly results in in the children falling

behind in coursework. These gaps in education consequently lead to many Roma children leaving school prematurely. Although the report states that the solution to reformatting the educational system is complex, progress is being made to increase the class attendance of Roma students, inclusiveness of Roma families, and providing Roma adults vocational training to increase marketability in the employment industry.

Employment

Improving the employment opportunities for members of the Roma community has been challenging. The EU Framework wanted member states to "ensure Roma non-discriminatory access to the open labour market, self-employment, microcredit, and vocational training" (Communication from Commission, 2014). Additionally, advisors would be available for Roma to navigate the job market and provide support once employed. Improvements in the Roma's access to education were intended to advance the employment opportunities for members of the Roma community. However, the overall increases in unemployment rates throughout EU member states and discrimination have resulted in little change in job opportunities for the Roma.

The Commission is encouraging EU nations to provide job creation through self-employment and social entrepreneur opportunities for Roma by using the provided through the Roma Integration strategy (Communication from Commission, 2014). In Bulgaria, Community Development Centers have been created to empower young people and women of the Roma community. In Hungary, members of the Roma community are given access to a program that provides labor market counseling, mentoring, vocational training, and wage subsidies. According to the 2014 report, Roma who had participated in

the program were 40% more likely to be employed. The report recommends that member

states should continue to provide programs that help the Roma thrive in the labor market.

Additionally, member states need to give employers incentives to hire Roma.

Health

The report mentions several issues with access to health and medical resources.

As stated by the report, there are significant social barriers that result in many Roma

having poor health conditions. One social barrier is the physical distance to health

resources. Settlements that are provided for Roma communities are often in remote areas

with adequate access to transportation. Another social barrier to health services is not

being registered with local authorities. Roma communities that live in illegal settlements

or lack permanent settlement are not able to utilize necessary health services. For

example, without access to health care, Roma children cannot be vaccinated. A child

without vaccination is prevented from attending school. Another barrier is many Roma

families financial situation. Those who seek health care are unable to afford medication.

Finally, the lack of access to information concerning health results in many Roma

suffering from ailments that could have been prevented. All of these social barriers are

solidified by cultural differences and instances of discrimination (Communication from

the Commission, 2014).

In comparison the progress of EU member states, Roma families' access to health

care is compared with the general population's access to the health care system. The

report mentions several nations, such as Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece, to provide basic

health care coverage due to financial and economic factors that have resulted in budget

cuts. In the report, the French government has claimed to increase the availability to healthcare for the "most vulnerable" members of society after noticing the vast discrepancies in access to health services. Other nations, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, have started training health professionals to address the needs of the Roma community. In Romania and Spain, mediators are used to provide health employees with deeper understanding of the current medical situation of many Roma. The Commission shows tremendous faith in the use of Roma mediators in breaking down social boundaries. The report did not specify whether the mediators were of Roma ethnicity or mediators dedicated specifically for the Roma community. Regardless, acknowledging the relationship between healthcare and socio-economic factors is positive approach to improve the Roma's access to healthcare system.

Housing

The ability to provide Roma communities with equal opportunities in housing and public utilities has been a difficult task for several reasons. First, many Roma communities are living in illegal settlements or areas outside of traditional halting sites. Settlements, legal or illegal, often lack access to clean water or electricity. These sites, also, tend to be on the outskirts of cities. This relocation of Roma communities to excluded parts of cities is similar to the relocation of Roma families prior to the Second War. The eviction and deportation of Roma communities, regardless of EU protocols, further stigmatizes the Roma as a scapegoat for societal problems.

Second, the report recommends that nations provide public housing for Roma that integrate rather than exclude the Roma from the rest of society. The report mentions how

the German government has purposefully provided public housing for the Roma in neighborhoods with the intention of integration. In Kiel, the housing project is titled Maro Temm, which in Romani means "our country/our place". The houses are assigned to Roma families in neighborhoods. These houses, according to the report, are for all generations of Roma families to live together and preserve their cultural identity. In addition, there are numerous resources provided to help Roma adjust and provides opportunities for small cultural celebrations. In Berlin, organizations are created to ensure the Roma "are accepted as neighbours and being integrated into the community" (Communication from the Commission, 2014). According to the report, these organizations give Roma families advice; provide assistance when dealing with authorities and landlords.

In Belgium, housing programs are designed for integration and establishing trust between Roma and Non-Roma families living in the same neighborhood. Both Roma and non-Roma community members are involved in determining the location of public housing. Nations that have provided segregated housing are recommended to provide plans for desegregation. Although several successful housing projects currently exist, more EU member states need to reformat housing project plans that provide access to quality homes to Roma families that are inclusive to Roma ethnic identity.

Recommendations for Future Roma Integration

Although the report highlighted significant areas that need to be improved to fulfill the Europe 2020 Strategy, it has a positive tone. The prioritization of the Roma community by all current and candidate EU member states strengthens the transnational

approach to Roma inclusion throughout Europe. Responsibility is primarily placed on the

EU member states to improve current programs designed for Roma inclusion and

improving the quality of life of the Roma people. The leadership of each member states

in both legislation and policy must enforce the EU Framework for National Roma

Integration. Furthermore, the report encourages member states to take advantage of the

EU funds designated for Roma inclusion and to use said funds efficiently. Finally, the

report suggest that leaders of EU member states can receive significant support from

local and international organizations, academia, and civil society to create more effective

programs to implement Roma integration effectively.

Discrimination: Integration Not the Only Solution

Although this approach was designed to be inclusive of the Roma population, the

report implies a different motive. It suggests that the resolution to the marginalization of

the Roma is simply to integrate. Providing the Roma with more access to social resources

is key to improving the situation of the Roma, but integration may not be the sole cure.

Antigypsyist ideology has been present in Europe for a significant amount of time. There

needs to additional focus on understanding the roots of Antigypsyism and how this has

impacted the relationship between the Roma and non-Roma communities.

Non-discrimination is a key principle in the EU, therefore, the report suggest that

rather creating new legislation, current policies need to be implemented and be inclusive

to the situation of the Roma people. Still, this goes back to the ways in which

Antigypsyism has been institutionalized in European society. The report mentions the

need to increase awareness about Roma culture and history. The example provided is

various EU member states creating memorials in remembrance of members of the Roma community that were affected by the Holocaust. This is extremely crucial because most of the tension found in the data related back to the idea of the history of the Roma people being forgotten. Roma families were denied the opportunity to grieve or for their loss to be recognized. Re-humanizing the Roma as more than just victims or deliberate social deviants "Gypsies" directly current social perceptions of the Roma people. There seems to be a strong disconnect from what this report recommends versus the current situation of the Roma in EU member states.

This disconnect is mainly due to the overall structure of the EU. The report creates recommendations for each individual state; however, it is the states decision as to whether to fulfill these recommendations or the manner in which they are implemented. Studying the situation of the Roma has revealed significant tension in the relationship between individual member states and the EU. For example, the ability for residents in EU member states to travel freely through the EU has led to massive migration of Roma to Western Europe. Although many members of the Roma community had already been residing in Western Europe, the negative stigma towards "Gypsies" has sparked several confrontations, verbal or physical, between Roma and non-Roma communities. The UK, as mention in the News Media section, the government and local non-Roma residents have become extremely frustrated with the Roma community. Numerous news stories discuss instances of members of the Roma community exploiting the social benefits system and refusing to work. The situation as escalated to the point of the UK government questioning its membership to the EU.

While this example pertains specifically to the UK, state governments are proving to have substantial influence on the spreading of Antigypsyist ideals. The use of discriminatory language in describing the Roma community by government officials only further institutionalizes the marginalization of the Roma by all members of society. Furthermore, the tolerance of discrimination does little to create a sense of trust between the Roma and non-Roma communities. The only way to truly be inclusive of the Roma is to break down the social boundaries between Roma and non-Roma communities that have been established throughout history. The only way for this to occur is to change the context of relationships between the Roma and non-Roma communities. Focusing solely on integration without being inclusive the cultural and historical identity of the Roma implies that the solution is to have Roma conform to mainstream society.

CHAPTER SIX: NEWS AND SOCIAL MEDIA PERSPECTIVE

This chapter builds on the previous analysis in Chapter 4 Development of

Antigypsyist Ideology in Europe and Chapter 5 EU perspective. Chapter 4 provided

historical context to root of negative prejudice and stereotypes about the Roma in

European society. Furthermore, this chapter provided helpful insight in present

misconceptions about the Roma community. Chapter 5 described recent approaches the

EU is taking to address the issues affecting the Roma. This chapter explained both the

pros and cons of the 2014 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy.

Chapter 6 provides modern situations of social interactions between Roma and non-Roma

communities occurring within EU member states that provide additional analysis about

the social construction of Roma identity.

The United Kingdom

In the last decade, roughly 200,000 Roma have migrated to the United Kingdom

(Styles, 2014). The mass migration was the result of the EU allowing free movement

throughout Europe, especially to minorities seeking protection. Many Roma left their

previous homes due to discrimination and a lack of job opportunities (Styles, 2014).

Wales

The Welsh government has taken steps to improve the living conditions many

members of the Roma and traveller communities face. Roughly £850,000 was distributed

to six councils to "refurbish Gypsy and traveller sites in their area" (Councils awarded, 2014, 2014). It is important to note that within the United Kingdom, the Roma are referred to as "Gypsies" and "travellers." The funds will be used to resurface land plots, landscape, erecting fences, and improving security (Councils awarded, 2014, 2014). This list of renovations is rather interesting because it seems to strengthening the divide between the "Gypsy and traveller" communities from the rest of Welsh society. Fences and security are questionable solutions to address the marginalization of the Roma community in the EU.

The Housing Act of 2004 was created in order to provide "gypsies and travellers" with proper housing accommodations within the United Kingdom (Housing Act of 2004). Communities Minister Jeff Cuthbert stated, "I am committed to ensuring that Gypsies and travellers in Wales have the same opportunities as people living in settled communities to access services and live the lives they wish" (Councils awarded, 2014, 2014). This appears to a step in the right direction. The Welsh government is attempting to accommodate to the perceived needs of the Roma. Does this truly address the needs and desires of the Roma community living in Wales? Is the only focus separation from the Roma community or are there efforts to be inclusive of the Roma.

Inclusion should be the objective rather than integration. Integration implies that the Roma will become part of the current system. Equal opportunities to education, housing, health care, and employment are all positive consequences of integration of the Roma in EU society. The issue is whether aspects of the Roma identity are being incorporated into EU society. An example of this would be Roma history and language

being taught in schools. Included the Roma in European identity is an important step towards healing. Instead of changing the Roma, any programs or acts must respect the Roma culture and the needs determined by the Roma community.

Killburn, Derbyshire

Three locals, Vincent Aitken, Emma Aitken, and Nathan Doherty, killed a man by the name of Barry Smith in October 2013 (Kilburn Murder, 2014). Mr. Smith was beaten to the point of death with a fence post and his body was set on fire (Kilburn Murder, 2014). His ex-wife claims that Mr. Smith was killed because he is a member of the Traveller and gypsy community. Dawn Smith, his ex-wife, discussed about how Mr. Smith was a kind person. During the trial, it was suggested that the attack was out of revenge for Mr. Aitken's wife losing her job. Ms. Aitken was removed from her position at the Kilburn Welfare Social club, supposedly, after she called Mr. Smith a "pikey" (Kilburn Murder, 2014). The term "pikey" is a derogatory term used to refer to members of the Roma and Traveller community. Mr. Aitken's was sentenced to 22 years in prison, Emma Aitken received 12 years, and her partner Doherty received 18 years. Ms. Smith found the verdict to be unjust claiming that "people have got longer for burglary. Them people have took a life – they've took a father and a grandfather" (Kilburn Murder, 2014). The family is still grieving for Mr. Smith.

London

Styles (2014) published a story showing how one Roma man is raising money to support his wife and three children living in Romania. Mr. Yonn Lazer had migrated to London from Romani in the hopes of finding employment. Mr. Lazer describes England

as a place of money with easy access to benefits (Styles, 2014). The story is full of pictures of Mr. Lazer's hometown of Argetoaia, Romania. The buildings are run down with debris scattered everywhere. Instead, Mr. Lazer was interviewed for his plans to acquire wealth in London. Mr. Lazer plans on acquiring £40,000 in two years from benefits and scrap collecting (Styles, 2014). According to the article, Mr. Lazer is claiming child tax credits for his children who live in Romania. Mr. Lazer is able to send £800 each week to his family back to Romania. Styles (2014) reported that Mr. Lazer's clan leader paid for his transportation and accommodation. In return, the clan leader receives a portion of any money he makes or benefits he claims (Styles, 2014). There is tremendous room for exploitation in this arrangement.

In order to pay back his clan leader and support his family, Mr. Lazer is willing to steal if he is unable to obtain enough cash (Styles, 2014). Mr. Lazer stated "I'm going to take any metal from the street because I need money… If it's outside, from garden I take, no I don't ask, because it's outside" (Styles, 2014). Styles fails to explore this comment further. There could potentially be a difference of cultural norms. This is not condoning Mr. Lazer's behavior; rather it provides more insight into the viewpoint of the Roma living in the United Kingdom. Romica, Mr. Lazer's nephew, also collects scrap metal, exclusively bicycles. Romica admits that he takes bicycles because he receives decent money for them (Styles, 2014).

The tone of this story is rather clear. It is addressing the frustration many citizens of the UK are experiencing towards migrants receiving benefits. Taken from Styles (2014) "Is he [Mr. Lazer] at all embarrassed about the amount he's being handed? The

answer is no." The comments at the bottom of the article showed frustration with the government, negative feelings towards the Roma, and well as a strong support for the UKIP party. The rise of the UKIP party in UK politics is a clear indicator of frustrations with EU policy. This frustration has extended to the point that several articles discussing the distribution of UK benefits to migrants also mention desires for the UK to separate from EU (Eccles, 2013 & Styles, 2014 & Jay, 2013).

Eccles (2013) writes an article protesting how UK benefits are available to Romanians and Bulgarians entering the UK. Eccles (2013) describes job agencies being "bombarded with people asking how to claim" and how British companies are advertising entitlement claims on Romanian websites. These agencies, according to Eccles (2013), are teaching migrants how to obtain as much benefits as possible. This is a sore topic of discussion after a Roma Rights Campaigner was incarcerated for conducting a benefits scam of £2.9 million in 2010 (Roma Rights, 2010). This abuse of funds resulted in a mistrust of Roma receiving benefits for fear of taking advantage of the welfare system (Roma Rights, 2010). Dorin Zamfirescu, a member of the Roma community, was quoted "People in England get benefits, so what is the difference if I do?" (Eccles, 2013). There has been a push to change EU laws in order to delay migrants' ability to claim for benefits after the European Commission conducted a study that revealed roughly 600,000 EU migrants without a job living in Britain (Eccles, 2013).

The neither Styles (2014) nor Eccles (2013) article goes in depth about the types of benefits that immigrants can apply for. Also, even though the focus appears to be on migrants, as a whole, applying for UK benefits, these articles based their arguments on

the "Roma gypsies" are looting the welfare system (Eccles, 2013). Jay (2013) claims that Jean Lambert, a member of the Green Party MEP, is "demanding that immigrants who come to Britain to beg and commit crimes should be guaranteed the right to full state benefits and even police protection." Migrants with or without jobs would receive access to social security benefits (Jay, 2013). Jay's (2013) statements highlight the negative stereotypes of the Roma being linked with criminality and lazy. Jay (2013) refers to the Roma as "hoards" and condemns them for harassing people on the streets of London. This language intensifies social boundaries between the Roma and London's mainstream society. Rather than address the concerns for the well being of the Roma based on their history of being marginalized and discriminated, these articles further stigmatize the Roma living within the UK.

Additional research found that Styles (2014) article on Mr. Lazer's story came from a documentary titled Gypsies on Benefits and Proud that was broadcasted on Channel 5 April of this year right before elections.

France

In August 2010, the French government began removing illegal Roma camps and deporting their residents back to Romania and Bulgaria (BBC Europe, 2014). Around 500 Roma were returned to their perceived country of origin with plans of 800 Roma returned by the end of August (La Voz Billingiie, 2010). The reason for Roma, or the term used in this article "Gypsies," being expelled is rooted in an old stereotype of Roma being deviant. The president of France Nicolas Sarkozy referred to Roma camps as "sources of

criminality" (France expels Gypsies, 2010). Examples of these suspected crimes are child

exploitation and prostitution (France expels Gypsies, 2010).

France received scrutiny by the International community, especially NGOs,

because "under no circumstances should anyone be returned or expelled simply because

they are Roma" or members of any other ethnic community (France expels Gypsies,

2010). In response to these raids, Vivane Reding, vice president for justice of the

European Commission stated, "Let me be very clear: Discrimination on the basis of

ethnic origin or race has no place in Europe" (European Commission blasts, 2010).

France's actions of removing the Roma have been compared to the deportation of Jewish

people during World War II (European Commission blasts, 2010). The French

government denied these attempts because the Roma were being returned to their

"homelands with financial compensation" (European Commission blasts, 2010). Each

adult received 300 euros and each child 100 euros (European Commission blasts, 2010).

The French government has continued forced evictions disregarding EU law and protests

by the international community.

Prior to the series of evictions, there were around 20,000 Roma from Eastern and

Central Europe were living in France (France expels Gypsies, 2010). France has also

been forcing the eviction of refugees and asylum seekers against International Law

(France: Forced evictions, 2014). Many of these Roma are living in unauthorized camps

with French Travellers. Both of these groups face discrimination in access to rights.

Although most of the French Travellers are citizens of France, the issue with halting sites

provides insight into the Roma experience. According to French Law, all municipalities

must establish authorized halting sites for Travellers if the Traveller population in the area has more than 5,000 members (France expels Gypsies, 2010). However, the necessary halting sites were not established which resulted in large numbers of Travellers living in unauthorized camps. These irregular camps are being destroyed and its inhabitants, including Roma, are being evicted. This report in La Voz Bilingiie (2010) argues that if France is to be in accordance to the International Human Rights Law, the French government must honor the rights of all people in its borders. The Roma and Traveller community are not given adequate housing opportunities and this must be addressed before evicting members from either group.

According to this news report, the Roma and Travellers are being scapegoated by the French government, which goes against its nation's legislation (France expels Gypsies, 2010). However, most of the report focuses on the rights of the Travellers. The Roma are to be given access to housing, but nothing else is discussed besides challenging the French government to re-assess laws that might be discriminatory. President Sarkozy perceives there is a relationship between Roma and criminality, specifically crimes against children. Not only does the French government need to re-evaluate laws that might be discriminatory, efforts need to be taken to better understand the Roma at a social level. How does this impact how French citizens see the Roma?

In 2014, France is still dealing with the same allegations of allowing the harassment of people in the Roma community in the hopes persuading the Roma to leave France (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). Hinnant & Mutler (2014) found that in 2013 the number people evicted from France equaled the number of Roma still present in France.

Hinnant & Mutler (2014) attribute this to worse situations of discrimination and employment opportunities in Eastern Europe compared to France. This is resulting in continued Roma westward migration despite injustices the Roma experience in Western European nations (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). After the French Government official in charge of Roma resettlement was fired, it is clear that France is having difficulty in their response to Roma migration. Hinnant & Mutler (2014) express, "despite European Union borders that opened to the Roma this year…the government is launching is annual operation to destroy Roma shantytowns." It is clear that many social issues are not being addressed as seen in the situations many Roma face within French borders.

Pierrefitte-Sur-Seine
On June 13th of this year, a 16 to 17-year-old boy from the Roma community named Gheorghe, known as Darius, was beaten and left unconscious (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). Darius is currently comatose in critical condition (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). News reports refer to this attack as a lynching because, according to reports, the group of men was punishing Darius for being accused of stealing from a neighboring community (Romea, 2014). The report suggest as many as 20 men with wooden and metal sticks beat Darius almost to death and discarded his body in a shopping cart on the side of the road (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). Pictures of the teen in the shopping went viral, without consulting the family, as news media published the story. The attack, violent and brutal, exposed the social conditions of not only the Roma, but also other communities living within France.

These men who attacked Darius, referred to as vigilantes, were members of a neighboring housing project for the economic underclass (Mulholland, 2014 &Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). Taken from Bilefsky & Baume (2014) "the rage of an underclass living on the margins of the French capital appears to have turned the miserable against the desperate" (p. A4). The housing project, known as Cité des Poétes (City of Poets), was a housing area created in the 1970's for people who had migrated to France, the article mentions most from North and sub-Saharan Africa, to find work opportunities. However, unemployment in Cité des Poétes, mentioned in this article as 'the projects', has reached 30 percent according to Benoît Ménard, an official of the mayor's office in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). Bilefsky & Baume (2014) article also suggests that most of the people are immigrants, then later mentions that only one third of the population in Cité des Poétes are people born outside of France. The way the information is presented could be significantly misleading because it suggest those responsible for this particular crime were immigrants without any clear proof.

Many members of the Cité des Poétes community feel abandonment by the French government. In addition to issues of unemployment, the city is described as "bleak concrete apartment buildings" and "poor" (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). This is a quote taken from a student living in Cité des Poétes, "people don't have jobs or money, and so they steal or sell drugs. They don't look to do anything else. Here we have nothing."

Crimes that happen within the area not reported to the police due to a sense of mistrust the Roma and residents feel towards the law enforcement (Bilefsky & Baume,

2014). The city had created its own sense of justice system in the hopes of regulating crime. Darius' attackers are believed to be adhering to this community's own justice system. This is important to acknowledge because this attack not only provides insight to the negative interactions the Roma community can experience with members outside of their community, but also how negative stereotypes of the Roma plus frustration with the social structure can drastically escalate to violence.

Several news reports suggest that the French government is responsible for the violence against the Roma residing in France. Current French President Hollande's government encourages the destruction of Roma camps. For example, President Hollande's Prime Minister Manuel Valls commented the previous year "only a minority of Roma could integrate, suggesting that they should leave" (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014, p. A4 & France, 2014). Marine Le Pen, leader of the French far-right party, warned the public of France being "flooded by Roma" (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014, p. A4). Le Pen went further to describe the Roma population in Nice as "smelly" and "rash inducing" (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014, p. A4). The believed link between the Roma and criminality, in this case stealing, resulted in increased tensions between the citizens of Cité des Poétes and the Roma. In Bilefsky & Baume report, witnesses' kept mentioning how belongings from the members of the Cité des Poétes community had started disappearing shortly after the Roma had settled in the area. Several members of the community were angry that the Roma had even decided to settle near their town (Bilefsky & Baume, 2014). After Darius was attacked, for fear of future attack, the entire Roma community left their

camp outside of the Cité des Poétes resettled in another area within days (Bilefsky &

Baume, 2014).

Grigny

Grigny, a suburb of Paris, is the location of Roma camp that is believed to be the

next camp demolished by the French government (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). Around 300

Romas are living in the Grigny camp. Of the 300 residents, only 10 families (46 people)

will be resettled (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). Those selected were chosen to receive

housing based on their perceived ability to integrate into French society (Hinnant &

Mutler, 2014). The remaining 254 people are expected to find housing elsewhere. Most

of the members of the Roma community seek new unused land after being evicted from a

settlement and await the next eviction notice (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014).

Most of the Roma children in Grigny are enrolled in the schools and more than 24

Roma have regular jobs (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). Both schooling and employment

opportunities are expected to end once the camp is dismantled. Prime Minister Valls'

stance of linking the Roma to "crime and disorder" has resulted in spreading negative

stereotypes about the Roma community. A statement by Loic Gandais the president of

Essonne counters this fear of a Roma invasion. "Out of a country of 67 million, we're

talking about 15 to 20,000 people. It's not an invasion" (Hinnant & Mutler, 2014). Yet,

the perception of the Roma by French society tends to be based on negative.

The inability for many Roma to get an education and constant unemployment

throughout the EU requires members of the Roma community to find another source of

income to survive. Some members of the Roma community resort to theft. When

individual members of the Roma community get caught for crimes of theft, it is applied

towards the entire Roma community. Hinnant & Mutler (2014) found that the Roma who

had migrated from Eastern Europe said that only a minority of the Roma population were

thieves and that they were frustrated with lack of employment opportunities. Roma and

French charities that worked with this Roma community believe that "each time they

[Roma] are evicted, they become more vulnerable to disease, hunger, and crime"

(Hinnant & Mutler, 2014).

Marseille

On October 2012, 35 Roma, including children, were forcefully evicted from their

home by local residents. Local residents then returned to the camp and set the Roma

communities belongings on fire (ERRC Calls, 2012). The Roma had been living there

only four days after previously being evicted from another location. Prior to this attack,

an angry group of people with guns attacked 50 Roma living in Les Créneaux (France,

2014). The Roma were warned to either leave or be killed. One of the Roma residents

described his experience. "They would have killed us if we stayed… We just took some

of our stuff and then we rushed away. They immediately set alight the rest of our stuff"

(France, 2014).

Many Roma refuse to trust law enforcement, which results in a large number of

incidents not being reported. Some members of the Roma community do not report for

fear of how their attackers might respond. Others have experiences were the violence had

been instigated by a police officer (France, 2014). In one situation the police went to a

Roma settlement in Marseille to evict 10 Roma families (Roma in Europe, 2014).

According to Amnesty International, the police allegedly sprayed tear gas and destroyed

tents and personal belongings. Several children were in these tents when the tear gas was

disbursed throughout the settlement (Roma in Europe, 2014).

Germany

       The impact of the Holocaust has greatly played into the relationship between

Roma and non-Roma living in Germany.

Berlin

       In the year 2012, Berlin opened a memorial honoring the hundreds of thousands

of Roma who were killed during the Holocaust. Often times, the experiences of the Roma

are not recorded in history. One Roma who survived described it as "the forgotten

Holocaust" (Germany opens memorial, 2012). The memorial was constructed in order to

acknowledge the sufferings of the Roma community. The Berlin memorial was scheduled

for construction in 1992, but due to conflicts in design and other circumstances, was not

completed until 2012. Many members of the Roma community are still grieving and

angry about what happened to their loved ones and the current situation many Roma are

facing in Germany today.

       Romani Rose, the head of Germany's Central Council of Sinti and Roma, stated,

"In Germany and in Europe, there is a new and increasingly violent racism against Sinti

and Roma. This racism is supported not just by far-right parties and groups; it finds more

and more backing in the middle of society" (Germany opens memorial, 2012). Zoni

Weisz, a survivor who managed to escape deportation to Auschwitz, argues that hardly

anything has been done to address the discrimination of the Roma (Germany opens

memorial, 2012). Weisz states, "society has learned nothing, almost nothing – otherwise we [the Roma] would be treated in a different way now" (Germany opens memorial, 2012). The Roma are still stigmatized for being "Gypsies." They are prevented from achieving access to social resources and, because of this, denied the ability to truly heal.

Cologne

18 Sinti families are living in a settlement in Cologne for generations. Tensions between the Roma and Gadjes (non-Roma) have solidified the social boundaries between the two groups. The members of the community speak of the Gadje as oppressive, controlling, and not understanding the Sinti culture (The lives of, 2012). Reinhardt, a member of the Sinti community living in Cologne, considers this place to be his home. "We are Cologne Sinti" (The lives of, 2012). Cologne is home to this community, but the majority of society still sees this community as a temporary settlement (The lives of, 2012). Regardless, the Sinti community continues to perform traditional practices. These practices have been based down orally from generation to generation, which is one of the reasons family is essential to the Sinti identity (The lives of, 2012). Reinhardt stated, "The boys see what we do. That makes the gyspy life. If I live alone, I can't share my knowledge with the community" (The lives of, 2012). This could be a reason why EU member states' suggestion for the Roma to have smaller numbers living in settlements was taken so negatively. The presence of the entire family is necessary in order to pass down knowledge and cultural practices.

The importance of music in the Cologne Sinti community has played a major role in bringing the community closer together. Reinhardt said "We learn music, like children

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learn language. We watch the older people, until we can do it like they do " (The lives of, 2012). Recent festivals dedicated to "Gypsies," allowed people who were non-Roma exposure to Sinti music (The lives of, 2012). "Gypsies" are socially stigmatized, and yet romanticized. Romanticized in the sense of operating outside the status quo, being different unique. There are various television shows create a glamorized caricature of the "Gypsy" nomadic lifestyle. Examples of this are "My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding," "Gypsy Junk," and "Gypsy Blood (Doherty, 2012). Although television shows, like those mentioned above, provide a very stereotypical portrayal of the Roma, it provides another view the majority of society has towards the Roma. Music can be key into breaking down social boundaries because it is a nonthreatening way to share cultural stories and histories.

This news article spoke briefly about the role language plays in this Sinti community. The most interesting comment was the anger a member of the Cologne Sinti community expressed about being referred to as Roma or Sinti. "We want to be called Gypsies, that is the normal German word for us. That it was used so negatively in the Third Reich is one thing, but Sinti and Roma is just wrong. What is with all the other clans that are simply omitted?" This is the first instance documented that a member of the Roma community, as defined by the EU, wanted to be referred to as "Gypsy." Several articles discussed how individuals labeled as the Roma identified themselves by their clan or region. This brings into question the effectiveness of the EU in using the term Roma as the official term of such a large, diverse group of people.

Italy

July 9th of this year, local police and regional authorities forcefully evicted approximately 40 Roma from their homes in Rome. The Roma families had made a settlement in the park of Val D'ala. Bulldozers were used to destroy the settlement and left the members of that particular Roma community homeless (Italy: Many, 2014). The Roma families were not notified about the eviction and were not offered alternative housing (Italy: Many, 2014). Amnesty International is still waiting for local authorities' to provide formal justification for the eviction. "They attempted to justify [the eviction] based on environmental grounds and concern for the local community" (Italy: Many, 2014). This article does not go into more detail about the interactions between the Roma and local residents while residing in Val D'ala. This is an essential factor in not only showing the experience of the Roma, but other factors that are shaping the relationship between the Roma and non-Roma.

The Roma and Sinti community has been framed as a security threat by Italian authorities. In 2007, agreements were made between the national government and local authorities of major cities in order to address the "nomad emergency" (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). Many Roma have been forcefully evicted against international human rights standards and domestic law (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). According to Amnesty, there have not been plans for providing alternative housing for the Roma communities. In 2008, the violence against the Roma in Italy has escalated. Roma have been physically and verbally attacked and settlements have been destroyed (Europe's Roma Community, 2009).

Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic, there is tremendous difficulty in gathering an accurate census that is inclusive of the entire Roma population. Many people who identify as members of the Roma community are fearful of persecution if they openly claim their Roma ethnicity (Bislim, n.d.). According to Bislim (n.d.), there have been numerous reports of violent attacks against men of Roma ethnicity by police officers and "skinheads."

According to Save the Children, an organization dedicated to addressing the needs of all children, Roma children are "fifteen times more likely than non-Roma children to be placed in special schools for those with learning disabilities" (Bislim, n.d.). This signifies that almost 75% of Roma children are segregated into a substandard educational system (Bislim, n.d.).

In 2013, a series of anti-Roma protests were organized in cities and towns across the country (Roma in Europe, 2014). Many members of the Roma community were openly harassed at angry demonstrations by local residents. The first demonstration took place in České Budējovice and had approximately 1,000 members of far-right groups. During this demonstration, the participants marched through areas with Roma present and shouted derogatory words towards the Roma (Czech Republic, 2014). The phrases used by the angry crowd mentioned in the article were "black swine" and "let's get them" as stun grenades and glass bottles were thrown homes belonging to the Roma and police officers that tried to intervene (Czech Republic, 2014).

Štefan, a member of the Roma community, discussed how many people do not realize how traumatic this experience is for the Roma families (Roma in Europe, 2014). One survivor of the first demonstration related his experience to the "Hitler era" (Czech

Republich, 2014). The protests continued to escalate. One of the marches targeted Roma families at a local playground. Many members of the Roma community are afraid to leave their homes. Here is a quote from Angela, "After the demonstration I was stressed and afraid. The children were worried. They asked me not to go to work, but it is important for me to have money for my family" (Czech Republic, 2014). Although the demonstrations had stopped in October of 2013, there is a constant fear that protestors will return to the streets.

Amnesty International clearly condemns the Czech Republic for the government's failed attempts of effective action to protect the Roma and inability to address the growing resentment towards the Roma communities.

Greece

Etoliko

Approximately 250,000 to 350,000 Roma are living in Greece (Roma in Europe, 2014). In 2012 – 2013, there were a series of violent attacks against the Roma community residing in Etoliko. One survivor, whose children had been present during an attack in January 2013, spoke how roughly 70 individuals threw Molotov cocktails, stones, and wooden planks at the homes of Roma (Roma in Europe, 2014). Six houses, one of which belonged to the witness, and four cars were set on fire or damaged by the attackers while witnesses claim that police did not actively intervene. A statement by another survivor, "I could see just two policemen from inside the house... They were just staring and asking people to stop. They did nothing more than this" (Roma in Europe, 2014).

Amnesty International provided another narrative from Mrs. Kokoni, a mother of seven children who also lived in Etoliko. While shopping for food, Mrs. Kokoni, her 11-year-old son, and nephew Kostas, who had a mental disorder, were attacked by several people (Greece, 2014). Mrs. Kokoni stated that two men attacked her while the rest were punching and kicking Kostas. "I was calling for help but nobody came," explained Mrs. Kokoni (Greece, 2014). She managed to escape with her son, but was unable to get Kostas. Mrs. Kokoni ran to the police where an officer told her that there was nothing he could do (Greece, 2014). Kostas was later found unconscious in the street. Both Mrs. Kokoni and Kostas had to be taken to the hospital for their injuries (Greece, 2014).

After the attack, Mrs. Kokoni and her family abandoned their home and moved to Patra. Mrs. Kokoni was frustrated by the response by the police. "The police did not protect us…My children don't want to return to the house. They are afraid" (Greece, 2014). According to Amnesty, many Roma families residing in Etoliko share Mrs. Kokoni's experience (Greece, 2014).

Farsala

As mentioned in the introduction, the discovery of Maria, a blonde girl with fair skin and blue eyes, in a Greek Roma camp prompted a resurgence of "Gypsy" stereotypes on the international stage. European news media claimed that Maria had been abducted from an unknown German or Scandinavian couple that had traveled to Greece or that Maria was the child of a British boy that had gone missing in 1991 (Roumpis, 2014). Maria was removed from the Roma camp and the Greek Roma couple was arrested. The couple claimed that Maria's mother had given up Maria because she could

no longer afford to take care of her daughter. Her mother was a member of the Roma community. Maria's parents were contacted in order to prove the couple's story. DNA testing proved that Maria was the daughter of a Bulgarian Roma couple and confirmed the Greek Roma couple's story (Roumpi, 2014). The news story instantly disappeared from international news without addressing the negative stereotypes that were easily applied to this story. Instead, this story sparked more discontent towards the Roma community throughout all of Europe.

Sofades

The news stories about Maria resonated throughout all of Greece. Dimitris Triantafyllou is the president of a local Roma community. The social division between the Roma and non-Roma community is apparent since the Roma community has its own leader separate from the state. Triantafyllou is responsible for addressing the concerns of the Roma community living in Sofades. From his interview with Roumpi (2014), Triantafyllou expresses his frustration with the treatment of Roma people. Triantafyllou stated, "The racism Roma face is not only personal but institutional… But we've learned to live with the burden and fight for change" (Roumpis, 2014). The town of Sofades is divided between Roma and "balamos," the word Roma use for white Greeks. Roma families live in houses of poor condition and are not accepted in local shops and cafes (Roumpis, 2014). Sypros Mpantis, a member of the Sofades Roma community had been denied coffee from a local café in town. Mpantis said, "Everyone one of us has a similar story that shows our exclusion…Is this life?" (Roumpis, 2014).

Roumpis (2014) believes Greece's financial crisis intensified antigypsyism. The Mayor of Sofades, Babis Papadopoulos, blames the high unemployment rate and other societal problems on the increasing Roma population (Roumpis, 2014). Many members of the Roma community rely on government funding for food because of discrimination in the work force. The financial crisis' impact on Greek society and government funds being "given" to the Roma has created the opportunity for the rise of Golden Dawn, a political party that openly blames Greece's current predicament on immigration (Stamouli, 2014). These negative feelings resulted in continued segregation of schools between Greek Roma and Greek non-Roma. The educational system was considered to be a neutral tool to help with the integration of Greek Roma into mainstream society. However, Golden Dawn, contributing to antigypsyist's ideology, was able to prevent all attempts of integration. Schools in Greece remain segregated which ignores the ruling by the European Court of Human Rights and violates the European Convention for Human Rights. Triantafyllou says, "They want us to be lawful citizens, pay our taxes, enlist in the army, but they do not want us within their society. That's selective equality" (Roumpis, 2014).

Schools in Greece

Roma children are not welcomed in the school system. Several schools are still segregated in Greece. In 1987, it was required that Greek and Roma children were separated in the classroom (Rinne, 2005). Fotis Koutsoupias, a teacher, is attempting to integrate Roma children into the school system. Mr. Koutsoupias receives constant complaints from parents about Roma children being taught with their children (Rinne,

2005). The kids, according to Koutsoupias, treat the Roma children poorly and refused to

associate with the Roma students (Rinne, 2005). Due to difficulties in transportation,

many Roma children are unable to attend classes. Several teachers are developing new

tactics to address the needs and histories of Roma children (Rinne, 2005). However,

nothing will truly change if Roma children feel unwelcomed in the classroom.

Hungary

Government turned off water supply to Roma districts (Roumpis, 2014). On

February 23, 2009, a man, named Robert Csorba, and his five-year-old son were killed.

The father and son were both Roma. According to the report, Mr. Csorba and his son had

fled their home after it had been set on fire. Upon leaving their home, Mr. Csorba and his

son were shot and killed. Initially the police claimed that the shots and fire had been an

accident, but the investigation shows a series of similar attacks against Roma families

throughout Hungary. In 2008, there had been 16 attacks against homes belonging to

Roma and resulted in at least four deaths (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). Police

later admitted that the gunshots had not been an accident.

Bulgaria

Ataka, far right political group, blames the Roma for economic ills (Roumpis, 2014).

In the village of Katunitsa, villagers had gathered via Facebook against a local Roma

community. The protests started after a car had hit a 19-year-old boy from the village.

The car was believed to belong to Kirl Rashkov, a member of the local Roma community

near Katunitsa (Series of Anti-Roma, 2011). The village and neighboring cities had

organized in order to get revenge (Series of Anti-Roma, 2011). The Facebook event had

been titled "Slaughter of Gypsies." Police were able to remove Mr. Rashkov and his family to safety before the protestors set his house on fire. A total of 127 people were arrested and charged for their participation in the protest. Some of the people arrested were minors (Series of Anti-Roma, 2011). Neighboring cities and villages openly supported the actions of the Katunitsa. The protests lasted from September 26th 2011 to October 2nd 2011 with the largest demonstration consisting of 1,000 people in Sofia.

An area known as Block 20 in the town of Yambol was a designated specifically for homes for the Roma. The buildings were poorly constructed and lacked necessary amenities such as running water, electricity, and sewage pipes (Bislim, n.d.). Roughly 200 Roma lived in Block 20. The Block was destroyed last year due to one of the buildings collapsing and almost killing a 10-year-old girl (Bislim, n.d.). Now the Roma community is living in tents and makeshift shelters.

Slovakia

Created concrete barriers to isolate the majority of society from the Roma neighborhoods (Roumpis, 2014). Many Roma citizens of Slovakia are still being discriminated against. Often, citizens of Roma descent are not allowed permanent residence status and must settle in places allocated by the government. The Roma communities, many of whom are citizens, have limited access to social protection benefits, health care services, and public housing, education, and transportation (Bislim, n.d.).

On August 23, 2000, a Slovakian woman of Roma ethnicity was sterilized in a hospital after the birth of her second child (Bislim, n.d.). The woman's fallopian tubes

were severed and then sealed in order to prevent future fertilization (Bislim, n.d.). The woman claimed that during the last stages of labor, she was asked by her doctors if she wanted to have more children. She was told that future pregnancy could result in the death of her child or herself (Bislim, n.d.). According to Bislim (n.d.), that the woman did not clearly understand the she was going to sterilize and was not offered any other alternatives. The woman believed that the medical staff sterilized her because of her Roma ethnicity. The State claimed that sterilization procedure had been done for medical purposes not due to her ethnicity. The case was brought to the European Court of Human Rights (Sterilised Roma woman, 2012). The court ruled in favor of the woman and ordered Slovakia to pay 43,000 euros in damages, costs, and expenses for violating her human rights (Sterilised Roma woman, 2012).

Romania

In 2004, over 100 members of the Roma community were evicted from a building in Miercurea Ciuc. The 12 families were relocated to an open field near a waste filtering station as means of temporary housing (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). Of the 100 Roma sent to the field, only eight metal barracks had been constructed for shelter. The barracks that were provided did not provide adequate shelter from the weather (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). There was limited transportation to send Roma children to school and families lack adequate access to health care and safe living conditions (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). The families have been living in this location for the past four years. Other families attempted to establish settlements elsewhere, but are facing similar living conditions.

State officials refuse to acknowledge that there is a problem. According to Bislim (n.d.), the vice Mayor of Miercurea Ciuc allegedly claimed that the housing situation may of the Roma faced Romania was not discrimination, but rather it was "positive discrimination [because] the Roma moved near the filtering station were provided free land from the private property of the states along with a connection to electricity and water networks, and utilities were being paid by the local authority" (Europe's Roma Community, 2009). According to the source, there has not been significant change in the situation since.

Slovenia

The Slovenian government has failed to address the needs of the Roma communities living in Slovenia. Roma communities are not given access to basic necessities such as housing, water, and sanitation (Rights Group Urges, 2011). Much of the Roma populations in Slovenia are living in poorly constructed houses, without access to healthcare, employment, or education (Rights Group Urges, 2011).

CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTHESIS

This chapter analyzes all three categories of data with the lens of social identity theories. As mentioned in the literature review, Huddy (2001) discusses the struggle between choice and external labeling in terms of social identity group acceptance. How an identity group chooses to define itself can be counteracted by outside social perceptions about that particular identity group. The main question of this research study has been how the Roma identity is socially constructed within the EU. The data has revealed the multiple ways in which the Roma identity has been constructed in the past and present.

Roma Identity Formation: Categories of Data

The previous chapters, Antigypsyist ideology, EU policy, and news and social media, represent key factors that are constantly shaping the Roma identity. Antigypsyist ideology depicts the Roma as undesirable, corrupt, and deliberately deviant. The EU Framework for the National Roma Integration Strategy victimizes the Roma as a group of people that needs to be protected. Although it is good that more sources are acknowledging the sufferings of the Roma community, the EU's relationship to the Roma is similar to that of an adult addressing a child. The Roma are generalized as a population that relies solely on societal help. In the news and social media chapter, depending on the

media source, the Roma were portrayed as both socially deviant, irresponsible, in need of supervision and, conversely, marginalized, victims, and socially mistreated.

The news and social media chapter revealed recent stories about interactions between Roma and non-Roma communities in different EU member states. There appears to be a significant difference between the social construction of Roma identity by members outside the Roma community and the self-constructed identity members of the Roma community maintains. International media sites, such as CNN, Amnesty International, BBC, tend to portray the Roma in a very different light than local news media. In this CNN article, the Roma are characterized for poverty, living conditions (camps, caravans, or informal settlements), and being discriminated against throughout history. The Roma are being framed solely as victims throughout history. Although it is important to remember the historical context of the Roma's experience and aids in re-humanizing the Roma, it is necessary to broaden the outside perception of the Roma. Several stories showed an entirely different perspective of Roma living within the EU. In these stories, the Roma are framed as criminals, refusing to work, and taking advantage of the benefits system. By only being provided with two extreme viewpoints about the Roma, two vary drastic social perceptions about the Roma are constructed: victims or criminals. These two perceptions about the Roma are constantly in conflict, resulting in misunderstandings of the other, Roma and non-Roma, without truly addressing the main concerns of society. Instead, migration, specifically of Roma, gets conceptualized to mean the destruction of a once stable nation.

Roma Identity Formation: Social Boundaries

What seems to be missing in all chapters of data is the active participation of the Roma in constructing the Roma identity. Interestingly, members outside of the Roma community wrote most of the reports. Additionally, websites that were created and run by members of the Roma community used the same stories provided by Amnesty international and BBC. This lack of communication between Roma and non-Roma communities exposes the depths of social division between members of the Roma community and the majority of EU society. The social boundaries established between EU society and the Roma community is apparent in all three categories of data. Analysis of the three categories of data revealed 3 major themes in the social construction of Roma identity by both members of the Roma community and members outside the Roma community. The three major themes are: Separation vs. Inclusion, Victim vs. Criminal, and Trust vs. Distrust.

Inclusion vs. Integration

The approach towards the Roma community has been primarily integration. The majority of EU society is developing programs to help the Roma assimilate into mainstream society. However, most initiatives that have been implemented further marginalize the Roma community. As mentioned, housing projects are placed in the outskirts of major towns with limited access to transportation. Roma communities that live in illegal housing sites are also in isolated locations for fear of being relocated or deported. Another example of this social division is in the educational system. Most of the Roma children are not able to attend school because their families are not in legal residence status. The Roma children that are able to attend school are either sent to

segregated schools. The reasons for educational separation range from Roma children not consistently attending school experience significant gaps in their learning and need special attention to teachers and parents not wanting to interact or expose other children to the Roma. Roma children who attend school suffer from discrimination and isolation by non-Roma students.

The Roma being isolated from the majority of society is a strong example of the Us versus Them social identity concept. The majority of society views the Roma as deviant to social norms and values. Anyone who operates outside of the status quo is perceived as a threat. News and social media with a negative perspective about the Roma often frame the Roma as intentionally socially deviant as means to upset the current stable system out of spite. For example, *they*, referring to the Roma, are refusing to put their children in schools, *they* do not want to work like *us* responsible citizens, or *they* beg on streets or steal from *us*. The articles that focused more on the Roma had a more positive perspective about the Roma and a negative description for EU citizens and officials. *They*, referring to non-Roma, force *us* to live in horrible conditions, *they* cannot be trusted, or *they* are preventing *us* from living a quality life. Both groups are using metacontrast to define the social boundary between who *we* are and who *they* are. As mentioned in the literature review, social boundaries are not concrete, but, rather, they are given context based on social situations. In certain areas, the relationship of members of the Roma and non-Roma communities is more positive than other areas. The key is that increased social interactions with the other or *they,* allows for humanization that makes it harder to distinguish *them* from *us*.

However, most EU reports suggest integration as the sole solution to the tensions

between Roma and non-Roma communities. Although the EU Framework for National

Roma Integration Strategy encourages EU member states to make specific plans to

address the Roma communities living within their borders, there are significant issues

with implementation. The need for complete integration and assimilation of the Roma

people is not a new strategy. The Nazis took a similar tactic during the Holocaust.

Medical researchers claimed that it would be improbable to completely integrate the

Roma because of their strong link to criminality. Criminality, at that time, was

understood as a link by blood or as an inherited trait. Roma that were able to fully

integrate into German society were, supposedly, exempt from being deported to "Gypsy"

camps. Similar to today, it is essential that the Roma integrate completely with rules of

mainstream rather than truly being inclusive of the culture and history of the Roma

people.

Victims or Criminals?

The contributors to the Roma identity in the EU seem to be primarily people who

are not part of the Roma community. This depiction of the Roma identity is not only

being used to determine government responses to the Roma community, but also

influences how the majority of society, from the lack of interaction, perceives the Roma.

The imbalance of power in defining the Roma identity is crucial to resolve this conflict.

External labeling of the Roma community by society is problematic due to the fact very

few people outside the Roma community are familiar with the history and culture of the

Roma people. Both the victimization and the criminalization of the Roma does little to

improve the Roma's access to resources that provide a more quality life without directly targeting antigypsyism in all levels of society.

The same prejudices and stereotypes can be used in each of the extremes in Roma social classification. For instance, the role of colorism in the treatment of the Roma has either led to the Roma being pitied (victimized) or discriminated against (criminalized). Kenrick & Puxon (1972) explained how the Roma were excluded from the majority of European society when they first migrated prior to the 15th century. Those who were considered to be part of the Roma ethnic group tended to have a darker complexion than most Europeans. Kenrick & Puxon (1972) described how darker skin was associated with the religious cosmic war between good and evil. Good was associated with lightness while darkness represented evil. Roma were socially perceived as being unclean, sinister, and ugly.

Although modern society does not overtly make the same claims about the undesirability of the Roma, the ideology is still present in society. The impact of colorism on society perceiving the Roma as criminals is self-explanatory. However, the Roma are victimized with the subconscious use of colorism through the use of photos and videos that portray the Roma in tattered clothes, living in poorly conditioned spaces, dirt on their faces, and children looking sad or fearful. Figure 4 was posted on a CNN World news story discussing the history of the Roma and the living conditions of the Roma in France.

Figure 4. CNN World's Photo of Roma Woman in a Roma Camp

The intention of these photos and videos is to make a compelling case that results in sympathy for the Roma. This is not to say that initiatives to increase awareness should not exist. Rather, people in charge of these images need to be aware of the possible consequences of using such images. For example, the comments resulting from the news media story were solely negative and mentioned many of the existing prejudices and stereotypes associated with the Roma community. Here are some of the comments from the article (Roma in Europe, 2010). "You give them [Roma] charity and turn your back and they steal from you. You give them housing they trash it… You can't help people who refuse [to] help themselves." "The truth is Romas (Gypsies) are in large part criminals, fortune tellers, and scammers.. I have experienced these primitive, uneducated

nomads first hand." Depicting the Roma as simply victims, alone, is not going to change the majority of European societies' perception of the Roma. Instead, organizations dedicated to improving the lives of the Roma should feature members of the Roma community in a positive manner that directly contradict many of the negative stereotypes about the Roma. This, however, depends entirely on the location since some Roma are afraid of termination due to their ethnic identity.

Lack of Trust

Social boundaries between Roma and non-Roma communities are strengthened due to the lack of trust. Similar to the previous section, the lack of trust and positive interaction results in both Roma and non-Roma communities having high levels of collective generality and low levels of axiological balance. From the perspective of the Roma community, many members of the Roma community are still deeply impacted by the effects of the Holocaust. The Porajmos, as called by the Roma, resulted in the systematic genocide of families, neighbors, and friends because of antigypsyist ideology. Those who survived were not able to hold their perpetrators accountable or address the antigypsyism still present in European society. Several sources in the news and social media section revealed that the Roma community relies on the oral stories of older generations. The Roma survivors of the Holocaust's experiences were passed down to the present generation of members of the Roma community. Porajmos has become a chosen trauma that has unified the Roma community by collective distrust of the non-Roma community.

Most, if not all, the social interactions between members of the Roma and non-Roma communities tend to be negative. For instance, a substantial number of articles expressed the government's frustration with the large quantity of Roma that live together in close quarters. Housing projects have attempted to reduce the number of Roma living together to provide better housing conditions. However, the government doesn't realize the role of extended family in the Roma culture. Traditions and skills are passed down from elders; therefore it is essential to the Roma that families remain together. Roma community members encountering the issues of relocation/deportation, violence against the Roma, and lack of employment intensifies the unfavorable associations with people outside of the Roma identity. The high level of collective generality towards the non-Roma community becomes conducive to the Roma projecting negative traits. The Roma community refers to people outside the Roma community as *Gadje*. *Gadje*, as mentioned in the news and social media chapter, are identified as being oppressive, controlling, and refusing to acknowledge or respect Roma culture.

As mentioned in the previous section, the majority of society, according to news and social media, refer to the Roma as either victims or criminals. Additionally the EU Framework does not provide a detailed plan for countering the existing antigypsyist ideology in all levels of society. In various EU nations, governments are attempting to ban the migration of immigrants from Eastern Europe, disregarding EU Free Movement concept. This supports the concept of the Roma being a burden on society rather than individual people with Roma origins looking to provide a better life for their families. This is not to say that the member states should not be able to control the influx of people

entering their nation. The first problem is that specific groups of people are being denied

the ability to migrate because of ethnic origin. Second, political governments are

referring to the Roma as parasitic and detrimental to the benefits system. These political

leaders are elected based on ideals and values by the nations citizens. Therefore, if

political leaders, with antigypsyist ideology, are being elected into powerful positions, it

reflects the perspective of the majority of society. This furthers the notion that the Roma

are "Europe's unwanted people" (Diehl et al., 2014).

Roma Identity Formation: Roma, "Gypsy," or Traveller

The analysis of data revealed the interesting debate over the proper title that

should be used in referring to the Roma. An interesting question to consider is that just

like "Gypsy" is a term applied to a social group, is the term Roma not an accurate label?

The term "Gypsy" was applied to members of the Roma, Sinti, Travellers, and other

people considered to have similar characteristics (End, 2013). The EU decided to use the

term Roma to refer to members of the Roma, Sinti, and Travellers. Many communities

fall under the Roma term and there is constantly conflicting definitions of who the Roma

are. Interestingly, most data obtain outside the EU policies provides numerous counts

where the term "Gypsy" is still used. In order to gather data for this study, the researcher

often had to use the "Gypsy" instead of Roma to find relevant sources.

The negative perception associated with the term "Gypsy" and the frequency in its

use suggests the continued presence of adverse feelings towards the Roma in the social

structure. Not once does Rosa ever refer to herself as a "Gypsy" or a Roma, but, instead,

as a Sinti woman (taken from Sonneman 1999). While in other cases, individuals, who

the EU considers to be Roma, take great offense to the name of Roma and Sinti because it is not representative of the entire community. The controversy over the official term used to describe this varied community, brought two interesting realizations. First, that EU's decision to use the word Roma as an umbrella term was a tremendous us of power in shaping the identity of the Roma people. All EU nation's policies and programs use this term regardless of whether the people the EU considers as Roma have accepted the term or not. Secondly, a major complication in the EU's plans to address the needs of the Roma community may be the result of trying to reduce very diverse groups into one simple term. Perhaps a more affective approach would be having EU member states speaking with Roma community members about how they chose to identify themselves. This is definitely something that the EU Commission should consider in developing country-specific recommendations for the 2015 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The news story about Maria's alleged kidnapping in 2013 resulted in a transnational interest in the Roma community. The belief of Maria's abduction was based on narrow view about the appearance of members of Roma community. The police officers that saw Maria, a girl with pale skin and blue eyes, automatically assumed that Maria was not of Roma ethnicity because she did not have a darker complexion. Internationally, the news suggested a potential reunion with Maria's real parents, believed to be from Western Europe. News stories also discussed the Roma community and their assumed historical involvement in child abduction. The series of elaborate stories ceased, however, when a Roma woman from Bulgaria claimed that Maria was her daughter. The Roma woman stated that she had given Maria to the couple because she could no longer afford to care for her. Eleftheria Dimopoulou and Christos Salis, the couple that had been raising Maria, had initially claimed that Maria had been given to them. DNA testing proved that the Roma woman from Bulgaria was Maria's mother, which validated the argument that Maria was given to the Roma couple in Greece.

Shortly after this was discovered, the story of Maria disappeared from headlines. Several sources by NGOs focused on Roma issues used the case to show the presence of negative stereotypes and prejudice towards the Roma in European society. Similar alleged abduction cases had occurred roughly around the same time in Ireland. Roma

children who did not appear to look like a Roma, where removed from their families disregarding the parent's claim. Both children, who had blonde hair, were returned to their families after DNA testing confirmed that the parents had been telling the truth. However, like Maria's case, the international interest in the case diminished after discovering it was no longer a story about kidnapping. Eleftheria Dimopoulou and Christos Salis are still being held in court on charges of falsifying Maria's birth records. Maria is still living in foster care where she is being evaluated and prepared for school in the upcoming year. The court is still deciding on where she will be placed. According to the New Zealand Herald, the court is considering sending Maria back to Bulgaria and has been discussing potential options with the Bulgarian government. Family members of Maria have attempted to adopt Maria, but, due to illiteracy, they have been deemed unfit by the court (Savaricas, 2014). This is not to say that individuals who happen to be of Roma ethnic identity have committed crimes. The issue is that the general societal expectation is that all members of the Roma community are involved in human trafficking and child abduction.

What does this say about social construction of Roma identity in the EU? Predominately, members outside of the Roma community are constructing the Roma identity. The lack of information about Roma history and culture has permitted antigypsyist ideology to persist in European society. This is clearly apparent in the dysfunctional policies meant to be integrate Roma into the majority of society while political leaders of the same EU nation refer to the Roma as "useless like jellyfish," "race of criminals," or "as a natural disaster." Although, the EU is attempting to make

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recommendations for integration initiatives specific to the EU member state, with significant Roma populations, the EU is not able to directly enforce these plans without disrespecting the sovereignty of EU countries. News and social media, depending on the country, focus on either how the Roma are still marginalized or the complaints by members of the majority of society with social issues that believed to be a result of Roma presence. Additionally, Roma that are attempting integration into the majority of society are discriminated against in employment and educational opportunities.

Progress has been made, but not enough to truly improve the quality of life the Roma are able to live. Instead of focusing solely on integrating the Roma, European society needs to be more inclusive and allow the Roma to have a part in shaping social and cultural norms. An example of this would be including the history of the Roma in the educational system. This would not only encourage Roma families to be more involved in the educational system, but create an opportunity for the majority of society to experience and understand the culture of the Roma. Another way to show Roma cultural appreciate is through music. In Germany, music festivals were one way in which the Roma and non-Roma communities had positive interactions. The music festival allowed several Roma musicians to perform and other Roma community members were able to explain more about Roma history to people belonging to the majority of society.

Building on this, the Roma need to be included in the European identity. Many Roma have been living in Europe prior to the 14th century, however, they are treated as if they are an unknown visitor. For this particular conflict, cross categorization would be an effective tool of intervention in de-escalating the tension between the Roma and non-

Roma communities. There is an existing common identity between the Roma and non-Roma communities. An obvious example is the shared identity of being European. Strengthening this common identity will de-construct the social barriers between the two social groups. An initiative that has been taken in other parts of the EU is including the Roma in European history.

In Romania, there have been efforts to create television and radio stations that broadcast solely in the Romani language as means to so cultural appreciate for the Roma ethnic identity (Njegovan, 2011). Although there is extreme variation within the Roma community (language, culture, origin, etc.), efforts to not only include the history of the Roma, but also to educate others about their experience as well. Often, the Roma community is left out of history. For example, many are not aware about the Nazis targeting the Roma prior to and during the Holocaust. In order for progress to truly be made, grievances and traumas from the past need to be acknowledged and those affected must be able to truly grieve (Volkan, 1997).

There is hope to re-conceptualize the way in which each group views the 'other.' Although some countries within the EU have taken action in bettering the lives of the Roma community living in the western nations of the EU, there is still significant progress to be made. Social structures allow for the continual marginalization of the Roma population due to discrimination and extreme poverty. As more Roma communities are seeking permanent settlement locations, it is essential for the EU to be more inclusive in policy interpretation and implementation at local levels within the EU where people in direct contact with Roma communities. This should be done, not just out

of potential threat of having large numbers of people operating outside of EU society migrating freely between borders, but because states within the EU, specifically in the west, have a moral obligation to uphold EU principles and mandates. Failure to do so reflects poorly on the EU's within the highly influential globalized international community.

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