



What works for Roma inclusion in the EU

*Policies and
model approaches*

Justice

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERD	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
c.p.	Common Basic Principle
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DG	Directorate General
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ERIO	European Roma Information Office
ERPC	European Roma Policy Coalition
ERRC	European Roma Rights Centre
ESF	European Social Fund
ERTF	European Roma and Travellers Forum
EU	European Union
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
FSG	Fundación Secretariado Gitano
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labour Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRIS	National Roma Integration Strategies
NRP	National Reform Programmes
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization

Rationale

¹ For practical reasons we will use (interchangeably) the terms 'categories' or 'types' of Roma, with the understanding that we do not intend to categorise Roma groups by importance nor to classify Roma people by types, but rather argue that exclusion factors and inclusion barriers are different according to the living circumstances of Roma.

² European Commission (2010a) *Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. The social and economic integration of the Roma in Europe.COM/2010/0133 final*. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

³ The author has included minor changes in the original definition of the four types of Roma circumstances presented in the Commission's Communication.

⁴ European Commission (2011a) *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions. An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020.COM(2011) 173 final*. Brussels, 5 April. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

This document intends to support the work of policymakers in implementing National Roma Integration Strategies and in planning and developing policy plans and projects whilst also providing support to public and private organisations working with Roma by:

- Describing the most frequent types of situations of exclusion¹ experienced by Roma living in the European Union (EU) according to their respective geographical, economic and social contexts;
- Explaining how common basic principles and priority actions have to be adapted to these different contexts and circumstances;
- Proposing policy options, including strategies, approaches and priorities that can be followed on the basis of these situations of exclusion;
- Connecting these policy options with the current EU framework, including legal, policy and financial instruments.

Factual experience demonstrates that the Roma communities in the 27 countries of the EU as well as in the candidate and potential candidate countries do not constitute one homogeneous group, but are rather living in different circumstances and contexts and follow different lifestyle patterns that condition their opportunities for inclusion. In its Communication on "The social and economic integration of the Roma"², the European Commission stresses that while each context is unique, four major types of contexts defining the living circumstances of Roma can be identified today in Europe:³

- Roma communities living in urban and suburban neighbourhoods or districts characterised by ethnic concentration, (extreme) poverty and deprivation.
- Roma communities living in segregated rural settlements, characterised by isolation from small cities and villages and extreme deprivation.
- Roma migrants and Roma EU Nationals moving within the EU, usually originating in Eastern and Central European countries, motivated by economic considerations and generally aiming for a sedentary lifestyle.
- Roma travellers, whose needs are articulated around the mobile habitat/housing and rooted in traditions (and/or seasonal occupations).

In addition to these four categories, in order for model approaches to achieve adequate representation of most living circumstances of Roma, a fifth category describing the situation of a significant proportion of Roma in both

Western and Central Europe, is incorporated in the proposed typology: Roma communities living in integrated urban and suburban neighbourhoods.

Despite the broad diversity of national and local contexts and circumstances, Roma share many socio-economic characteristics and experience a similar rejection on the part of majority populations, which translates into direct and indirect discriminatory practices towards them. This implies that a series of social inclusion goals and policy challenges are, in their generic formulation, common to the different Roma situations. However, when establishing strategies and focusing on specific areas of intervention, it must be borne in mind that although problems are situated in the same fields for all Roma (education, employment, health, housing, crosscutting themes of gender equality and discrimination), there are differentiating elements in terms of the intensity or gravity of social exclusion in relation to Roma access to socio-economic rights and services, to the contexts in which exclusion takes place, and to the processes and forms of exclusion.

These differences are due to a multiplicity of distinct factors that have been analysed intermittently and rarely in a systematic way; some of the factors that produce such diverse situations of exclusion and/or facilitate processes of social inclusion are related to the physical environment in which Roma live; to the economic resources available in their direct vicinity; to the macro-economic situation of the countries and regions; to the institutional frameworks and legal and regulatory mechanisms; to the quality and availability of public services; and to the existence or lack of an organised civil society. The permanence over time of Roma in a particular place, the culture of Roma subgroups, the proximity or distance, not only physical but also relational and linguistic, to the majority population, the existence or non-existence of other ethnic minorities in their direct surroundings are other determining factors.

The European Commission, in its 2011 Communication 'An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020'⁴, emphasises that improving the situation of Roma is a social and economic imperative for the EU and its Member States, and calls on Member States to elaborate a set of measures, including specific goals in the areas of education, employment, healthcare and housing and essential services, in the framework of the objectives established for the Europe 2020 Strategy and consistent with National Reform Programmes:

These minimum standards should be based on common, comparable and reliable indicators. The achievement of these goals is important to help Member States reaching the overall targets of the Europe 2020 strategy. The National Roma Integration Strategies have to be elemental to the policies of

*each Member State and have to adapt to the particular circumstances and needs of Roma*⁵.

At a time when the so-called “good practices” are the one of the principal sources of technical knowledge in these areas, it is worth emphasising that not all recipes are adequate for all contexts, and those actors (both public authorities and private organisations) responsible for the design and/or implementation of inclusion measures may find inspiration but also confusion in these “good practices” if no effort is made to deepen the understanding of the structural conditions that allow and facilitate virtuous processes. For example, an employment project that is based on the oversight of the economic-productive fabric of a particular locality, including awareness-raising measures for businessmen, vocational and in-company professional training for Roma, etc. will be of little use in rural environments where no opportunity exists in the services sector; an inclusive and intercultural education initiative will not fit the reality of a segregated environment in which Roma boys and girls are not attending school. At a more general level, the ten Common Basic Principles require an understanding from the perspective of the distinct realities on the ground, or they risk being misinterpreted. For example, how can the principle ‘explicit but not exclusive targeting’ be implemented in a segregated Roma settlement in which social and economic dynamics are utterly disconnected from the broader social fabric?

The point of departure of model approaches is that beyond the diversity and cultural traditions of Roma groups, the integration of Roma is conditioned essentially by their living conditions and habitats, their ways of life, the institutional frameworks and policy responses, as well as the frequency or intensity of factors of exclusion which determine their access to public services, their civic participation and the relationship segregation-integration. This heterogeneity implies that while Roma policies aim for the same objectives and follow common basic principles,⁶ different priorities, strategies and approaches are required, which take into account and are adapted to the geographical, economic, social, cultural and legal contexts in which Roma persons and communities find themselves.

These differentiated areas and lines of action do not determine per se clear cut ‘worlds’ of exclusion but often overlap and change. However, broadly speaking, a greater frequency of conditioning variables and characteristics of social exclusion can help to identify possible policy options, strategies and priority actions for particular circumstances. In this light, model approaches adapted to the different groups and determined by well-focused priorities, action criteria, flexible tools and appropriate working methods, may help not only to improve the knowhow and specialisation of

stakeholders, but to drive policies and programmes and to achieve better results.

This paper is divided into four parts: the first describes the most frequent types of situations of exclusion experienced by many Roma today referring, among other elements, to the geographic situation and environment, the main characteristics and the dynamics and trends that are conditioning their situation, identifying the countries or geographical areas where each situation tends to be represented to a greater extent. The second explains how priorities in the four fundamental areas of intervention (education, employment, housing and health), the ten common basic principles as well as other criteria ought to be followed in the Roma action plans and projects and modulated according to different contexts and circumstances. The third presents possible model approaches for each of the types of situations, by identifying the key policy challenges and the possible options to be followed as well as others that are not recommendable. Based on existing experiences and projects, it also focuses on the key specific issues in the four aforementioned areas of intervention and makes useful recommendations. The fourth part connects the model approaches with the existing legal, policy, and financial instruments at the EU level. Finally, together with the description of principles we include in an annex a summary of the factors that may bolster the success of the programmes and projects including different areas of action.

The following model approaches can help Member States in the process of implementing National Roma Integration Strategies or integrated set of measures, and provide substantial support when concretising the strategies, action plans and projects at the local level. In fact, for Roma policies to be effective, they have to be adapted to particular needs and circumstances. The Models are conceived by the European Commission as appropriate guidance and support to the Member States for the implementation of the Roma Strategies. At the same time, the Models also highlight key points to progress on, such as the involvement of Roma people in decision making, the importance of monitoring and learning, more efficient use of funds through better planning and better focused implementation, etc.

For the preparation of this document the expert has complemented his personal knowledge and experience with two research methods to critically analyse and validate the proposals and recommendations: first, the analysis of secondary sources, including reports, studies, books, available literature and other existing written material (including websites). Second, direct contact with key informants and experts, through telephone interviews and email exchanges with the aim of obtaining additional information on the existing experiences and to contrast viewpoints. In order to describe the most

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁶ Council of the EU (2009) *Council Conclusions on Inclusion of the Roma. 2947th Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs. Luxembourg, 8 June. Available at: <http://www.euromanet.eu/>*

7 **Supporting documentation available at:**
<http://www.coe.int/>

8 **European Commission (2011a) op.cit.**

frequent situations under focus and specific challenges, and propose policy options adapted to each of them, the greatest possible array of cases and countries has been covered. In total, more than 90 studies and reports have been analysed and more than 30 websites were consulted.

Several elements have to be kept in mind when reading this paper:

- We use the general term “Roma” to refer to a number of different groups (Roma, Sinti, Kale, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Travellers, Dom, Lom, etc.) identified as such by the Council of Europe, by representatives of the aforementioned Roma groups in Europe and various international organisations (OSCE-ODIHR, European Commission, UNHCR and others).⁷
- It must be understood that the five types of circumstances described represent the most frequent situations of Roma in the EU countries, but it is beyond doubt that other Roma live in circumstances and socio-economic conditions that are not included in any of these. Furthermore, as explained below, there is a wide range of situations within each of the category.
- When identifying experiences and projects, we have focused this work on the 27 EU Member States; however, similar Roma situations can be found in candidate and pre-candidate countries, as well as in other European countries.
- The ‘model approaches’ described here must be considered as useful orientations, recommendations and suggestions to be adapted to each particular reality and always framed in general/mainstream policies, in accordance with the principles followed by the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020.⁸



1

Most frequent Roma living circumstances

Today, the Roma population constitutes the largest ethnic minority in the EU. This minority is spread throughout the European continent but is highly concentrated in Central and Eastern Europe. In the new EU Member States of Romania, Bulgaria, the Slovak Republic and Hungary, the Roma may represent between 7 and 10% of the population, while large Roma communities live in candidate and potential candidate countries such as Turkey and Serbia. In Western Europe they represent less than 0.5% of the total population; the largest Roma population is found in Spain while significant Roma communities live in France and the UK.⁹ Roma are widely distributed across Europe, to the extent that virtually all Member States harbour Roma communities. Moreover, although within countries Roma may often be concentrated in certain regions or localities, they are also widely distributed geographically, across both rural and urban areas.

Roma are as diverse as society is and we cannot affirm that some forms of living or understanding the Roma culture, beliefs and traditions are more important than others, but merely that some forms are more frequent than others.¹⁰ Many Roma do not find themselves in situations of disadvantage and exclusion, and we must

prevent any type of identification between Roma and integration problems, which would inevitably lead to uncalled for generalisations and even compound stereotypes. In fact, many of the problems related to Roma in situations of poverty are shared, to some extent, with many 'non-Roma', although some characteristics and circumstances, including prejudices and negative stereotypes fuelling widespread discrimination, are specific to Roma and may require an explicit (but not exclusive) approach. In fact, Roma are citizens and any kind of Roma policy must be framed within inclusive general policies aiming to guarantee the enjoyment of full rights, including adequate access to public services and active participation in society.

Despite the diversity of Roma circumstances, and despite the fact that some Roma enjoy a high level of education and culture and/or adequate living standards across Europe, real progress in improving the living conditions and opportunities of many Roma remains limited. In fact, especially in certain countries, a high proportion of Roma persons experience extreme poverty and social exclusion. Generally speaking the Roma are one of the most marginalised social groups in the EU, facing deep social problems related to low levels of education, high

⁹ Council of Europe Roma and Travellers Division (2010) *Statistics*. Available at: <http://www.coe.int/>

¹⁰ It is especially important to avoid the classical accusations made against the Roma who have achieved a high level of education of failing to be Roma because they do not act as the majority of the community.

¹¹ World Bank (2005) *Roma in an expanding Europe: breaking the poverty cycle*. Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/>

¹² European Commission (2010a) *op.cit.*; European Commission (2011a) *op.cit.* Spanish Presidency of the EU (2010) *Integrated European Platform for Roma Inclusion Roadmap*. 30 June.

¹³ Council of the European Union (2009) *op.cit.*

unemployment, inadequate housing, poor health, and wide-ranging discrimination, all of which are interrelated and create a vicious circle of social exclusion. With the exception of specific Roma groups and individual cases, the gap between Roma communities and the majority population has not been bridged in many countries in the past two decades.¹¹

The vicious circle of the intergenerational transmission of poverty and social exclusion is determined by the lack of guarantee of rights, persistent discrimination activated by racism by the majority population, spatial segregation, lack of access to services and the absence of consistent policies aimed at overcoming these trends. An appropriate education, improving professional capacities including access to employment, adequate access to health and adequate housing and environmental conditions, have been identified by the EU and other stakeholders as the four pillars/axes of the social and economic integration of Roma.¹² Empirical evidence demonstrates that achieving effective results in these four areas and overcoming Roma social exclusion requires establishing integrated inclusion policies, following the Ten Common Basic Principles that have been identified by the European Roma Platform and endorsed by the Council.¹³

The heterogeneity of the living conditions and habitats of Roma in the 27 EU countries, as well as in the candidate and potential candidate countries may imply following different strategies, priorities and approaches. Social and economic integration processes are conditioned by socio-economic circumstances and depend in large part on the context in which the Roma live as well as on the available public and private infrastructures and services. Environmental conditions, segregation from or lack of interaction with majority populations directly influence the poor access of Roma to goods and services and at the same time condition and limit opportunities for social progress and for full involvement in community life. At the same time, concentration or/and symbolic isolation influences the internal and external dynamics of the groups and as a consequence requires specific approaches that take into account these circumstances.

Upon implementing their National Roma Strategies or integrated set of measures, Member States need to take into account the diversity of Roma circumstances and the heterogeneity of living conditions and habitats inside their own countries. This is especially important when implementing the strategies at the regional and local levels and when concretising goals and actions for disadvantaged micro-regions or for segregated neighbourhoods, which will require differentiated model approaches.

The different circumstances described in this document, grouped into five categories do not cover the full variety of situations experienced by Roma in Europe but refer to the most frequent ones observable throughout the EU. In fact, we can identify one or several of these categories in all countries, to varying extents; in some cases, such as the Czech Republic, Portugal or Spain, Roma are mainly concentrated in urban and suburban neighbourhoods and districts; in others, for example Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Greece and Hungary, there is a high proportion of Roma living in segregated rural settlements in addition to Roma living in urban areas; in others, such as Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Ireland, many are Travellers or live in mobile habitats; we can find Roma migrants including from the Balkans, and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 Member States, in all the EU-15 countries.

It must be emphasised that within each category there is a broad diversity of groups and circumstances. In fact they are not mutually exclusive and share many elements: for instance, Roma migrants and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 Member States usually find themselves living in segregated urban neighbourhoods in host countries, while Roma living in suburban neighbourhoods may feature elements of segregated rural life. At the same time, there are mixed situations as groups find themselves in a transition process between categories. However, this does not invalidate the starting-point of the present document that is: within the different circumstances grouped in five categories there are common characteristics, situations, dynamics and trends that inform policy options and intervention models better adapted to each of them and that have proven to be more useful in practice.

1.1. Roma communities living in integrated urban and suburban neighbourhoods

Description

In this category we include groups and families living in high density areas of the cities, usually in lower-middle or working-class neighbourhoods, including urban expansion areas, but also in city centres where many Roma live together with the rest of the population, including in many cases other minorities or people of immigrant origin. Many of these Roma are considered to be engaged in a process of socio-economic integration but their risk of exclusion is higher than that of their neighbours and they continue to need special support. These neighbourhoods cannot be considered as excluded from the social fabric of cities, but rather are popular quarters or relatively poor residential areas. Many of

them were developed in the second half of the twentieth century while cities were expanding and attracting industry workers, fuelling a process of migration from rural to urban areas, and consist of blocks of flats. In other cases, they have been popular quarters for a long time. These areas do not lack public services (schools, medical centres, social services, public transport, etc.) although the latter are often insufficient or lack quality.

Roma families living in this environment have already taken significant steps towards social integration. It involves a context of greater opportunities for social participation: economic participation, access to education and training, employment opportunities; access to primary social and health resources, to leisure or sporting resources; in short, to situations of greater interaction with non-Roma in multiple and varied circumstances. However, it also consists of a fragile context in which the situation of these communities is one of great vulnerability. Many Roma families settled in these neighbourhoods when they were created, similarly to the rest of their inhabitants. In other cases Roma arrived through explicit processes of resettlements carried out by the public authorities: sometimes as a result of public rehousing policies, whereby public authorities removed them from other areas (usually peri-urban informal settlements) and provided them with social housing.

Dynamics and trends

The most frequent dynamics in these neighbourhoods are related to the following aspects:

- **Physical concentration vs. dispersion:** In some urban centres, Roma are dispersed in various (working- or lower-middle class) areas, and within certain neighbourhoods the percentage of Roma is not very high and they are distributed in different streets and housing blocks. In other cases, the percentage of the Roma in the neighbourhoods tends to be higher or they are mainly concentrated in some streets or living mostly together in the same blocks of flats. The degree of concentration/dispersion inside the neighbourhood directly influences the opportunities for Roma integration. In fact, higher concentration usually renders integration more difficult while physical distribution facilitates it significantly. Sometimes such physical concentration is not initially a characteristic of neighbourhoods but takes place over time due to higher Roma birth rates and the tendency for minorities to settle in the same area.
 - **Ethnic concentration vs. diversity:** Trends in these neighbourhoods may differ: in some cases the balance between Roma and non-Roma
- continues over time; in others, there is a trend towards increasing ethnic concentration. In fact, while the area sometimes improves and there is physical or social mobility, in others, when mobility does take place it is because new Roma or in some cases immigrants enter the area; the classical phenomenon of white flight” conditions the concentration of Roma persons in Roma neighbourhoods (Central and Eastern European countries), or Roma and immigrants in these neighbourhoods (Western Europe). Such ethnic concentration happens not only in relation to housing, but also has a multiplier effect in existing public services, especially in schools because of the higher birth rate of Roma and most immigrants.
- **Stagnation vs. positive changes:** While some of these neighbourhoods may remain in a situation whereby there are no new services and improvements for years, in other cases there is a permanent investment in the area (improving transport networks, improving and providing new infrastructures such as parks, public centres for sports, healthcare, education, building refurbishment, attracting private businesses and services, etc.). These trends are dependent on public policies; while in the first case, neighbourhoods stagnate given the lack of public investments and infrastructural improvements, which do not favour economic dynamics in the neighbourhood, social progress is scarce and the quality of life tends to decline, in the second case the neighbourhood participates in the positive dynamics of the rest of the city. Upholding the quality of the basic infrastructures and housing (social housing often is of low quality) is crucial for improvements to take place.
 - **Increasing integration vs. isolation:** In many of these neighbourhoods, Roma become ‘normal citizens’ with little distinction from the rest of their neighbours. While maintaining their own family and group traditions, they follow the same behavioural patterns as their neighbours in relation to social and civic participation, access and use of the services, etc. In fact, interaction between Roma and non-Roma is permanent in the daily life and this leads, for example to an increasing number of mixed marriages. In many other cases, this evolution does not take place, and despite the physical proximity, Roma tend to remain isolated or to retain differentiated behavioural patterns in relation to the access and use of services as well as their daily interactions. Physical distribution referred to previously, as well as the existence of support programmes, among other factors, influence these trends.

- **Tension inclusion vs. exclusion processes:**

This tension is determined by the opportunities and risks associated with regular interaction. Discrimination practices at the individual and group levels condition the processes of exclusion. Participatory practices, for example through Roma associations including youth and women, the emergence of Roma leaders, including religious leaders, as well as Roma participation in thematic and mainstream civic associations accelerate inclusion processes. Access to the public services and to public incomes and benefits are pillars for Roma integration while in some cases it can contribute to generating situations of dependence if they are not associated with activation measures or establish conditionalities.

buildings, high-rise low-comfort buildings (modernist/post-World War Two standards), factory buildings occupied by Roma in the context of deindustrialisation, sleeping places for workers near former industrial areas (some of them are presently brown field sites).

The causes for the emergence of these neighbourhoods and districts are also very diverse depending on countries and circumstances: in some cases Roma have been living there for a long time, sometimes over generations (this is the case of the city/town centres); in others, it is a result of processes of migration from the countryside to the cities; others have been occupied by the Roma after the fall of the Soviet bloc; in many cases it is the consequence of public rehousing policies whereby Roma have been resettled en masse, and sometimes processes of concentration have been accelerated by evictions and removal of high-risk tenants to basic accommodation, often on the fringes of towns and far removed from public services.

Frequency - Countries

We can find Roma living in urban and suburban neighbourhoods in many countries around Europe. The fact that these Roma groups tend to be less visible because they are less concentrated or simply because their living habits are similar to those of the rest of their neighbours does not mean that this type of social circumstance is not frequent. For instance, this is the most common situation in Spain where Roma families/groups engaged, sometimes over generations, in processes of socio-economic inclusion and living in integrated urban neighbourhoods are present in most of the cities, and in the south of France (in cities such as Perpignan); but also frequently in central Europe (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia) as well as Poland, Romania and Bulgaria.

Dynamics and trends

Some of the more frequent dynamics and trends in these kinds of habitat are related to the following aspects:

- **Segregation vs. integration:** In fact, the most common circumstance in these kinds of areas is that, from the perspective of town planners, Roma are to be kept outside of the mainstream dynamics of the cities and to remain isolated, or to be removed in cases of urban redevelopment or regeneration in the area where they reside and the land is needed (for example, the expansion of the city, the need to create new infrastructures for public services, the construction of a new road nearby, or gentrification processes). This approach implies as a consequence a lack of measures aimed at improving physical accessibility (roads, public transport, gas and electricity services, garbage collection, etc.) or social accessibility (social relations to the cities). Segregation is characteristic independently of isolated location (physical distance between the deprived neighbourhood and the compact areas of the city or town), peripheral location (situated at the edge of the city) or integrated location (in the integrated, residential parts of the city, including city centres). The boundaries of these areas can be both symbolic (that is when the area is socially perceived as a dangerous area, gypsy street or ghetto, etc.) and physical (separated from other residential areas by an industrial zone, a highway, watercourse, landfill, etc.), despite the fact that segregation is greater when there is physical separation or there are only Roma inhabitants.

1.2. Roma communities living in segregated urban and suburban neighbourhoods

Description

This category comprises Roma communities living in the urban and suburban neighbourhoods or districts, including zones of urban influence, characterised by ethnic concentration (most often exclusively Roma), high levels of poverty and deprivation.

This category features a variety of circumstances, some of the more frequent of which are: deteriorated neighbourhood in city centres; streets or neighbourhoods in the urban periphery, spatially isolated neighbourhoods around cities and towns, slums, settlements or semi-rural housing areas on the outskirts of cities or towns. It is also frequent to find Roma in public housing and old buildings in historical urban centres, multi-family housing

• **Deterioration vs. improvement:** The common trend in these neighbourhoods is that the existing infrastructures, goods and services are precarious and tend to deteriorate over time in the absence of maintenance or improvements. Alternatively, there simply is a lack of basic infrastructures such as pavements, electricity, running water, healthcare network, etc.). Buildings are most often of low quality and many homes consist of makeshift shacks made of cardboard, metal scraps and mud bricks frequently devoid of windows, doors and walls. In many cases the low quality buildings, together with a lack of urban planning or chaotic expansion represents a serious risk for their dwellers.

• **Attractiveness vs. stigmatisation:** The negative effect of stigmatisation, associated with ethnic profiling and cultural rather than socio-economic circumstances, has a double dimension: on the *gadge* side neighbourhoods with a high concentration of Roma are perceived as the symbol of all urban ills (violence and insecurity, trafficking, drug abuse, etc.). As a consequence, these areas offer little attractiveness for business and their inhabitants thereby do not benefit from investments by private suppliers (for example, grocery shops) for the provision of goods and services nor working opportunities. These areas are also very unattractive to the professionals of public services, especially to the most skilled and most important for the improvement of socio-economic conditions (teachers, doctors, etc.). On the side of Roma, the stigmatisation of their neighbourhoods conditions their self-awareness and reduces the expectation of improvements, often leading to self-stigmatisation. Sometimes stigmatisation is aggravated by the intensification of situations of delinquency, violence and crime.

• **Public abandonment vs. public commitment:** For many local elected officials and public authorities, solving this situation is not a priority. Moreover, in many cases, while Roma are confined to these areas, they are not a matter of public interest for the city because the problem is not visible. A common discourse of many local elected representatives and citizens is to make Roma fully responsible for their situation. A typical expression of this lack of public interest and blaming is the phrase '*they don't want to be integrated*'; another example of this retreat and lack of commitment of the public authorities is the frequently heard expression: '*even the police doesn't enter this neighbourhood*'. The lack of public commitment also influences the decreasing interest and compromise of Roma in taking care of both

public and private goods (primarily the maintenance and care of dwellings).

• **Ethnic concentration vs. mobility:** The current trend in this situation is towards increasing ethnic concentration. In fact, these areas lack any physical or social mobility, and in cases when mobility does take place it is because new Roma or in some cases immigrants enter the area; as in the case of the previous category, the classical phenomenon of "white flight" conditions the concentration of Roma persons in Roma neighbourhoods. Such ethnic concentration happens not only in relation to housing, but also has a multiplier effect in existing public services, especially in schools because of the higher birth rate of Roma.

Frequency – Countries

We can encounter situations of Roma living in urban or suburban neighbourhood in all EU Member States, but they are most frequent in the Slovak Republic (e.g. Lúnik IX in Košice), the Czech Republic (e.g. Hrušov in Ostrava), Hungary (e.g. District 8 in Budapest), Romania (e.g. District Five Ferentari in Bucharest), Bulgaria (e.g. Stolipinovo in Plovdiv), Greece (e.g. Ifaistos in Komotini), Spain (e.g. Los Almendros in Almería), Portugal (e.g. Las Pedreiras in Beja), Italy (camps surrounding various cities), France (mainly in Southern France). But there are examples of this category in all EU countries.¹⁴ In all the countries but mainly in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Romania the concentration, marginalisation and exclusion of Roma in urban areas is the product of complex and multifarious processes. Urban Roma neighbourhoods have emerged either from the post-Second World War urban reconstruction and labour market transformations involving large-scale urban migration and resettling of Roma; or as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1990s, which was accompanied by the decline or closure of industrial sectors, mass unemployment affecting unskilled labour (a significant part of which was Roma) disproportionately.

1.3. Roma communities living in segregated rural settlements

Description

This category includes Roma groups living in segregated rural settlements, isolated from cities and villages or situated in the vicinity of villages and characterised by extreme deprivation. In many cases,

¹⁴ Interviewers conducting the EU-MIDIS survey determined that more than half of those surveyed (54%) across the seven Member States (Czech Republic, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary) were living in predominantly immigrant/minority population neighbourhoods, most conspicuously in Bulgaria (72%) Romania (66%), Slovakia (65%) and Greece (63%). Data cannot be considered representative of the entire geographical and social universe of Roma communities at the national level in the countries surveyed, and its results are skewed by the limited range of respondents, but it nonetheless does constitute a ground-breaking attempt to map out the variety of Roma circumstances. EU FRA (2009d) *Housing discrimination against Roma in selected EU Member States – An analysis of EU-MIDIS data* (Vienna: FRA). Available at: <http://www.fra.europa.eu/>

¹⁵ Dertwinkel, Tim (2008) *Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Indicators and Measurement Considerations*, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), December.

these communities are located in the middle of the countryside and in others are formal or informal settlements next to existing villages but functioning in parallel, as Roma villages. In some countries (Slovakia, Romania, Hungary) “segregated villages” start to be identified as a model that differs from the “segregated rural settlement” one. One village or some village neighbourhoods are ghettoised with the risk of becoming a Roma territory with dramatic consequences in terms of segregation, discrimination and socio-economic exclusion.

These segregated rural settlements have different origins: in some cases Roma have been living there for many years over several generations, given that some of them used to be service providers for the farmers by developing traditional professions as blacksmiths, basket weavers, boilermakers, etc. Many of these settlements, especially in the former communist countries, were established at the beginning of the 1950s, when the governments established laws forcing the Roma to be sedentarised; some Roma established themselves in these settlements while working in government farms, in mines and in small industries; in some cases Roma received small housing subsidies and they built shelters in cheaper, semi-abandoned rural areas. Many other settlements emerged in the wake of regime change, when Roma lost their jobs; in other cases the villages have been built as permanent or temporary housing for flood victims who lost their homes or due to other natural catastrophes.

Physical accessibility and infrastructural deficiencies – the absence of basic equipment (electricity, gas, running water, etc.) and services (public security, education, health services, etc.) – is a major issue for many of the settlements, which are most often totally disconnected from public governance and the broader social fabric. In most of the cases houses are self-made, using inappropriate materials and without any urban planning. In fact these settlements are growing naturally without any planning and control by annexing haphazardly new self-made constructions. Generally speaking, there are great disparities between rural and urban areas in many respects: access to transport and industrial/commercial infrastructure, access to health, education and other services, including charities and community networks, income levels and types of income sources. In fact, poverty is more severe in rural than in urban areas, which means that the Roma in rural areas are “double losers”:¹⁵ in addition to the lack of access to the social safety nets available in urban areas, rural Roma also lack access to productive resources (mainly land and working capital) needed for subsistence agriculture with often leads to the absence of food and heating means.

Dynamics and trends

- **Expansion and growth:** High birth rates together with early marriages and other circumstances foster the rapid growth of the number of residents of these slums and their consequent expansion, sometimes by building new houses, otherwise by annexing or enlarging existing ones (sometimes housing issues in rural areas are related to informal business and abusive lending); this growth also leads to an increasing imbalance between the number of Roma and non-Roma where settlements are situated next to villages. Despite the promises made by several governments to reduce the number of rural Roma settlements, especially during the pre-adhesion process, new ones continue to emerge in many regions.
- **Lack of basic consumer goods and economic opportunities:** Many Roma are living in poorly built, overcrowded shacks in isolated and segregated settlements, far away from health services, schools, employment and shops. The absence of land ownership does not allow Roma in these settlements to produce goods, to undertake profitable activities or even to achieve self-sufficiency. In most of these rural areas, there is no diversified economy and as a result no alternative to agriculture. Moreover, seasonal work opportunities have been drastically reduced due to the mechanisation of farming.
- **High levels of dependency:** Many Roma populations of the rural areas are characterised by extreme poverty, making them highly dependent on social welfare, as public benefits are for most households an important or the unique source of income (pensions, child support, etc.). The current economic crisis, which is leading to a reduction of social expenditures, is likely to worsen the situation further. High levels of dependency contribute to increasing the vicious cycle of exclusion by forcing, in many cases, Roma to fall into the debt trap, to subject themselves or be subjected to various forms of exploitation, to live in isolation, to lose their self-esteem, and to a deterioration of basic rules of coexistence.
- **Legal insecurity (also frequent in the second category):** Legal insecurity has several dimensions in the rural settlements; in many cases Roma do not have property rights on the land where their houses are located. These lands are either in a legal limbo or the land belongs to a private owner, in other cases it is state-owned. Most of the houses have been built by

residents themselves in non-urban areas, which mean that some municipalities refuse to provide public services (electricity, running water, etc.) because the settlements are 'irregular', despite the fact that residents may have been living there for decades. Many buildings are illegal, infrastructure is inadequately built and badly maintained with no sanitation. The absence of any legalisation process for these settlements therefore causes difficulties for registration of their inhabitants and practical barriers to access many services.

- **Increasing migration.** Migration processes have several dimensions in rural settlements. There is a general trend to migrate from rural areas to the cities especially in the new Member States where the active population in the agricultural sector continues to shrink and there is an absence of economic diversification; Roma also experience this trend. In some areas where there is a high concentration of Roma (colonisation), non Roma also tend to migrate away from these areas, often to other countries. In fact many Roma who have initiated migratory processes to the EU-15 used to live in rural areas.

Frequency - Countries

The percentage of Roma living in rural areas is very high in some countries, as in the case of Romania, the Slovak Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria. In Slovakia it is considered that 25% of the Roma population lives in 338 rural settlements, of which 281 (with close to 50,000 inhabitants) are completely isolated by physical and other barriers.¹⁶ In Romania, it is estimated that between 40.5 and 65% of the Roma live in rural settlements in vast swathes of Romania, but with high levels of concentration in the Brasov, Mures, Alba, Cluj, Dolj and Mehedinti counties.¹⁷ In Hungary, it is thought that between 44 and 60% of the Roma population live in segregated rural settlements, mainly concentrated in the 33 micro-regions especially in Northern Hungary and Northern Alföld (Great Hungarian Plain), identified by the Hungarian government as experiencing severe disadvantages.¹⁸ The frontier areas between Member States also feature a high concentration of Roma rural settlements, with large number of settlements/villages/ghettoes on the Hungary-Slovakia border, the Romania-Serbia border and the Romania-Hungary borders, for instance. In Bulgaria between 43 and 48% of Roma live in rural areas.¹⁹ In other countries, such as Greece and Portugal, there is a significant proportion of Roma living in rural slums. In the case of Greece, an estimated 63,000 out of 250,000 Roma, or more than 25% of the total Roma population, are living in segregated rural settlements, especially in Northern Greece, while in Portugal Roma are concentrated in the Algarve region.²⁰

1.4. Roma migrants and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 Member States

Description

This category includes Roma short- and medium-term migrants to the EU-15 (mainly from the former Yugoslavia), as well as Roma EU nationals usually originating in Eastern and central European countries (mainly Romania, and to a lesser extent Bulgaria, the Slovak and Czech Republics) to the EU (mainly EU-15).²¹ This migratory process is not unprecedented in Europe, and in fact has taken different steps, but has been most conspicuous after the fall of the former Soviet regimes and the recent enlargement of the EU.²²

Generally speaking, migration involves push factors related to adverse economic conditions and low expectations of improvements in the countries of origin, and pull factors related to the attractiveness and opportunities offered by the destination countries. Today, we are facing a new migratory context as new forms of migration are emerging, such as circular migration or return migration. With regard to Roma migrations, poverty and the experience of racism, discrimination and sometimes violence are the key push factors motivating the movement of Roma EU citizens or Roma third country nationals. Key pull factors may be differentiated: in some cases, and these are the more visible, there tends to be temporary return migration, which is related to the expectations of obtaining economic resources (mainly through informal activities and public benefits); there is also evidence that Roma migration involves circular patterns.²³ In other cases, migration is related to the search for a more stable form of employment and to expectations of a higher quality of public services (education and health) in the destination countries. Other pull factors include Roma friends and family already established in destination countries who often provide information and support, an assumption of better opportunities in the countries of destination linked to a perception of lower anti-Roma discrimination, a hopeful, but vague, notion of economic opportunities for a 'good life' available in the destination country, albeit not always grounded in the experience of previous migrants.²⁴

Unemployment, poverty, racism and feelings of rootlessness have been aggravated in recent years and could rise in the current context of economic crisis. Roma have aspirations for a better future and understand mobility as an opportunity; in fact the EU-15 countries are supposed to provide a safe environment, better protection and social benefits. Some groups of long-established migrants enjoy full citizenship in host countries (where they are considered national minorities or ethnic minorities). In the same countries, some other groups are considered refugees or asylum-seekers and

¹⁶ Altrock, Uwe et al. (2006) *Spatial Planning and Urban Development in the New EU Member States. From Adjustment to Reinvention* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing).

¹⁷ Revenga, Ana, Dena Ringold and William Martin Tracy (2002) *Poverty and Ethnicity A Cross-Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe* World Bank Technical Paper No.531. Berescu, Catalin and Celac, Mariana (2006) *Housing and Extreme Poverty. The Case of Roma Communities* (Bucharest: Ion Mincu University Press). See also <https://childhealthnow.com/>

¹⁸ Hungarian Presidency of the EU (2011) *Background information on the territorial aspects of extreme poverty Informal Contact Group meeting. 18 February. See also Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary (2004) Gypsies/Roma in Hungary. Fact Sheets on Hungary. Available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/>*

¹⁹ Information available at: <http://www.euromanet.eu/>

²⁰ Pavlou, Miltos (2009) 'Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers' Greece RAXEN National Focal Point. March. Available at: <http://www.ndhr.gr/>

²¹ Tanner, Arno (2005) *The Roma of Eastern Europe: Still Searching for Inclusion, May. Available at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/>*

²² Ibid.

²³ Maisongrande, Vincent (2011) 'Les circulations migratoires roumaines en Europe: Réseaux sociaux et inscription dans l'espace'. Available at: <http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/>

²⁴ FRA (2009b) *Comparative report: The situation of Roma EU citizens moving to and settling in other EU Member States, November.*

²⁵ For example Visa requirements in the past between the Czech Republic and the UK, and recently between FYROM and Sweden, as well as borders conflicts in between France, England and Germany.

²⁶ This was manifest in the controversy resulting from the French government's collective expulsion of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma to their countries of origin in the summer of 2010.

²⁷ Despite this trend there are also many cases of Roma migrants following similar patterns to other migrants and achieve significant degrees of integration.

²⁸ FRA (2009b) op.cit.

²⁹ European Commission (2010b) *Improving the tools for the social inclusion and non-discrimination of Roma in the EU*, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Unit G.4, Manuscript completed in June. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/progress>

³⁰ FRA (2008) 'Incident report on violent attacks against Roma in Italy'. 5 August. Available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/>

³¹ In spite of these, according to existing estimates, the percentage of Roma in many cases is not necessarily higher than that of non-Roma from their countries of origin. For example in Spain the number of Romanians is estimated to total 864,278 and the number of Roma from Romania is estimated to reach 50,000. See Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (2011) 'Avance del Padrón Municipal a 1 de enero de 2011'. Available at: <http://www.ine.es/>

have no residence permit; in other countries still, they are considered asylum-seekers/refugees, but do not fulfil (or are not allowed to demonstrate) the conditions to obtain the status.

Dynamics and trends

Increasing prominence on the political agenda:

the Roma issue has risen on the international political and media agenda primarily because of Roma migration. In fact it has been a matter of media debate not exempt of stereotypes throughout Europe and especially in the main origin and destination countries. This has contributed to worsen public perceptions of Roma. Roma migration has also repeatedly led to diplomatic tensions between governments,²⁵ and temporarily soured relations between the European Commission and some Member States.²⁶ The debate on Roma migration has also fuelled racist political discourses, sometimes articulated by xenophobic political parties, otherwise by extremist groups but also in some cases by governments.

Generalised confusion and inadequacy of ordinary mechanisms:

Most of the countries receiving Roma people have found themselves overwhelmed by the newcomers and their migratory patterns. Roma migratory behaviour generally differs from classical migration patterns:²⁷ they usually move in (family) groups, tend to live or join the extended family and tend to move between different cities or regions according to economic opportunities, social pressures and the degree of benevolence or administrative controls; sometimes part of the group remains in the destination country while part of the group returns to the country of origin for short periods of time. In fact, all these migration patterns corresponding to sedentary Roma groups that remain to some extent nomadic in spirit and are consistent with the traditional way of life of Roma, not only surprise citizens but also provoke a generalised confusion in administrations, which perceive Roma to exploit, if not plunder welfare states without demonstrating any further commitment to the host country. In fact, despite recent studies very little is known about the phenomenon.²⁸ This produces special needs and issues that local governments are not accustomed to address. In fact, public services are not used to nor adapted to deal with these kinds of circumstances; in many cases, relationships become conflictive or simply do not exist. Specialised services for migrants, whether public or private, encounter similar difficulties because of the lack of experience in adapting to these situations.

Rising hostility and public order approach: Hostility towards Roma nationals and migrants, occasionally involving violence, is reported with alarming frequency in the EU;²⁹ this hostility is aggravated by local confrontations due to rejection, conflicts of interest, suspicious attitudes, xenophobic discourses and a climate of growing intolerance. Such hostility also occurs in some cases between Roma

migrants and Roma already established in the country, in part due to a growing competition for primary resources, jobs and benefits. The presence of Roma migrants, including those coming from other EU countries, is increasingly considered a matter of "public order" rather than a matter of integration policies.³⁰ This approach, oriented towards security, is also being justified by the existence, in some cases, of certain forms of human exploitation and criminal activity.

Increasing the vicious circle of exclusion and discrimination:

Despite experiences of Roma migrants who have been successfully integrated in the host society, in most cases Roma migrants have to bear the domino effects of a chain of mutually reinforcing negative events and processes: the lack of documentation implies a lack of recognition of certain rights, which implies in turn a lack of access to services and opportunities to work, which leads to increasing discrimination and exclusion. These circumstances are aggravated by the insecurity in enjoying the rights associated with European citizenship, lack of protection of children, lack of protection against certain forms of human exploitation, etc. Some specific forms of migration and behaviours dominated by the logic of closed communities, hinder the ability of the public services to tackle this situation, providing little support beyond income support and access to some services, but lacking the development of proper work aimed at the promotion and inclusion of these Roma.

Frequency - Countries

Roma migrants in the EU are primarily coming from the former Yugoslavia, and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 and usually originating in Romania and Bulgaria. In the 1990s this migration was directed mainly to Italy, France, the UK, Germany and Belgium, but more recently has reached all EU-15 Member States, including peripheral countries such as Ireland, Spain or Portugal and to a lesser extent Nordic countries such as Sweden, Denmark and Finland. Despite several recent studies there is no clear picture of how many Roma have left partially or completely their country of origin and moved to another. The general understanding is that the number has risen significantly in the past decade.³¹

1.5. Roma travellers and (semi-) mobile lifestyles

Description

This category encompasses Roma who have been popularly assigned a variety of designations (Nomad, Manouches, Rom, Travellers, etc.) who continue to have a mobile or quasi-mobile lifestyle or are treated as a

travelling population by authorities and the majority population. Travellers in Western Europe tend to live in separate, often specially designed places (sites, camps, etc.), located at a distance from majority populations and usually built by local authorities, but also sometimes settle temporarily in improvised locations due to the absence of adequate spaces for mobile homes. In some other cases one or more individuals own or rent a piece of land where extended families install their mobile homes.

The number of mobile Roma communities is relatively small compared to sedentary communities. In fact, most Roma are sedentary while some traveller groups in Western Europe continue to practice a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle.³² This nomadic lifestyle includes different traditions according to groups and countries but is generally based on living in mobile homes, usually by groups that establish themselves temporarily in camps. For most of the travellers mobility is scarce in winter time and increases in the summer; this is related to business activities, pilgrimages and other social events whereby large groups usually gather for specific events.

Dynamics and trends

Sedentarisation vs. nomadism: While for most of the Roma in Europe the nomadic lifestyle belongs to the past and their expectation is to live together with the rest of the citizenry, for others, the mobile lifestyle remains at the heart of their culture and identity. In fact many Roma settled centuries ago, but sedentarisation en masse took place in the mid-twentieth century. Both ways of understanding and experiencing Roma culture require acceptance, respect and support.

Scant recognition and acceptance: Historically states have had difficulties in acknowledging the Travellers' traditional lifestyle and in adapting regulations to their needs. This lack of recognition influences the reluctance of public authorities to provide services adapted to Travellers' needs. This lack of recognition is also based on the scarce opportunities to obtain a legal space to dwell, leading to the unauthorised occupation of developments and encampments. In fact, in countries with a substantial Traveller community, the shortage of adequate permanent and transient halting sites and pitches is palpable, despite the implementation of relevant programmes.³³ This situation engenders numerous tensions at the local level, leading many citizens to misunderstand the reasons for the pursuance of alternative lifestyles by some Roma, and to lack an awareness of the need for adapted rules and specific services.

Administrative difficulties: The mobile ways of life pose several administrative problems for public institutions. In European societies, the registration process is ascribed to the residence in a municipal jurisdiction and

endows citizens with a series of rights related to social protection, in some countries, from obtaining a telephone line or electricity to obtaining the schooling of children, healthcare and pension rights; in many cases, mobile/traveller lifestyle leads to a systematic confrontation with the authorities. Traveller lifestyles require the adaptation and flexibility of numerous regulations and laws, as failing to do so, places Travellers in blatant situations of discrimination and suppose a de facto barrier to their access to rights. Including in countries where the law has made the greatest advances, such as France with the Besson Law,³⁴ unresolved problems persist in relation to its implementation and adaptation to particular cases.

Divergent policies: While in some cases the caravan has been recognised as a form of housing, as a key measure not only for the prevention of discrimination but to facilitate the access to other services, most countries are more reluctant to adopt this approach. Even in cases where more open legislation has been ratified, the number of available pitches is very limited, and the non-existence of available spaces is frequent in most cities, towns and villages. In fact, it is expected from the camps not only to be a space to halt or rest while travelling, but to be a terrain that includes sufficient accommodation for people to live in dignity. The minimalistic approach of most local authorities is often aimed at preventing the passage and sojourn of travellers in their jurisdiction and thereby at reducing the pressure of their citizens against having travellers as neighbours.

Frequency - Countries

the mobile lifestyle has been frequent in the past and continues to be adopted by many Roma groups in western and northern Europe, especially in countries like Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, the UK and Ireland and to some extent in Nordic countries as well as in the Netherlands. In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), it is practically nonexistent; some Traveller communities also live in Greece. Today, trends are diverse: while some traditional traveller/mobile families have abandoned nomadism (in many cases due to the lack of appropriate spaces for accommodation, to evictions, and to administrative troubles), others continue to pursue it. Most of them remain in semi-permanent camping sites most of the year.

³² European Commission (2010a) op.cit.

³³ FRA (2009c) *Housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the European Union. Comparative Report* (Vienna: FRA)

³⁴ Bidet, Michelle (2010) 'Will French Gypsies always stay nomadic and out of the law-making process?'. Conference proceedings. *Romani mobilities in Europe: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. International Conference. Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. 14-15 January.



2. Adapting principles to different circumstances

³⁵ Among other documents, see EURoma (2010) *EURoma Report. Roma and the Structural Funds* (Madrid: Fundación Secretariado Gitano); Council of the EU (2009) *op.cit.*; European Commission (2011a) *op.cit.*; European Parliament Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (2011) *op.cit.*; Fresno, José Manuel and Technical Staff – Fundación Secretariado Gitano (2009) 'Framework Document ACCEDER Programme'. Working Group on Employment Study visit (11–13 March 2009). Available at: <http://www.gitanos.org/>; Guy, Will and José Manuel Fresno (2006) 'Municipal programme of shanty towns eradication in Avilés (Asturias). Synthesis Report'. Peer Review in Assessment in Social Inclusion. Available at: <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/>; Fresno, José Manuel (2010) 'Promoting the social inclusion of children in a disadvantaged rural environment – the micro-region of Szécsény: Synthesis Report'. Hungary 2010. Peer Review in Social Inclusion and Social Protection and Assessment in Social Inclusion;

The information that has been accumulated through research, debates, and exchange on a growing number of positive experiences, has generated valuable knowledge among researchers, policy makers and practitioners on a corpus of principles and criteria that should be followed by Roma Strategies, policies and plans.³⁵ The European Platform for Roma Inclusion has adopted Ten Common Basic Principles, endorsed by the Council, which should be followed in Roma policies.³⁶

While implementing their National Roma Integration Strategies or integrated set of measures, Member States need to follow the Common Basic Principles, but also to adapt them to different circumstances in order to put them to work. This section begins by providing an exposition of this corpus of knowledge, which is valuable for all strategies, plans and programmes addressed to the Roma and in consequence needs to be taken into account independently of the country and the group of Roma targeted by inclusion measures, and continues by explaining how these principles and action criteria can be modulated and adjusted according to different circumstances.

2.1. Areas, principles and action criteria

The dimensions of Roma integration

There is a growing common understanding that improving the situation of the Roma in Europe means developing policies that identify and tackle all aspects of their deprivation through an integrated approach, together with the protection of fundamental rights, the fight against exclusion and the promotion of Roma culture and respect for Roma identity.

Effective access to rights: The existing literature demonstrates that many Roma in Europe do not enjoy rights as the rest of the citizenry or they simply lack some rights.³⁷ Effective rights mean more than formal legal recognition and require adequate legislation, proper enforcement of the legislation, and removing all the obstacles that make it ineffective. An orientation to rights and full citizenship must be an essential part of any comprehensive Roma policy; the absence of this dimension is a weakness for the functioning of policies aimed at Roma social inclusion. International human right instruments,³⁸

as well as EU instruments,³⁹ are essential constitutive elements of this dimension. Many rights, benefits and resources are universal and therefore all citizens are entitled to them. However, the exercise of a right, the use of a resource or the provision of a service need to be individualised and especially adapted to the needs of each citizen or group; this is even truer in the case of those persons that find themselves in an underprivileged situation.

Socio-economic inclusion: Poverty and exclusion do not necessarily coincide. The first is understood here as an economic concept, related to the absence of material resources (precariousness), and the second is a multidimensional phenomenon that goes beyond the economic approach. In fact, some socially excluded Roma are not poor, but they find themselves in situations of exclusion due to lack of participation in society's political, economic and social dynamics. However, both phenomena are interrelated and affect both living conditions and how people participate in society. When approaching the social inclusion of the Roma, three complementary dimensions need to be tackled concurrently:

- **Civil/Political dimension:** implies *inter alia* the protection from discrimination, the full exercise of political rights and the possibility of exercising civic commitment.
- **Economic dimension:** with regard to the possibility of contributing to the production of goods and services and their capacity to have access to (consume) the same.
- **Social dimension:** with respect to facilitating access to protection systems and promoting networks of social support, including community organisations beyond clans or family networks that, in short, allow people to integrate into their social environment.

Cultural development: Taking into consideration the cultural dimension when designing comprehensive social inclusion strategies is a prerequisite for their success. In fact, many mistakes and failures of Roma-focused interventions are related to this lack of sensitiveness. Moreover, it is important to avoid the confusion between the Roma as an ethnic minority group and those Roma groups experiencing marginalisation and situations of social exclusion. In fact, Roma inclusion from a holistic perspective concerns all the Roma and their roles in society, their culture, language, identity and the acknowledgement and appreciation of their cultural assets by the majority population. Policies that neglect this dimension send the message to society that dealing with Roma issues signifies dealing exclusively with poverty and marginalisation, and implicitly tells the Roma that their *integration in society* is a matter of forgetting who they are if they want to achieve social advancement.

Foreseeing sensitiveness to Roma culture implies: the availability of culturally and linguistically appropriate social, education and health services; the promotion of their history and culture within the Roma communities; the projection of a positive images such as positive role models and the public visibility of the Roma, especially in the media and in official commemorative events aimed at the majority population; encouraging Roma cultural manifestations in the mainstream cultural agenda. The lack of access to basic services by Roma communities is aggravated by obstacles related to exclusion, discrimination, extremely low educational levels, etc. It is necessary for the whole society to better understand the Roma culture and history, in order for the tolerance towards Roma to improve.

The four priority areas

There is a consensus among the key actors working in the Roma field that the four main areas that need to be tackled to achieve Roma inclusion are employment, housing, access to education and healthcare. In fact, the Roma Decade has focused since its inception on these four crucial areas,⁴⁰ the Roadmap of the Platform for Roma Inclusion identified the key issues related to each of them,⁴¹ and the recent Commission Communication refers to specific goals for each of them.⁴² Several transversal issues feed into each of these elements, such as gender equality and discrimination, which imply the need for both gender and antidiscrimination approaches in addressing each area. The four key areas acquire full meaning if they are approached through the civil/political, economic and social dimension.

The inter-linkages between each area imply that an integrated approach tackling concurrently all four areas is indispensable. Needless to say, these four areas are interrelated: housing (conditions and geographical situation) affects the health situation, conditions access to health services, and influences access to job opportunities; the health situation influences the educational attainment while education affects health-related behaviours and exposure to social determinants of health; the level of education and professional training influence the possibilities of employment and employment in turn allows for improvements in living standards, including changes in housing conditions, access to education and healthcare.

According to this approach, priorities and goals should be defined in different countries following the goals identified by the Commission Communication (2011) according to time, means and particular circumstances; but there is a consensus on a number of key elements:⁴³

- **Access to education** by ensuring that all children complete at least primary school. To make this

GHK Consulting (2010) 'Summary of the Peer Review on "Field social work and labour counselling within the schemes of strategies combating unemployment of Roma"'. Czech Republic, 25-26 November 2010. Mutual Learning Programme 2010. Autumn Peer Reviews.

³⁶ Council of the EU (2009) op.cit.

³⁷ See for example FRA (2009b) op.cit.

³⁸ These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) and the European Convention on Human Rights (ERHC) (1950) among others. See chapter 4 for an elaboration.

³⁹ EU (2000) *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*. 2000/C 364/01. Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/>; European Council (2000a) Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; European Council(2000b) Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁴⁰ See <http://www.romadecade.org/about>.

⁴¹ Spanish Presidency of the EU (2010) op.cit.

⁴² European Commission (2011a) op.cit.

⁴³ Spanish Presidency of the EU (2010) op.cit. European Commission (2011a) op.cit.

⁴⁴ European Commission (2011c) *Communication from the Commission. Early Childhood Education and Care: Providing all our children with the best start for the world of tomorrow*. COM(2011) 66 final. Brussels 17 February.

⁴⁵ See Commission on Social Determinants of Health (2008) *Closing the gap in a generation: health equity through action on the social determinants of health. Final Report of the Commission on Social Determinants of Health* (Geneva, WHO). Available at: [http://whqlibdoc.who.int/WorldHealthOrganisation\(WHO\)\(2010a\)PovertyandsocialexclusionintheWHOEuropeanRegion:healthsystemsrespond\(Copenhagen:WHORegionalOfficeforEurope\).WHO\(2010b\)Howhealthsystemsaddresshealthinequitieslinkedtomigrationandethnicity\(Copenhagen:WHORegionalOfficeforEurope\).](http://whqlibdoc.who.int/WorldHealthOrganisation(WHO)(2010a)PovertyandsocialexclusionintheWHOEuropeanRegion:healthsystemsrespond(Copenhagen:WHORegionalOfficeforEurope).WHO(2010b)Howhealthsystemsaddresshealthinequitieslinkedtomigrationandethnicity(Copenhagen:WHORegionalOfficeforEurope).)

⁴⁶ European Commission (2008a) *Communication from the Commission. Non-discrimination and equal opportunities: A renewed commitment. Community Instruments and Policies for Roma Inclusion*. COM_2008_420 CSWD 27[1].6.08. Brussels: European Commission, 2 July. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/>

possible Member States should ensure the provision of quality education not subject to discrimination or segregation. They should also widen access to quality early childhood education and care and reduce the number of early school leavers from secondary education pursuant to the Europe 2020 strategy.⁴⁴ Roma youngsters should be strongly encouraged to participate also in secondary and tertiary education. Key working areas are related to: access to the education system, early child education and care, prevention of early school leaving and academic failure (completing primary education and facilitating the transition from primary to secondary education), desegregation, ethnic de-concentration and educational mainstreaming, transition between primary and secondary education, secondary and tertiary education with a view to securing access to employment, intercultural education and attention to diversity.

- **Access to employment** by cutting the gap between Roma and the rest of the population. Member States should grant Roma people full access in a nondiscriminatory manner to vocational training, to the job market and to self-employment tools and initiatives. Access to micro-credit should be encouraged. In the public sector, due attention should be given to employment of qualified Roma civil servants. Public Employment Services can reach out to the Roma by providing personalised services and mediation. This can help attract Roma to the labour market and thus increase the employment rate. Key working areas are related to: transition between education and employment, professional training, individualised support, employability and access to formal labour market, micro-credit for entrepreneurship and self-employment, adult vocational training, quality of employment.
- Reducing the gap in health status between the Roma and the rest of the population by improving Roma **access to healthcare**. Member States should provide access to quality healthcare to the Roma, especially for children and women as well as preventive care and social services at a similar level and under the same conditions as to the rest of the population. Key working areas are related to: securing equal access to quality healthcare,⁴⁵ preventive healthcare by targeting Roma youth; habits and healthy lifestyles.
- **Access to housing and essential services** by closing the gap between the share of Roma with access to the housing and to public utilities (such as water electricity and gas) and that of the rest of the population. Action on housing needs to be part of an integrated approach including, in

particular, education, health, social affairs, employment and security, and desegregation measures. Member States should also address the particular needs of non-sedentary Roma (e.g. provide access to suitable halting sites for non-sedentary Roma). They should actively intervene with targeted programmes involving regional and local authorities. Key working areas are related to infrastructural and environmental improvements in Roma communities, desegregation and urban planning, basic care infrastructure, support measures for community involvement.

The ten common basic principles

The Common Basic Principles intend to provide guidance and orientation to the different actors working on Roma issues. Some of these principles, notably n°.2 *explicit but not exclusive targeting*, n°.4 *aiming for the mainstream* and n°.7 *use of community instruments* have been explicitly mentioned by the European institutions in several documents and policy declarations,⁴⁶ in the work of the Roma Task Force, and also included in the amendment of the Art 7.2 of the ERDF (please refer to Annex I).

Together with the Ten Common Basic principles, other action criteria have proven to be useful and are recommended when aiming policies and developing projects for the Roma social integration. We select here some of them while Annex II presents a more detailed description based on case studies and reports:

- Long-term approach including political consensus beyond the policy cycle.
- Global action schemes (integrated approach) and interconnected services, improving coordination, building partnerships and creating synergies between the different actions.
- Mobilising existing available human, institutional and economic resources.
- Working with the Roma and working with the community, including awareness raising and mutual understanding.
- Developing the professional capacities of the actors including multicultural working teams, adequate tools and materials.
- Flexibility and adaptation of the mainstream services.
- Appropriate balance between rights and responsibilities: guaranteeing the rights while training in responsibilities.

2.2. Adapting principles to the diversity of Roma living circumstances

The common basic principles (=c.p.) and other criteria described above are useful and recommendable for all the Roma living circumstances. However, the strategies to be used when following these principles may be different; in fact, their implementation must be modulated and duly adjusted to the circumstances and groups in order to achieve effectiveness and consistency. We explain below how in practical terms some principles and common criteria can be adjusted according to the fivefold typology by following specific strategies and priorities.

1. Effective access to mainstream services requires their adaptation to Roma needs (c.p.1 and 4)

All inclusion policies aim to include the Roma in the mainstream of society (c.p. 4) (mainstream educational institutions, mainstream jobs, mainstream health services, mainstream housing) and Roma inclusion policies are to be integrated with mainstream policies (c.p.1). These principles need to be understood in conjunction with other principles such as explicit but not exclusive targeting (c.p.2). Yet effective access to mainstreamed services means rendering the latter flexible, sufficient and adapted to Roma. This would imply different approaches according to the five categories described previously and depending on different areas of action.

Taking as an example the area of education, an understanding that special schools or Roma schools are neither desirable nor recommendable, mainstreaming Roma in the school system will always imply the adaptation of the public education services. Adjustments and the degree of flexibility will differ according to the types of situations of exclusion and circumstances: for example, in the case of urban or suburban groups, it may imply establishing dispersion criteria for Roma students, or compensatory services; Roma living in isolation from urban areas may require transportation services; Roma migrants may require language training and Roma travellers specific rules of access. Specific strategies for the adaptation of general services will be needed also in the other areas of intervention: in facilitating access to health services (different needs according to groups), access to employment services (different degrees of qualification and skills, as well as labour market situations) and access to public housing (income levels, criteria for access, etc.). In most cases, a lack of, or inadequate adaptation will go against the principle of access to mainstream services.

2. Specific services must lead to normalisation (c.p. 2)

The principle of explicit but not exclusive targeting implies focusing on Roma people as a target group but not to the exclusion of other people who share similar socio-economic circumstances; in fact existing experience demonstrates that services focusing on Roma can be very valuable for other people in similar circumstances.⁴⁷ This principle understands that when Roma experience particular living conditions and there is a broad gap with public services, specific forms of intervention are thus required and it is appropriate to develop explicit services for Roma. This approach must not separate interventions focused on Roma from broader policy initiatives.

Explicit Roma services developed in parallel to mainstream services can entail a risk for the former to constitute second-class services for Roma people, while normal services do not undertake the necessary changes to adapt to the needs of all citizens. The specific Roma services must lead to normalisation, remain connected with and function complementarily to general services, while aiming to facilitate Roma access to general/normal services. However, the extent to which adapted services will lead to normalisation and the possibilities for them to be complementary to global services will require different approaches depending on the context, type of situation and group. For example, in the area of health, a health mediation service in an urban Roma neighbourhood may act as a transition service aimed at facilitating Roma access to mainstream public health services (e.g. Navarra in Spain), while medico-social centres for Roma in settlements in remote areas (e.g. Greece) will take longer but may achieve Roma access to mainstream health services by remaining connected to the nearest urban medical centre and, whenever possible, by including transport services for patients.⁴⁸

3. Different degrees of interculturalism in approaching Roma inclusion (c.p. 3)

There is a need for an inter-cultural approach, which involves Roma people together with people from other ethnic backgrounds. In fact, an intercultural approach signifies Roma and non-Roma working together, living together, going to the same schools, using the same services, etc. An intercultural approach also means working on Roma programmes with intercultural teams and including both Roma and non-Roma beneficiaries in programmes. However, this principle is applicable to different extents, depending on the types of circumstances. While in many cases it is possible to have both Roma and non-Roma in the same services, in others, opportunities for an intercultural dimension to actions aimed at inclusion will be scarce because of demographic concentration. While in urban areas, Roma

⁴⁷ For instance, the project Acceder has demonstrated that while aimed at the Roma, more than 30 percent of beneficiaries are non-Roma.

⁴⁸ *Fundación Secretariado Gitano (2009) Health and the Roma Community, analysis of the situation in Europe. Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain* (Madrid: Fundación Secretariado Gitano, Ministerio de Sanidad y Política Social).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ World Bank (2010a) *Roma Inclusion: An Economic Opportunity for Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania and Serbia. Policy Note* (Washington DC: World Bank).

⁵¹ Guy and Fresno (2006) *op.cit.*

programmes involving non-Roma as beneficiaries are possible, this is not realistic in an isolated rural settlement. While it is desirable to create intercultural working teams, in most cases, it will only be possible with the due training and support and after several years of intervention, although a risk remains that ethnic belonging prevails over professional competencies.

4. The gender dimension may involve different agendas and speeds (c.p. 5)

Roma inclusion, policy initiatives and projects need to take account of the needs and circumstances of Roma women in a double dimension: on one side, because issues such as multiple discrimination, specific and more severe problems of health and access to healthcare and child support,⁴⁹ greater distance from the labour market, in some cases also domestic violence and exploitation, require a particular focus on Roma women. On the other, because the gender dimension and working with Roma women is crucial to the promotion of Roma as a whole; in fact, the role that Roma women play in the change and progress of the Roma community is often determinant.

However, the gender dimension requires different approaches and agendas according to different circumstances and Roma categories. For instance, while Roma urban communities tend to be more open to women empowerment, making it easier to work on issues related to female social participation, leadership, decision-making processes, etc., in rural communities or when working with Roma migrants, some of these issues are less likely to find an echo among Roma and thus to be included in the working agenda. The focus may therefore have to be on basic needs, health issues, Roma childcare, basic eating habits, etc. The age of the women for instance also conditions working options and strategies.

5. Civil society involvement has to be undertaken in a double direction (c.p. 9)

The involvement of civil society in the Roma policies and projects is recognised as vital both for the mobilisation of expertise and for the dissemination of knowledge required to develop public debate and accountability. In fact, Roma inclusion needs to be seen as beneficial not merely for Roma but for society as a whole, because its benefits, including substantial economic benefits,⁵⁰ spill over the Roma community into the broader social fabric. Yet it is not only a question of involving civil society in Roma issues but of involving Roma in civil society and for them to become an active part of it. In fact, combating prejudices, stereotypes and rising hostility, while supporting mutual understanding, requires participation and engagement in both directions. The expectations of non-Roma will

often condition (positively or negatively) Roma integration opportunities and policy decisions, and civil society involvement in the Roma cause will often be a prerequisite for the success of the projects.⁵¹

Support for the full participation of Roma people in public life, the stimulation of their active citizenship and processes fostering active Roma participation in civil society and civil society engagement in Roma issues may differ according to Roma groups. While for urban Roma groups, participation may be less challenging, because it may take different forms, and there exist more opportunities for it (cultural events, community life, dialogue with neighbours, civil society organisations, etc.), in rural areas where contacts with non-Roma people and exchanges are less frequent, the possibilities of participation are very limited and have to be focused on concrete spaces. In the case of Roma migrants, the objectives of participation will also be reduced (for linguistic and educational reasons, for the positioning of Roma migrant communities at the fringe of urban areas, thus precluding exchange, among other reasons), while in the case of travellers, forms of participation are conditioned by their lifestyle.

6. Active Roma participation and representation goes beyond formalities and consultation bodies (c.p. 10)

Many countries have adopted different forms of formal Roma participation at the national level: the Council for National Minorities and Ethnic Groups and the Council for Non-governmental Non-profit Organisations (Slovak Republic), Delegation for Roma Issues (Sweden), Roma Community Council (Slovenia), Advisory Board on Romani Affairs (Finland), Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities (Poland), Minorities Consulting Council (Latvia), Roma State Council (Spain), National Roma Agency (Romania), National Gypsy Minority Self-Governments (Hungary) and other forms of political representation.

Beyond these forms of representation, the challenge remains the active involvement of Roma communities at the local level and in the daily life of the projects, signifying working with the Roma and not for the Roma. Opportunities for this involvement will differ according to the level of organisation of the communities. For instance, while in the urban and traveller communities it is easier to identify leaders, mediators and other forms of internal organisation, in the rural communities, processes frequently start with basic forms of participation at elementary levels (to debate on the problems, to listen to each other, to respect different opinions, to involve Roma women), while among migrants the leadership is so diffuse as to need to undertake outreach efforts

individually, or through family representatives, to foster participation. Participation is correlated to responsibilities and Roma participation may involve some risks if misunderstood: it can be interpreted by public authorities as a way to elude their responsibilities by transferring public competences to the Roma, or forms of participation may veil or promote inadequate or unrepresentative leadership practices.

7. Roma responsibilities and public responsibilities apply in different ways

Roma, just as the rest of the citizenry, have rights, duties and social responsibilities independently of their social circumstances and the areas where they live. The problem is the practical fulfilment of certain rights and duties, which can differ according to circumstances. For example, in the case of unemployment benefits and other forms of social income support, the current trend in many countries is to condition their payment on the degree of activation of their beneficiaries and to the fulfilment of certain requirements. But the kinds of requirements have to be different according to groups and circumstances. Conditionalities and duties are recommended as a form of personal responsibility and to activate people but must be adapted to the different groups.

For instance, some countries reduce unemployment benefits or other social transfers as a means to “motivate the Roma to work”. While Roma living in urban areas may have the opportunity to seek work with due support, for Roma living in rural areas, without market opportunities and widespread absence of means of transportation, this conditionality proves completely inadequate. In the case of Roma migrants, outreach is of fundamental importance, and ought to involve sustained awareness-raising on social rights and civic responsibilities on the part of Roma. Other examples in different areas include rents for social housing and basic utilities like gas, electricity and running water, which may be adapted and may work in different manners according to categories and groups. Roma responsibility requires that the Roma fulfil their civic duties and public responsibilities, and additionally requires that the public bodies create the conditions for Roma to fulfil their responsibilities by adapting certain duties to the real possibilities of different groups.

8. Itineraries and inclusion processes differ according to the groups and circumstances

Understanding that inclusion is always an individual process, we must remember that personal itineraries are conditioned by the contexts in which people live, their social circumstances and the kinds and degrees of

available opportunities. In the Roma case, personal itineraries tend to be conditioned to a significant extent by the influence of the group (extended family and reference group). For Roma people living in urban areas, personal itineraries may be based on different entry points: access to integrated schools, frequent relations with non-Roma, sharing common spaces and services, employment opportunities, etc.; in contrast, for Roma living in isolated rural areas as well as for those Roma migrants who usually travel in family groups, personal itineraries will rather be conditioned by the influence of the group to which they belong and will usually take a greater amount of time. In the case of the travellers, the insertion itineraries will be strongly conditioned by their lifestyle and mobility.

9. Integrated and integral projects will work in different manners

Integrated projects (adequate coordination and synergies between different working areas and actors) and integral projects (projects covering all areas and dimensions) must follow the same principles, but approaches and process may differ according to types and circumstances. For instance, while in urban areas it is possible to involve more actors and institutions in the process and more resources are available, in rural areas the availability of resources and the absence or distance of relevant actors will condition the process. While working in all areas when resources are available, one or several areas (most frequently education, employment and housing) can act as a springboard to break the vicious cycle of exclusion. In the urban areas, more likely springboards include employment, interactions with non-Roma neighbours, urban connections and building physical and community bridges with the mainstream of society (including equal access to the services) while in the rural areas processes will be slower and education, mainly early child education as well as community work will play a critical role.

The synergy between different yet mutually supportive fields of work, i.e. feeding into each other while going in the same direction, has to be present in all the activities. For instance, school and educational projects as well as housing and environments improvements are very important to contribute to introducing healthy habits in children. Similarly, housing projects, while involving Roma people, can contribute to improving professional and vocational training and to providing jobs. But of course, these interrelations and entry points (virtuous circles) will work in different ways according to the different types of Roma circumstances. In all cases, projects need one pivotal action or field of action in order to avoid amalgamating haphazard initiatives under the label *integral*, without any transformative impact.



3.

Model approaches: Challenges, options and strategies according to the types of circumstances

The European Commission Communication (2011) asks the Member States to adopt or to develop further a comprehensive approach to Roma integration and to identify specific goals. These goals should be defined in the four specific areas, duly framed in the National Reform Programmes and, where relevant, also focused on those disadvantaged micro-regions or segregated neighbourhoods where Roma communities are most vulnerable. Models are presented here as guidance for what Member States can include in their NRIS, and for their implementation.

Based on practical experience and the existing literature, we present possible model approaches for each of the types of situations described above. While there is the need for Roma specific policies framed in broad policies at the same time Roma policy initiatives have to be adapted to particular needs and circumstances. These model approaches describe the policy challenges, the possible options to follow, as well as specific strategies,

priority actions and practical recommendations. We also refer to practices that have demonstrated negative consequences.

3.1. Possible model approaches for Roma communities living in integrated urban and suburban neighbourhoods

Key policy challenges

Policies have to be oriented to support Roma integration, guarding against trends towards physical and ethnic concentration, including Roma isolation, as well as the stagnation and risk of deterioration of the physical and social living conditions in these neighbourhoods. Policy challenges include:

1. To complete the full integration of these Roma groups, including the active involvement of the Roma community in the dynamics of the neighbourhood.
2. To guarantee that Roma benefit from public services to the same extent as other citizens by supporting this process with adequate accompaniment.
3. To take adequate measures to prevent ethnic concentration in the neighbourhoods and to support greater diversity.
4. To provide adequate support and investments to these neighbourhoods in order to avoid them becoming segregated neighbourhoods or areas of exclusion in the city.

Policy options to follow

Many local elected representatives as well as many other groups consider that once Roma have obtained an adequate housing solution, they do not need further support and the process of integration is being completed. Nevertheless, while finding themselves in better conditions for their integration, Roma will need adequate support to facilitate their full access to services and their full involvement in the community. It is not merely because Roma are living together with non-Roma in mainstream neighbourhoods that they will achieve high educational levels, or obtain employment. In most of the cases they may very well continue to have a lower level of educational attainment, including early school leaving, lack of professional training and employment, inappropriate access to services and scarce participation in the community. In order to overcome these situations, some of the next options can be followed (some of them are not exclusive but complementary and option three is recommendable in all the cases).

Option 1: Adequate and rational distribution of Roma families (when there is a new neighbourhood, housing promotion or rehousing plan) always following the criteria of geographical distribution to avoid Roma concentration in a street or in a block of flats.

Benefits – adequacy	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Facilitates and creates better conditions for Roma integration.</p> <p>Facilitates Roma – non Roma coexistence and interaction.</p> <p>Reduces stigmatisation and social confrontation.</p>	<p>Needs to be undertaken with adequate support.</p> <p>Needs appropriate rules (for instance practices such as permitting the free selection of the flat, housing together the biggest families, etc. will tend towards Roma concentration).</p>	<p>For this approach to be effective, a sufficient amount of flats and low percentage of Roma families are needed as a starting point.</p> <p>Sometimes rational distribution goes against the expectations and desires of both Roma and non-Roma and may therefore face resistance.</p>

Option 2: Permanent plans of maintenance and improvement of the neighbourhood including public spaces and infrastructures as well as the common areas of the buildings if they are flats (facades, entrances, common areas, gardens) together with monitoring measures and grassroots mediation.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Avoids rapid deterioration while improving self-satisfaction self-esteem and the image of the neighbourhood.</p> <p>Contributes to the commitment of the neighbourhoods towards the public goods.</p> <p>Is cheaper in the long term.</p> <p>Roma and non-Roma engagement can be fostered through training and salaried employment for this purpose.</p>	<p>Maintenance plans have to be accompanied by public awareness measures</p> <p>Must go together with the support of the neighbourhood/ community organisations.</p>	<p>Requires permanent budget lines and continuity.</p> <p>It does not work if it is not accompanied by activities aiming at the engagement of the community, adequate commitment by neighbours and clear rules including requiring the fulfilment of civic obligations by all members of the neighbourhood community.</p>

Option 3: Adequate support programmes for the social integration of the Roma following the principles ‘explicit but not exclusive targeting’ and ‘aiming for the mainstream’ with the purpose of pursuing the process of integration and focused on the access and full enjoyment of the services, employment, and social participation.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Allows the process of integration of the Roma to be sustained.</p> <p>Facilitates adequate access to and use of the public services.</p> <p>Contributes to reducing social tensions by allowing the peaceful resolution of conflicts related to co-habitation and making good fellowship possible.</p>	<p>Requires continuity to be effective.</p> <p>Has to be planned in an integrated manner, involving different services.</p> <p>Needs the active engagement of both Roma organisations and civil society organisations.</p>	<p>Needs permanent budget lines and resources.</p> <p>If actions are not well planned and aligned through close cooperation between the public services (employment, education, health), the risk is to create parallel Roma services that do not lead to normalisation.</p>

Option 4: Intensive investment plans aiming at urban regeneration to improve the situation of the neighbourhood (especially when the trend is towards deterioration) following an integrated approach (urban, economic, human resources and social development) and fostering active participation.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
It is the only way to recover these neighbourhoods when the trends are toward deterioration.	<p>Adequate coordination between the public departments both horizontally (education, employment, housing, health) and vertically (local, regional, national).</p> <p>Active involvement of public and private actors.</p>	<p>Need for heavy investments.</p> <p>There is the risk of Roma remaining excluded from these plans, especially when they are not well-organised, are physically concentrated or the plans are not properly adapted to their needs.</p>

Option 5: Permanent plans aimed at fostering a climate of peaceful coexistence and social cohesion in the neighbourhood by involving all the actors and strengthening civil society initiatives. This requires the active coordination of all the public services including neighbourhood organisations, the business sector, the security forces (community policing).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
Reduces conflicts and social tensions and facilitates peaceful coexistence and cohesion.	Creating leadership roles, supporting mediation initiatives, adequate stimulation of citizen initiatives, etc.	<p>These initiatives work if they go hand in hand with other investments and actions that can provide opportunities and create better living conditions.</p> <p>Orientation to the reduction of conflicts is insufficient in the medium-term.</p>

Practices that have demonstrated negative consequences

There are frequent practices on the part of public institutions that have proven to be inappropriate in relation to integrated neighbourhoods where both Roma and non-Roma are living together. Some of the most frequent examples are:

1. Developing inadequate resettlement policies: when planning a new neighbourhood or new subsidised housing, authorities tend to house all Roma in the same block or on the same street, without a coherent distribution, adequate monitoring and support.
2. Taking new groups of Roma to the neighbourhood by following the well intentioned idea that Roma all want to and will live better together; there is a significant risk that such policies will eventually result in the formation of Roma ghettos in the medium-term.
3. Building low quality social houses and low quality services. In fact, such an approach will require permanent refurbishment and will eventually result in being more expensive and is likely to affect negatively the self-esteem of the inhabitants.
4. Lacking permanent investment and maintenance plans in the neighbourhood, as the latter is cheaper in the long-term than increasing deterioration that will require higher expenditures in the long term.
5. Lack of adequate monitoring and control systems in relation to the adequate use of the public spaces and public utilities leading to deterioration of the habitat, the emergence of groups of youths taking control of the public areas and imposing their own rules and control systems, and in relation to the deterioration and inappropriate use of the blocks of flats (deterioration of facades and common areas, trafficking, illegal activities).
6. Lacking permanent adequate social support programs, aiming at Roma inclusion in the mainstream services, focused on the areas of education, employment, access to healthcare, social participation, etc.
7. Developing urban actions without the due social accompaniment measures.

Specific strategies, priority actions, useful recommendations

Education: The main challenges are related to early childhood education, closing educational gaps with the majority population, preventing early school leaving, usually between primary and secondary education, and continuity in post-compulsory education including professional training and access to university. Priority actions are related to:

- The absence of early childhood education in these cases, which is related to three factors:
 - The lack of kindergartens in the area.
 - When kindergartens exist they are not free of charge.
 - Roma simply are not aware of the need for early education. Awareness-raising actions and economic support can contribute to solving this situation.
- School attendance, early school leaving, continuity between primary and secondary education, and continuity after compulsory education:
 - Monitoring systems can be established as well as monitoring programmes including mediators, schooling commissions, grants to support post-compulsory education.
 - Programmes to support transitions from one level of education to the next.
 - Compensatory measures can be provided at the schools, including special support teachers, extra classes, reducing the ratio of students for each class.
 - Pre-allocation of places in secondary schools and post-compulsory education, including support grants to gain access to university.
 - Development of programmes for returnees to education and second chance programs.
 - Introduction of adult education courses to encourage lifelong learning.
 - Providing extra school support.
- Increasing cultural sensitivity can render the school more attractive for children and families:
 - Organising activities promoting cultural sensitiveness (involving families).
 - Introduction of the Romany language at school.
 - Fostering the participation of parents and families.
 - Supporting multicultural education and diversity in classrooms.

Employment: The main challenges relate to improving qualifications and the access to employment opportunities; several criteria and strategies have demonstrated to be more adequate.⁵² Roma in these circumstances enjoy far greater opportunities to enhance both their employability and access to employment in sectors such as commerce, services, etc. It is of fundamental importance to identify emerging employment opportunities in the environment, and to provide support and accompaniment to Roma in their search for employment. Priority actions include:

- Access to mainstream employment in the formal labour market by tackling the lack of professional qualifications and of adequate skills, existing prejudices and stereotypes, the limited accessibility to the training resources:
 - Measures can be developed through labour insertion actions such as individual employment itineraries, including adapted professional training and bridging enterprises connection, in-company training.
 - The promotion of self-employment through support grants and microcredit facilities.
- Other options have demonstrated scarce results for the moment but should be explored further. In fact, they require permanent support, greater leadership, and a high level of resources to become sustainable in the medium-term. While there has been some success in including Roma in existing initiatives, there have been fewer successful cases in launching targeted Roma initiatives:
 - Experiences combining vocational training and employment such as training workshops and employment workshops; they are particularly recommendable in the construction, infrastructure and environment sectors while linking professional training with professional practices in the areas and neighbourhoods where Roma live.
 - Social economy, including cooperatives.
 - Labour insertion companies (with protected employment).
 - Regularisation of informal Roma activities.
 - Involving Roma in subsidised public jobs (public gardens cleaning, etc.).
 - Vocational training and pre-professional training activities oriented to the acquisition of basic skills.
- The need to find housing alternatives for young Roma; in fact as they often marry early, Roma tend to continue living with their parents and as a result there is increasing overcrowding and fast deterioration of the houses/flats. Access to rental housing for young people may be a possible option to support social mobility.
- The trend towards Roma housing concentration in a block of flats or in some streets often does not happen from the outset but rather takes place over years because of demographic growth, and can only be overcome if alternatives allowing social mobility are implemented. This may be done by eliminating existing barriers to the access of Roma to all public housing programmes (through more flexible criteria related to age or the duration of residence in the municipality, etc.).
- Most experiences have demonstrated that for Roma in integrated neighbourhoods, housing ownership may be a better option than rental systems whenever possible. In fact, when Roma are owners of their homes, they tend to take better care of them, but it can also provide a basic asset for families to deal more securely with other needs and unforeseen expenditures.

Health: The main health issues for Roma in integrated neighbourhoods are related to the proper use of health systems, health prevention and regular medical check-ups especially with children and women. In fact, in some countries, health systems are not fully universal or if they are they involve the payment of determined services by users, which may act as a barrier for some Roma groups. Priorities in relation to health in the urban areas are related to:

- Adequate access to and proper use of the health services has also fostered substantial improvements by taking measures such as:
 - Health mediation programs.
 - Promoting the use of preventive healthcare resources with a special focus on paediatric monitoring and perinatal care (during pregnancy, during and after childbirth).
 - Specific campaigns related to dental health, healthy eating habits, danger of alcohol and other substance abuse and frequent diseases.
 - Specific programs for drug users have demonstrated to be adequate answers in some circumstances when that problem is aggravated in the Roma community.

⁵² See Peer reviews on Cordoba and the Czech Republic. Documents available respectively at: <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/> and <http://www.mutual-learning-employment.net/>

Housing: Housing projects should always go together with social intervention programmes described in Option three. In addition to those described previously, other specific problems that must be tackled include:

⁵³ We differentiate here between integral plans, which require substantial financing to cover all areas, and integrated plans, which aim at a proper coordination and to create synergies between existing resources.

Permanent support and social accompaniment:

As already explained, Roma integration is a personal itinerary, but in most of the cases this itinerary does not end with the access to a 'normal' urban neighbourhood. Permanent intervention programs in these neighbourhoods focused on Roma but involving other people in similar circumstances (i.e. explicit but not exclusive targeting) can contribute to compensating these disadvantages. These programs may be developed in cooperation with civil society organisations and Roma organisations and have to be closely connected to the public services in order to avoid parallel services while facilitating access to mainstream services. They can focus on compensating Roma disadvantages in the four priority areas, and on fostering Roma active participation by following an intercultural approach. Without such support there is a serious risk for many Roma to regress to prior situations of exclusion.

3.2. Possible model approaches for Roma communities living in segregated urban and suburban neighbourhoods

Key policy challenges

Policies have to be oriented to changing the negative dynamics and trends in urban and suburban neighbourhoods: segregation, increasing deterioration, stigmatisation, as well as the retreat of public authorities and increasing ethnic concentration. These policy challenges are not mutually exclusive, on the contrary, all of them are considered to be essential:

1. To overcome the increasing trend towards the segregation of these areas by achieving systemic and mutually beneficial interaction that includes Roma in the urban dynamics.

2. To revert the increasing trend towards ethnic concentration.
3. To revert the trend towards the deterioration of existing infrastructures and services in the neighbourhood.
4. To create positive conditions in the area for the attraction of services and for initial business, including basic commercial development.
5. To situate the improvement of these areas at the top of the policy priorities for the city (in the interest of the city and not only in the interest of the Roma).

Possible options to follow

There is neither a unique nor an ideal answer to solve the situation of the Roma communities living in urban or suburban neighbourhoods. On the contrary, given the diversity of countries, of urban and socio-economic circumstances, as well as the variety of elements that may influence decisions, local elected representatives may choose between different policy options. They can be more or less appropriate and feasible according to means and circumstances, but may also be complementary and in fact a mix of the presented options is recommended (some of them are mutually exclusive). In every case, these options should be in conjunction with integral (where possible) and integrated social intervention plans that achieve the engagement, sense of responsibility and active involvement of Roma.⁵³

Option 1: Elimination of the settlements or neighbourhoods by rehousing their inhabitants in other areas of the city/town in public or private houses/flats.

Benefits – adequacy	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>It is structural and definitive solution.</p> <p>Facilitates full rights enjoyment and the reduction of stereotypes.</p> <p>Creates adequate conditions for better integration.</p>	<p>Requires to be developed with the due process: preparation, adequate monitoring during and after the process, distribution of the Roma in different parts of the city, avoiding flat or street concentration, adequate social intervention in the areas where the newcomers will live (including non-Roma).</p> <p>Recommended together with integrated interventions in other areas such as employment, education, health, social participation.</p>	<p>Short term costs (not necessarily long-term).</p> <p>Citizen opposition.</p> <p>Risk of new Roma concentration if there is insufficient dispersion in the city due to natural growth (high birth rates).</p>

Option 2: Development of urban plans to connect the neighbourhood where Roma are living to the surrounding areas.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Tends to break Roma isolation-segregation by providing more opportunities for Roma participation and interaction with the rest of the citizens.</p> <p>The action is not only in the interest of the Roma but also in the interest of the city.</p>	<p>Implies new urban development in the area, revitalisation of the land, improvement in accessibility by connecting the neighbourhood to transport networks, establishment of services, etc.</p>	<p>Most often determined by urbanistic interests that condition the decision making process: the interests of private operators, investors and sometimes local elected representatives.</p>

Option 3: Development of specific urban renewal, investments and sanitation plans in the neighbourhood including the urban environment and the renovation of houses/apartments/blocks.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Allows living conditions to be improved.</p> <p>It is highly recommendable in conjunction with Option 2.</p> <p>May provide training and employment opportunities for Roma.</p>	<p>Will require regularising situations (census, ownership, rent payment), and must be developed together with a social intervention and monitoring plans.</p> <p>Requires active Roma involvement and commitment to changing existing rules.</p>	<p>All investment plans in the neighbourhood and in the houses can vanish if there is no monitoring process including Roma commitment.</p> <p>Short term improvements, but risk of heavy investment with low returns in the mid-term if there is no maintenance plan.</p>

Option 4: De-concentration of the neighbourhood by rehousing a proportion of its inhabitants in other areas of the city and by improving the remaining houses/flats (rehabilitation and renovation, infrastructural improvements, increasing the living space of houses/flats).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Reduces the problem of demographic concentration of Roma.</p> <p>Improves living conditions in the area.</p> <p>Provides training and employment opportunities for the Roma.</p>	<p>It is a very complex and long-term operation.</p> <p>Works better if there are other improvements in the surrounding area.</p>	<p>Although it may not definitely solve the problems, it may serve to alleviate them and to create conditions for more positive trends.</p>

Option 5: Provision of facilities for small investors (tax deductions, subsidies, free spaces and other kinds of incentives for the establishment of businesses) in the Roma neighbourhood. In most cases, these neighbourhoods lack any economic and commercial dynamics, while their inhabitants have to go outside of their neighbourhood to purchase basic goods and consume daily necessities.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Provides basic supplies for the inhabitants.</p> <p>Creates jobs and employment, including self-employment opportunities.</p>	<p>Requires safety and public order in the area.</p> <p>Recommended together with professional training and employment programs, including self-employment and micro-credits.</p>	<p>Although it does not solve infrastructural problems, it may introduce basic economic dynamics.</p>

Option 6: Intensive provision of public services and social intervention plans including social equipment and investments (social intervention in education, housing, vocational training, etc.) as well as social accompaniment programs that may strengthen the positive dynamics for change.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>This option can contribute to substantially increasing opportunities for inhabitants.</p> <p>Reverses negative dynamics by generating positive trends, and a variety of options for individuals.</p> <p>Can consolidate processes of change through housing investments and improvements.</p>	<p>Good coordination between the different administrative levels and departments including active engagement of civil society organisations.</p> <p>Continuity in the long-term and effective system of coordination.</p> <p>Requires an effective partnership approach.</p>	<p>They are expensive and usually achieve scarce results in the short-term.</p> <p>Risk of discouragement if there are no demonstrable results.</p> <p>Do not tackle structural conditions that lead to exclusion.</p> <p>Long-term continuity is required but usually determined by short-term policy decisions (annual budget, change of local elected representatives).</p> <p>They imply proper working methods (rigorous working methods) as well as complex management.</p>

Option 7: Structuring participation by supporting Roma community self-organisation and creating channels of external dialogue with local powers. This is the minimum condition required in all cases.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Facilitates/triggers positive dynamics in the community.</p> <p>Contributes to reducing internal problems (deterioration of co-existence and cohesion, corruption practices, the abusive domination of certain families and clans, including exploitation), and external conflicts (racism, discrimination and ethnic confrontation).</p> <p>Creates the conditions for good fellowship.</p> <p>Allows permanent contacts with the Roma community.</p>	<p>Requires leaders and mediation support as well as coherent commitment by the public authorities and other stakeholders.</p> <p>Must be undertaken in conjunction with opportunities for participation.</p>	<p>It is only a palliative measure.</p> <p>May be discouraging for the Roma if there is no further support from public institutions.</p>

⁵⁴They also may contravene, by significantly restricting access to services and the opportunities for social participation, Articles 22 (right to social security), 25 (right to adequate standard of living), 26 (right to education) and 27 (right to freely participate in the cultural life of society) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Articles 1 (the inviolability of human dignity), 4 (degrading treatment), 14 (right to education), 21 (non-discrimination), 34 (right to social security) and 35 (access to healthcare) of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Practices that have demonstrated negative consequences

Local elected representatives frequently follow strategies and approaches that are not recommendable. Sometimes these strategies originate in a lack of political commitment; in other cases failures occur because stakeholders seek a rapid solution to a problem that needs a long-term approach and takes time to be solved; still in other cases, because of external pressures, usually of an urbanistic nature or on the part of surrounding neighbourhoods; or simply because of a lack of knowledge. The following strategies have demonstrated not only to be inefficient but also to prolong and sometimes intensify problems overtime, forcing expensive solutions in the long run.

1. Leaving the neighbourhood to its own dynamics without any public intervention, monitoring and support. This option usually leads to increasing deterioration, growing internal and external problems of order, safety, cohesion, and reduces the quality of life and opportunities of Roma. These situations are increasingly difficult to overcome in the long term.
2. Actions oriented to increasing segregation or control. These kinds of actions usually consist of reducing services (cutting down the supply of basic services such as water, electricity, etc., establishing urban boundaries, including, in some cases, walls, systematic access control systems to the neighbourhood). While stigmatising Roma populations and worsening social problems, these approaches have dangerous historical precedents and undermine human dignity.⁵⁴
3. Carrying out forced evictions, adopting laws or rules that lead Roma to a situation of illegality and despair, reductions in social income and welfare without the provision of alternatives. Besides raising questions on whether such practices are really in conformity with the legal constitutions of the countries and the duty that (local) governments have of protecting their citizens, an approach that curtails rights and restricts public support will contribute to worsening social problems, including delinquency and insecurity.
4. Policies focusing simply on the removal or transfer of Roma to other areas. Removing Roma from one area needed to build a road, to expand the city, to create a new commercial area, a park, a services area, and transferring them to another settlement merely 'externalises' and delays solutions related to Roma inclusion, and curtails opportunities to resolve existing situations.
5. Pretended temporary rehousing without changing the internal dynamics of the community, leading to sometimes rapid infrastructural deterioration. Transitory resettlements must provide clear improvements, be combined with social interventions and have a deadline to encounter a permanent solution. In fact, despite some existing positive experiences, most of these projects have transferred the problem from one place to another and proven inadequate in terms of resulting costs.
6. Ethnic (re-)concentration by moving more Roma (or other excluded groups) into the area, thereby aggravating existing problems of marginalisation and exclusion. The creation of systemic policy driven ghettos has demonstrated to be the most effective way to fuel social conflicts.
7. Paying cash money to the inhabitants for them to leave when there are urban enlargement plans. While following this strategy local public elected officials solve their urban problems by transferring them from city to city; yet in fact, Roma families spend the money very quickly without finding alternative housing.
8. Well-intentioned responses that have proven to have perverse effects include:
 - a. Intending to respond to the housing problems without substantially increasing social and community work.
 - b. Housing policies tending toward segregation because of a misunderstanding of cultural idiosyncrasies: resettlement from the urban area because they like to be independent, or because they need space enough for the scrap metal and their animals.
9. Installing and providing specific and segregated (usually second-class) services (schools for Roma, medical centres for Roma, employment for Roma, etc.). This approach does not contribute to Roma integration and is only acceptable when there is no alternative.
10. Fuelling negative political discourses, publicly blaming the Roma for their situation, and supporting implicitly or explicitly prejudices and stereotypes. These attitudes contribute to increasing segregation and Roma discrimination.
11. Eluding public responsibilities in relation to order and security (without intervention against the negative internal dynamics of the area) or leaving this responsibility solely to the Roma

(or inhabitants in the area) in the process of self-organisation. Public safety and order is the responsibility of public authorities. This responsibility cannot be eluded or transferred to the Roma because it facilitates the emergence of mafias and abuses.

Specific strategies, priority actions, useful recommendations

Education. The main challenges are related to the access of Roma children to normal schools, guaranteeing adequate school attendance and permanence, and reducing drop-out rates.⁵⁵ Priority actions are related to:

- Desegregation and de-concentration by tackling the problems of physical distance and isolation:
 - Measures to end Roma special schools are primordial and urgent.
 - Problems can be solved with measures such as the provision of school transport services establishing criteria to avoid Roma or other ethnic minorities' concentration, awareness-raising campaigns for Roma parents (who often prefer to take their children to schools with a high degree of Roma concentration).
- Bridging gaps at different levels (educational level, economic means for books), etc.:
 - Creation of preparatory pre-school classes for Roma children.⁵⁶
 - Compensatory measures can be provided at the schools, including special support teachers, compensatory measures, extra classes, reducing the ratio of students for each class, economic support to purchase books.
 - Provision of financial incentives for school attendance for Roma families and/or schools, including by linking social assistance to school attendance, a system sometimes referred to as 'conditional cash transfers'
 - Provision of extra tutorial support.
- School attendance, early school leaving, continuity between primary and secondary education, and continuity after compulsory education:
 - Monitoring systems can be established as well as monitoring programmes including mediators, schooling commissions, grants to support post-compulsory education.
- Other measures referred to in the preceding category, such as programmes to support transitions from one level of education to the next.
- Pre-allocation of places in secondary schools and university for Roma children.
- Development of programmes for returnees to education.
- Introduction of adult education courses to encourage lifelong learning.
- Second chance programs.
- Increasing cultural sensitivity and the support needed for Roma:
 - Introduction of Romany language at school.

Employment. The main challenges relate to improving qualifications and the access to employment opportunities; several criteria and strategies have demonstrated to be more adequate.⁵⁷ Priority actions are very similar to those aimed at Roma in integrated urban neighbourhoods and include:

- Access to mainstream employment in the formal labour market and the promotion of self-employment.
- Other actions including:
 - Experiences combining vocational training and employment such as training workshops and employment workshops; they are particularly recommendable in the construction, infrastructure and environment sectors while linking professional training with professional practices in the areas and neighbourhoods where Roma live.
 - Social economy, including cooperatives.
 - Labour insertion companies (with protected employment).
 - Regularisation of informal Roma activities.
 - Involving Roma in subsidised public jobs (public gardens cleaning, etc.).
- Bridging passive measures (support, income benefits) and active measures (activation and access to employment) remains a challenge.
- Linking housing projects with training and jobs creation, including building their own houses (with the due support), has proven to be a good activation initiative despite the difficulties of ending personal itineraries by accessing mainstream jobs or by creating businesses and fostering self-employment.

Housing: When referring previously to the policy options,

⁵⁵ European Parliament, *Measures to Promote the Situation of Roma EU Citizens in the European Union, study, 2011*. Available at: <http://www.euromanet.eu/>

⁵⁶ While preparatory pre-school classes may be recommendable for reducing disadvantages in accessing compulsory school, segregated classes or segregated Roma schools must be avoided.

⁵⁷ See Peer reviews on Spain and the Czech Republic. Documents available respectively at: <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/> and <http://www.mutual-learning-employment.net/>

⁵⁸ See recommendations in the Avilés Peer review. Guy, Will and Fresno, José Manuel (2006) op.cit.

⁵⁹ Many of these projects have been developed within the framework and with the support of URBAN EU initiatives initially and subsequently with ERDF support. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy

we insisted on the general recommendation that housing projects should always go together with social intervention programmes, and pointed to specific recommendations for each of the possible options. Experience has demonstrated that access to an integrated environment and living together with non-Roma constitutes a radical change for the Roma community, which not only affects their living conditions but also their possibility for effective integration in all policy areas as well as to achieve effective citizenship. At the same time it changes lifestyle expectations, habits, and provides positive reference points for Roma development. Housing schemes can include different options according to the circumstances but should always follow criteria that have demonstrated positive results.⁵⁸ Possible actions include:

- Mortgage loan schemes and subsidised interest rates (through state guarantees).
 - State support for social housing for the Roma population.
 - Local support by municipalities to access private rental housing.
 - Improved access to rental housing by young people.
 - Integration of provisions for Integrated Urban Development Plans and support for social housing.
 - Support for Roma to become homeowners.
 - Eliminating isolated, peripheral, peri-urban settlements.
- Some problems tend to be more frequent in the urban and suburban areas, for example those associated with the so-called vertical slums (demographic concentration, deterioration of flats, increasing risk of building collapse, etc.).

Health: Universal access to healthcare services continues to remain a problem for some Roma living in urban areas. As is well known, the Roma health status is determined by social determinants of inequalities, which influence high birth and mortality rates, lower life expectancy and higher prevalence of some chronic diseases. Priorities in relation to health in the urban areas are related to:

- Improving living conditions:
 - Although Roma are living in settlements, actions described in option three (urban renewals, investments and sanitation plans) can contribute to substantially improving health conditions.
 - Basic measures such as cleaning water, garbage collection, periodic disinfection, etc. can also create better conditions.

- As in the case of Roma in integrated neighbourhoods, adequate access to and proper use of the health services has also fostered substantial improvements.

Active participation and full citizenship. The main challenges are related to Roma de facto second-class citizenship, poor social participation in their own communities and little engagement in civic life, including participation in social movements, civic organisations and political parties. As a consequence, there is little interlocution between Roma and the policy and administrative powers.

- Creating conditions for Roma participation is a prerequisite to stimulate positive dynamics in the neighbourhoods as well as to foster external participation.
 - Various measures can be developed in this direction, such as support for Roma self-organisations in the neighbourhoods, the identification of potential leaders to establish a permanent interlocution with the Roma community, the establishment of mechanisms of intensive internal and external participation that achieve the engagement of different partners.
- Participation is also related to mutual respect and mutual understanding and is not feasible if the Roma do not take part in the city life, including cultural and social events.
 - Information can be provided on various ethnic minorities resident in the city.
 - Involving Roma culture in the dynamics and cultural events of the city, etc.

Having said that, it is important to clarify that there are no short cuts and it is not possible to promote full citizenship without making the aforementioned structural improvements; in fact, while insisting or prioritising Roma participation in the policymaking process, basic actions aimed at guaranteeing social rights have sometimes been neglected.

The excluded neighbourhood approach: in the past decades, some countries and regions, mainly in the EU-15, have adopted plans aiming to improve and revitalise urban areas in a triple dimension: urban development, economic investments and development, social infrastructures and human resources qualification.⁵⁹ In some cases these projects have benefitted the areas where Roma communities are living while improving infrastructures, developing professional training and providing opportunities for economic investments;

in most of the cases, these projects have not been able to tackle specific Roma settlements or neighbourhoods characterised by a high Roma concentration and few Roma people have benefitted from the measures; moreover, by not taking into consideration the special circumstances of Roma, some of these projects have forced Roma migration from the area. The capacity of this approach to reach the most excluded groups, including the Roma, depends on their flexibility, Roma involvement and engagement from the outset and adaptation to special Roma needs and dynamics.

The excluded neighbourhood approach allows an ethnically neutral approach, and can often overcome the difficulty of adopting an ethnic approach when developing specific Roma inclusion plans at either rural or urban level, focusing on the inclusion of segregated urban or rural communities, or the identification of disadvantaged micro-regions/territories. From this perspective, it is easier to develop neutral policies focused for example on segregated neighbourhoods, where the ratio of extremely marginalised people is high, or on disadvantaged micro-regions/territories, where the ratio of people at risk of extreme poverty is high. These policies will de facto benefit more Roma people not because of their being Roma but simply because they find themselves in situations of greater need and vulnerability.

3.3. Possible model approaches for Roma communities living in segregated rural settlements

Key policy challenges

The policy challenges in these cases relate to changing the negative dynamics and trends in segregated rural settlements, that is, the increase in number and expansion of settlements, the absence of economic opportunities, permanent dependence on welfare, legal insecurity and the risks associated with existing migratory patterns. Policy orientations described below are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, all of them are considered to be both essential and mutually supportive:

1. To prevent the growth in number of rural settlements as well as their internal expansion.
2. To provide conditions for the legalisation of the settlements.
3. To create conditions for the emergence of economic opportunities including stimulation of self-initiatives.
4. To avoid the perverse effects of social benefits while ensuring their maintenance, and stimulating activation and personal commitment.
5. To provide minimum infrastructures and services in the settlements to ensure dignified living conditions.
6. To facilitate ordered external migration (if inhabitants wish to migrate) and to provide appropriated opportunities for urban migration in the country.

Possible options to follow

Possible options to follow always together with support programs and again not exclusive among them are the following (previous option 4, 6 and 7 for Roma living in segregated urban areas may be also useful for the Roma living in rural areas):

Option 1: Elimination of the settlements, by resettling and avoiding the concentration of their inhabitants in the surrounding villages or urban centres.

Benefits – adequacy	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>It would be the ideal option and the definitive solution.</p> <p>It would speed up integration in other areas (employment, education, etc.).</p>	<p>Must be developed with the due process: preparation, monitoring during and after the process.</p> <p>Requires adequate social intervention in the areas where newcomers will live (including non-Roma).</p> <p>In most of the cases it must be planned at the regional or micro-regional level.</p> <p>Recommended as part of integrated interventions in other areas, including employment, education, health, social participation.</p>	<p>Expensive in the short term.</p> <p>Likely to generate opposition by non-Roma citizens in recipient villages.</p>

Option 2: Building of new neighbourhoods with better conditions, planned as expansions of villages and neighbourhoods in urban areas (through social housing or other alternatives).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Facilitates physical integration and consequently access to public services.</p> <p>Offers opportunities for inhabitants to participate in housing construction.</p>	<p>Requires working with the Roma but also increasing awareness of the villagers and mutual understanding between Roma and non-Roma.</p> <p>Should imply an adequate monitoring process for proper integration.</p>	<p>May just become an annex second-class extension of the village lacking any integration (merely physical contiguity).</p> <p>New buildings can deteriorate rapidly if there is no change of dynamics internal to Roma.</p>

Option 3: Approving general laws (or taking the corresponding measures) that allow for the legalisation of de facto settlements (occupied housing or land) in grey legal or illegal situations.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Legalisation allows for a decrease in insecurity and improves Roma commitment and responsibility towards their immediate environment.</p> <p>Legalisation facilitates access to other services, sometimes neglected because of a lack of proper registration.</p>	<p>Legalisation should be combined with measures guaranteeing basic services and urban infrastructures in order to improve the settlement.</p> <p>While legalising the land or housing situation, the city council has to provide basic services to the rest of the village (i.e. on a universal basis) to prevent or alleviate feelings of and the de facto injustice on the part of non-Roma inhabitants.</p>	<p>May imply the imposition of responsibilities and economic costs (paying for utilities and services, taxation, etc) on the Roma community that it is unable to afford.</p> <p>Needs to be carefully studied according to different existing circumstances (some of the responsibilities and competences are at the local level, others at the national level).</p>

Option 4: Refurbishing existing settlements including improving transport infrastructures, access to basic services, and current houses while regularising situations (census, ownership).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Allows to promote dignity and to improve living conditions.</p> <p>Provides training and employment opportunities for the Roma.</p>	<p>Should include active Roma involvement and commitment to changing existing rules.</p> <p>Will require regularising situations (census, ownership, rent payment), and must be developed together with a social intervention and monitoring plan.</p>	<p>All investments plans in the neighbourhood and houses can vanish if there is no monitoring process.</p> <p>Short term improvements, but risk of high financial costs with few returns in the mid-term if there is no maintenance plan.</p>

Option 5: Supporting initiatives that favour the family economy and can create basic subsistence means. This measure may be complemented by existing and new incomes (micro credits, provision of land for vegetable gardens, orchards, animal breeding).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Creates positive dynamics in the community in terms of activating people.</p> <p>Can complement social benefits and social incomes by reducing the dependence on welfare.</p> <p>Can contribute to training people and improving employability conditions.</p>	<p>Requires the allocation of at least small pieces of land and in some cases new constructions.</p> <p>Requires training plans.</p> <p>Requires small investments (grants or micro credits).</p> <p>Requires respect for private property (including safety/security) and private goods.</p> <p>It is feasible if it is framed in community development projects.</p>	<p>Lacks flexibility and compassing of protection (incomes) and activation measures (which are most often mutually exclusive in the national legislations).</p> <p>May involve losses on microcredits and investments.</p>

Option 6: Combining the current social benefit systems (incomes) with activation measures based on the logic of protection-insertion.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Contributes to combating the dependence on welfare benefits of many Roma communities.</p> <p>May constitute a viable alternative to current trends towards cutbacks to social incomes.</p>	<p>Requires support programs, adequate monitoring and an individualised approach including individual itineraries.</p> <p>Must be framed in permanent social intervention projects with different departments following the same logic and working in synergy.</p>	<p>Boundaries between rights (applying equally to Roma) and responsibilities (depending on personal decisions) are unclear.</p> <p>It works if incentives make a difference in the short-term.</p>

Option 7: Developing and facilitating explicit temporary, cyclical, circular or definitive migration plans (within the country and abroad).⁶⁰

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Could help to build more ordered migratory processes, avoiding current irregularities, high exclusion and situations of human exploitation.</p> <p>Migration could become a cyclical or circular process consistent with the current wishes of many Roma.</p>	<p>This should include incentives linked to the opportunities offered by the labour market and with the due support and accompaniment from origin to destination.</p> <p>Involve international and local dimensions of migration in conjunction.</p>	<p>It is an expensive and complex approach.</p> <p>It is not feasible without international agreements (which may sometimes be bilateral) and within the framework of existing migratory policies of most Member States.</p> <p>It would work only for some of the Roma migrants (those ready to follow migration rules).</p>

⁶⁰This option is based on the idea that due to economic and social circumstances, migration processes for Roma and non-Roma will continue to exist; internal migratory processes (urban migration within determined countries, and between EU countries from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU-15) and external migratory processes (from third countries including the Balkans and Eastern Europe to the EU). It is desirable for migration to be regularised with the due support and flux control and to make this possible, it is necessary to work both in the origin and destination areas.

⁶¹See Peer review on child poverty and Roma exclusion, Hungary. Available at: <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/>

Practices that have demonstrated negative consequences

All the inadequate strategies and options described in the case of Roma in segregated urban communities are also relevant and applicable to rural settlements. We can add the frequently implemented and unviable strategies that follow:

1. To maintain rural settlements in a legal limbo or to approve laws that force or promote the eviction of Roma, without providing alternatives.
2. The refusal by municipalities to provide public services because the settlements are 'irregular', despite the fact that residents may have been living there for decades.

Specific strategies, priority actions, useful recommendations

Education: Most of the strategies and priorities described in the case of Roma in urban areas are also useful in the case of Roma in rural settlements. Nevertheless some of the aforementioned problems are aggravated in rural environments and must be given a higher priority or require specific approaches.

- School segregation remains the major problem in many rural areas, with cases of special Roma schools and of de facto Roma schools. Segregation is related to the physical distance, and entails in many cases the existence of schools with poor infrastructure, limited resources, some-

times closing down in winter time in places affected by extreme weather conditions. Some measures for improving this situation include:

- Eliminating Roma special schools by law.
- Providing school transportation to surrounding villages or urban centres.
- Providing special support to facilitate integration and avoid rejection (shower and toilets facilities, subsidies to purchase school materials, etc.).
- Special classes and activities to compensate disadvantages or to facilitate homework.
- Early childhood education remains a priority to prevent or alleviate Roma kids' disadvantages⁶¹ at the beginning of compulsory school. Providing kindergartens or social centres to palliate disadvantages have proven to be appropriate responses. Similar projects aimed at compensating disadvantages of Roma children, such as language learning, if their mother tongue is Romani, can also enhance family engagement and improve both parents' and children's educational expectations.

Employment: Employment remains a big challenge in the rural areas given the lack of existing opportunities. In fact rules related to the lack or inadequate liberalisation of land purchases as well as the non-existence of penalties for those owners that do not make productive use of them influence the scarcity of job opportunities. In spite of unfavourable conditions, some alternatives can be explored to facilitate activation by different means:

⁶²The new 'Closing-Up Programme' of the Hungarian government covers the period 2008-2013 and identified 33 most disadvantaged micro-regions in Hungary. See Hungarian Presidency of the EU (2011) *Background information on the territorial aspects of extreme poverty* Informal Contact Group meeting, 18 February

- Initiatives supporting basic subsistence economy (as explained in option 5).
- Activation measures combined with social benefits (as described in option 6).
- Access to public employment in some areas, including forest and environmental protection and maintenance.

Housing: Most of the housing strategies described for the urban areas may also apply to rural settlements. Some other actions and strategies can also be used, such as:

- Inclusion by the central government of conditionalities (forbidding segregation policies) when transferring economic resources to the local level.
- Increasing initiatives for Roma to be employed in the construction or renovation of their houses, with due support and guarantees.
- Reconstruction of existing stocks of uninhabited houses in the rural areas.

Health: The situation is especially serious in the rural areas and affecting women and children disproportionately due to internal and external factors. On one side, there is a widespread lack of health insurance (in these cases access is limited to emergency health services and chronic diseases, and there is no access to free or subsidised drugs), lack of emergency transport and long distances from hospitals. On the other, Roma vulnerability to illnesses is associated with poverty and overcrowding, exposure to extreme climate, poor hygiene due to proximity to waste collection sites, lack of fresh water supplies, and poor diet (examples include anaemia, parasites, tuberculosis, skin diseases, malnutrition, stomach illnesses, dental problems, respiratory diseases, infections, and frostbite). Existing strategies to alleviate these situations may go in two directions:

- Ensuring access to healthcare services in surrounding villages and towns, and proper and adapted delivery through support measures, including mediation programmes.
- Establishing medical centres in the Roma settlements working from a broad health perspective, including preventive medicine and always connected to the mainstream health services.

The micro-territorial approach: In some Central and Eastern European countries, Roma tend to be concentrated in some rural areas (micro-territories) where there is a high poverty rate. The micro-territorial approach, focusing investments and developments plans on these

areas may tackle Roma needs while planning improvements for all the citizens living in the area. The risk may be the lack of a real engagement and active participation of the Roma communities in these initiatives if the latter lack the required adaptation and support; in fact while tackling micro-territories Roma may benefit along with the other citizens, but may also be excluded from initiatives, especially those Roma living in remote areas and completely disconnected from public services, or in cases where there is no proactive approach to reach Roma people as well.⁶²

Community work – activating the community:

There is no social intervention and almost a total lack of permanent social projects in many rural Roma communities. Internal dynamics also cause a deterioration of these communities, not only in relation to living conditions but also to internal rules and order. Without external reference points and support, these communities tend to be affected by declining expectations, personal commitment and opportunities for basic connections with *society* as a whole. Problems such as human exploitation (mainly affecting women, youth and children), drug trafficking, prostitution, AIDS and domestic violence (which are deemed to be private family matters) tend to be aggravated in these isolated communities. Early and arranged marriages are more frequent and linked to teenage pregnancies. Establishing community work teams, providing systematic support to cultural mediators, to Roma leaders and to Roma organisations is recommended in all these situations. Community work carried out by public and private initiatives cannot solve problems related to justice or the rule of law (this must be approached by other areas such as security) but can introduce other dynamics and patterns in the community, by working on habits and daily routines, by introducing positive reference models, by supporting those individuals most likely to change, by identifying possible persons that can serve as a reference point for others and, in sum, by facilitating connections between the Roma community and the external world.

3.4. Possible model approaches for Roma migrants and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 Member States

Key policy challenges

From a legal perspective, we need to differentiate at least two situations with respect to the policy challenges in this category: that of Roma EU nationals usually originating in Eastern and Central European countries (mainly Romania, and to a lesser extent Bulgaria, the Slovak and Czech Republic) moving within the EU, who

are EU nationals and make use of their right to free movement; and that of Roma short- and medium-term migrants to the EU-15 (mainly from the former Yugoslavia), who are third country nationals.

The policy efforts must be oriented to avoiding negative political discourses and hostility towards Roma immigrants and Roma EU citizens and their family members as well as to find ways to guarantee their rights while offering the Roma opportunities for socioeconomic integration. In concrete terms, the following policy options are considered as a priority:

1. To guarantee the full application of the law in the case of Roma EU citizens and their family members, including EU standards, in particular the full application of the Free Movement and Anti-Discrimination Directives.⁶³
2. To prevent forms of migration that are illegal, and to fulfil the prohibition of acts inciting racist or xenophobic violence or hatred.⁶⁴
3. To promote a better public understanding of the phenomenon of Roma migration including awareness-raising measures and to neutralise and revert the growing hostility of host populations towards Roma migrants in Europe.
4. To define and design adequate systems of integration for the Roma EU nationals usually originating in Eastern and Central European countries and Roma migrants according to their circumstances and their needs.

5. To avoid general situations of extreme marginalisation, including the lack of adequate protection of children, by facilitating access to public services.

6. To provide adequate support for the labour integration of Roma EU nationals usually originating in Eastern and Central European countries according to the transitional regimes on access to the labour market.⁶⁵

7. To improve cooperation, coordination and to develop joint projects, including analysis and monitoring between the origin and destination countries.

Possible options to follow

Some options and strategies described previously for the three other groups are also relevant to Roma included in this category, depending on their situation in the destination country. We focus here on those specific to Roma EU nationals usually originating in Eastern and Central European countries and Roma migrants:

⁶³ European Council (2000a) op.cit.; European Council (2004) Directive 2004/38/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29 April 2004 on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States. Available at: [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/European_Council_\(2000a\)_Council_Directive_2000/43/EC_of_29_June_2000_implementing_the_principle_of_equal_treatment_between_persons_irrespective_of_racial_or_ethnic_origin](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/European_Council_(2000a)_Council_Directive_2000/43/EC_of_29_June_2000_implementing_the_principle_of_equal_treatment_between_persons_irrespective_of_racial_or_ethnic_origin). Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁶⁴ European Council (2008) Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁶⁵ Under a clause of the Annex to the Treaty of Accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU, a transition period is introduced for a maximum of 7 years with effect from the day of the accession to the Union during which the other Member States are free to impose measures at the national level to reduce the access of the workforce from Bulgaria and Romania to their labour markets. Most often these measures consist in the requirement to have a work permit. Available information at: <http://ec.europa.eu/>

Option 1: Avoiding from the outset group concentrations and the emergence of improvised camps through the provision of short-term housing alternatives adapted to the needs of Roma.

Benefits – adequacy	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Contributes to diminishing public rejection.</p> <p>Facilitates interventions from the outset and adequate attention.</p> <p>Establishes basic rules and favours responsible behaviours on the part of immigrants.</p> <p>Mitigates the size of concentrated illegal settlements on the fringe of urban areas.</p>	<p>Forbidding free/unregulated dwellings requires providing housing alternatives and welcome and integration programmes.</p> <p>Enjoying services requires following rules (conditionality approach).</p> <p>It also requires congruence on the part of public services (alignment of messages and actions).</p>	<p>Risk of becoming a pull factor for the cities that follow this approach.</p> <p>Risk of pushing Roma migrants to neighbouring cities (with free and unregulated settlements and no obligation to commit to rules and legislation).</p> <p>Only Roma ready to demonstrate their commitment and responsibility will participate.</p>

Option 2: Creating a network of specific and adapted terrains for the temporary reception of Roma migrants (so-called 'villages d'insertion') or bridge housing, to provide accommodation and other social support for Roma families in the areas where they migrate to most frequently.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Avoiding unregulated Roma concentration.</p> <p>Early Roma support and social intervention.</p> <p>Reduction of social conflicts and stigmatisation.</p>	<p>To be implemented with due control, rules, permanent monitoring systems, accompanying programs.</p> <p>To forbid settlement outside the <i>villages d'insertion</i>.</p>	<p>It is expensive and requires intensive, long-term work.</p> <p>Must be a national (possibly international) policy to be efficient and to avoid 'ping pong' actions by cities.</p> <p>Mayors welcome the idea but face resistance in their urban administration; it also faces significant citizen resistance if the sites are located next to mainstream neighbourhoods.</p>

Option 3: In the case of third-country Roma immigrants, following the same rules, practices and mechanisms (with the due adjustments) established in relation to the welcoming and integration of third country immigrants: mainstreaming Roma migrants in migration policies.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Insertion of third country Roma into ordinary integration mechanisms.</p> <p>In this case there is no need for instruments specific to Roma but rather a need to adapt existing migration services</p> <p>Cheaper option.</p>	<p>Need of adaptation, flexibility and specialisation of existing services</p> <p>Requires proactive approach and active civil society engagement.</p>	<p>Useful only for non-EU citizens.</p> <p>Consistent doubts about the extent to which this approach will work efficiently and their capacity for adaptation.</p>

Option 4: Guaranteeing access to basic services (education, health, and social services) while facilitating the registration, support and monitoring processes. This option should also be implemented side by side with all other options.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Reduces Roma insecurity while guaranteeing fundamental rights including the rights of the child.</p> <p>Prevents situations of extreme exclusion.</p>	<p>Requires sensitiveness, adaptation of public services and specific accompanying programs.</p> <p>Ensuring a non-discriminatory access to basic services, such as health care, cannot be made conditional. At the same time it is recommendable to develop monitoring mechanisms, including contracts for the families involving basic commitments (E.g. child begging, etc.).</p>	<p>The policy approach may become a pull factor.</p>

Option 5: Developing joint projects, between countries/regions of origin and countries/regions of destination, in order to support migration according to required standards (regular, according to labour market demand and needs, with due support programmes, etc.).

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
<p>Could contribute to ordering migratory fluxes.</p> <p>Normalises processes.</p>	<p>Has to be an international policy.</p> <p>Requires adequate coordination, working in origin and in destination countries.</p>	<p>It is adequate only for those Roma groups that really have the intention to remain in the medium – or long-term in the destination country.</p> <p>Could work for some groups in seasonal employment.</p>

⁶⁶ European Commission (2010c) *Commission Staff Working Document. Roma in Europe: The Implementation of European Union Instruments and Policies for Roma Inclusion. Progress Report 2008-2010*. European Parliament (2011) *Measures to Promote the Situation of Roma EU Citizens in the European Union Study*. Available at: http://www.euromanet.eu/Country_Reports_available_at_https://lirias.kuleuven.be/

Practices that have demonstrated negative consequences

Inadequate policies have frequently been implemented in many host countries. The most common are:

1. Demolition of Roma camps without providing any housing alternative.
2. Forced evictions, individual or family expulsions of Roma EU nationals without following the due procedure and the due guarantees (forbidden by law according to the 2004 Freedom of Movement Directive). The expulsion of EU citizens from the territory of a Member State is only possible under certain conditions laid down in the Free Movement Directive. Collective expulsions of Roma who are not EU citizens or family members of EU citizens are against human rights.
3. Absence of monitoring mechanisms to have permanent information on the situation of these groups in order to identify their needs and to provide adequate public interventions.
4. Strategies and measures exclusively or primarily oriented towards control (expulsions, forced evictions, taking Roma children to juvenile facilities, etc.) without providing support measures and insertion programmes.
5. Activating negative political discourses that blame Roma and make them responsible for, or identify them, with insecurity, the degradation of services, illegal activities, human trafficking.

Specific strategies, priority actions, useful recommendations

Education and childcare: Roma children and younger Roma as well as Roma women are the most vulnerable subgroups among Roma communities.⁶⁶ Roma migrant children tend to face the same disadvantages in education (segregation, early school leaving, poor results, etc.) as other Roma children and also face other frequent interrelated problems, including lack of access to the school, low attendance rates when they do obtain access, social rejection, racism, xenophobia, etc. These difficulties are related to the absence of documentation in many cases, as well as difficulties related to language and cultural background, lack of economic means for books and other school materials, absence of transport, rejection by the school system, high degree of mobility, etc. In some cases families take children with them over the entire journey and they may end up in the streets, facing bad weather conditions, little food and are sometimes reduced

to begging. Measures and approaches recommended to improve this situation include:

- Opening transitional or bridging courses in normal schools, or including them in 'normal' classes always together with a set of measures: school transport services, monitoring programs, personalised support for homework and language tuition. These initiatives have proven to work when they benefit from the support of the social services and the engagement of NGOs, and when the intervention targets the entire family, covering basic needs of the household, not merely the children.

Employment: Difficulties for accessing employment remain severe for these Roma groups (in the case of Roma EU nationals these difficulties may be related to restrictions to the free movement of workers). While some of them do find decent employment, many others subsist through informal activities in the informal economy, which involve the entire family, and are sometimes subjected to exploitation by mafias. Income from informal activities is sometimes complemented with public subsidies and support from charity organisations.

- Some experiences have demonstrated that including Roma migrants (following due processes) in existing professional training and employment initiatives for Roma or for other groups in similar circumstances may be a good solution.

Housing: Many Roma migrants lack proper housing and live in improvised camps/settlements or simply sleep in vehicles or abandoned buildings, while others find adequate housing solutions by their own means. The tendency towards concentration in large families or groups renders the Roma more visible while it fuels hostility on the part of neighbours. The high degree of mobility between different cities in the destination country, depending on business opportunities and family dynamics as well as unanticipated migratory patterns (including individual returns to the country of origin while the remainder of the group in the host country) add difficulty to housing interventions.

- Different positive options have been described previously to provide accommodation systems, including in some cases access to rental apartments or social housing in the long run. Whatever the alternative on offer all the experiences demonstrate that public engagement is needed from the outset in conjunction with the establishment of rules and requires:
 - Combining positive solutions and requirements regarding adequate behaviours (conditionality approach).

- Framing housing measures within intensive social intervention plans covering all priority areas and basic needs.
- Taking adequate measures according to different groups and circumstances. In fact, while some groups have accessed normal houses or flats rapidly, in other cases, the flexible measures and itineraries that are required will only achieve positive results very slowly.

Health: The extremely precarious conditions in which many Roma migrants live aggravate the health problems described for other categories. In fact, the lack of legal documents (for instance, identity cards or housing registration) conditions access to health services, which is only possible in emergency circumstances in most cases. Socio-sanitary situations, together with poor living conditions, unhealthy habits, require special attention and support. Different approaches have contributed to tackling or at least alleviating health problems:

- The use of the European Health Insurance Card (EHIC), insufficiently known but available to all EU citizens (which presupposes that these Roma have social security in their home Member State).
- The Directive on cross-border healthcare provides clarity about the rights of patients who seek healthcare in another Member State and supplements the rights that patients already have at the EU level through the legislation on the coordination of social security schemes.⁶⁷
- To facilitate access to health services under certain conditions (Spain).
- Special health campaigns for palliative and preventive measures usually developed by NGOs.

Legislation, primary support and security: Many Roma migrants lack legal papers and many Roma EU citizens have not been able to register their residence.⁶⁸ Lack of identity papers in some cases or residence permits in the case of third country nationals remain the fundamental problem of Roma in accessing basic services. EU citizen rights are most often not guaranteed to Roma EU nationals moving between the EU-15, and this remains one of the basic barriers to integration. Lack of access to rights implies a lack of protection for entire families, and in particular children. Women and children are often the primary victims of poverty; girls in particular are more vulnerable to multiple forms of discrimination including sometimes violence. Initial interventions with Roma migrants and Roma EU nationals moving within the EU-15 Member States generally require a triple approach:

- Overcoming legal difficulties in order to guarantee basic rights.
- Providing initial social support to facilitate access to public services.
- Guaranteeing the safety of all persons, especially children and women.

⁶⁷ Council of the EU (2011) *Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on the application of patients' rights in cross-border healthcare*. PE-CONS 6/11. 21 February- Available at: <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/>

⁶⁸ FRA (2009b) op.cit.

3.5. Possible model approaches for travellers and semi-mobile Roma

Key policy challenges

For those countries where the traveller lifestyle is frequent the key policy challenges are related to recognising and respecting the nomadic fact, and consequently to creating the conditions for dignified nomadic lifestyles. More specifically:

1. To provide adequate conditions for those Roma who have and want to retain a mobile way of life (the official organisation of temporary halting sites and/or accommodation) that make it possible for them to pursue their lifestyle.
2. To fully recognise the traveller lifestyle through the recognition of the mobile home as legal housing and as a consequence to make the adequate change of provisions and practices that today imply disadvantages in term of the recognition of rights (registration, access to services, etc.).
3. To adapt the public services (education, health, employment services) according to travellers' and nomads' needs in order to allow Roma travellers to access them under the same conditions as the rest of the citizenry, paying special attention to the provision of primary and secondary education.

Options to follow

Possible complementary options following from the aforementioned policy challenges include:

Option 1: Enactment and implementation of specific legislation to facilitate and guarantee the traveller lifestyle. This specific legislation may include among others the recognition of the caravans and mobile homes as a form of housing, basic rights attached to the registration of mobile homes as housing, specific infrastructure, adaptation of public and social services such as access to education, healthcare system and incomes system.

Benefits – adequacy	Required conditions	Limits/risks
Facilitate the travellers' lifestyle. Guarantee effective rights.	Making it effective implies additional resources, adapting services and specialisation for administration.	Difficulties related to the adaptation to different traveller circumstances and needs, within the same country.

Option 2: Provision of an adequate network of winter camps and temporary settlement grounds in urban areas. They should not be oriented to the logic *minimal conditions for the stay* but to the logic *sufficient and adequate equipment and services*.

Benefits – suitability	Required conditions	Limits/risks
May facilitate the safe mobility of travellers. Improves travellers' quality of life. Reduces conflicts with municipalities and neighbours.	National policy covering the entire country. Involving traveller community in the planning and decision-making processes. Adequate support and social intervention programmes.	Opposition of municipal administrations. May act as a pull factor towards cities and towns participating in such networks. May deepen discrimination if camps do not fulfil the required conditions.

Strategies that have demonstrated negative consequences

Inadequate strategies include:

1. Absence of specific legislation on nomadism and travelling in the countries where Roma have these lifestyles, restrictive legislation or lack of enforcement at the local level.
2. Policies of minimum services: the lowest possible number of camps, featuring minimal equipment and infrastructure, and conceived only as transitory spaces.
3. Systematic rejection or resistance by putting legal and administrative obstacles to the provision of services to Travellers when they arrive to or camp in the cities (child enrolment in schools, social and other municipal services).

Specific strategies, priority actions, useful recommendations

Education: The specific problem that travellers encounter in education is the access to different schools within a single school year. The most frequent approach to solve this situation is to establish support mechanisms that facilitate the transit between schools, admitting students at any time of the year. This requires an adequate monitoring process and coordination as well as support services. The same objective may be approached in a variety of ways:

- Facilitating enrolment of the pupils at any time of the year, as well as the follow-up of their marks and registration files.
- Combining specific education services for Roma travellers together with the access to mainstream schools.
- Establishment of School District Centres for the schooling of newcomers and travelling children

by organisations of itinerant schools or itinerant schooling vehicles, which travel from place to place.

Employment: Attempts to integrate travellers in mainstream employment prove extremely difficult because the former requires sedentary or quasi-sedentary lifestyles. However, Travellers are active in many economic activities and temporary employment (over a number of weeks or months). The access to independent economic activities should be made easier. Legal access to the 'independent' status is in some states restrictive, obliging candidates to have graduated from secondary education or to pass a specific management exam; as a consequence, most traveller professionals are excluded from the employment and activities they aspire to. New environmental regulations creating a framework for recycling activities are having negative effects on travelling communities (especially the poorest segments). Specific measures can:

- Provide specific employment services for travellers in conjunction with the legal recognition and formalisation of traveller employment. Furthermore, support can be provided through individual training to acquire minimum management and accountancy competencies.
- Render legal access to independent activities easier.

Housing and related legal matters: Gypsies and Traveller caravans are most often not allocated legal spaces for temporary stay, and are forced to occupy unauthorised terrains and encampments in many cases.⁶⁹ The non-existence of available spaces coupled with the lack of any prospect of progress and the constant threat of eviction has led many Travellers to seek accommodation in settled accommodation or in other cases to buy their own piece of land where they install their caravans; in fact the number of available pitches is very limited in most countries. Non-recognition of the caravan as a form of housing can limit the right to housing allowances at the local level. Existing models to approach this situation may differ, and all of them have proven to solve partially this need; in fact there remains a large gap between legislation and practices:

- Some states have enacted legislation for the provision of Traveller specific social housing in the form of e.g. halting sites or group housing schemes including the provision of incentives for local authorities to build and maintain halting sites (Ireland and the UK).
- Others nominally accept the right of Roma and Travellers to be registered to an itinerant/semi-itinerant way of life, despite widespread

limitations to the provision of appropriate accommodation, which effectively negate this right (Greece, the Netherlands and some regions in Belgium).

- Some regions tend to legally recognise caravans as a form of housing (Flanders, Belgium). The administrative category "mobile" residence is very well adapted to and largely used by Belgian travellers, but access to public, including social, services is not yet adapted to these regulations.
- Others have created circulation documents (*titres de circulation*), distinguishing people by their degree of nomadism and their economic activity (France).
- The official organisation of travelling communities with the provision of minimum services has been experimented with some success in Belgium.⁷⁰ They allow the travelling families to be mobile, to rest in temporary spaces with their basic needs satisfied within an official and recognised framework. This model needs a strong involvement of the local and regional authorities and the cooperation of the travelling community organisations. The mediation process between the community and the local authorities is an essential part of this model.
- In others still, the response to nomadic lifestyles is de-segregation and dispersal across the city.

Health: Ensuring that Roma travelling communities have access to local health services implies fluent access to the health services in those areas where they halt along the year, as well as sometimes the provision of outreach and mobile primary healthcare facilities including interpretation or mediation services where necessary to tackle specific needs.

⁶⁹ For instance one out of four in the UK.

⁷⁰ These experiences are detailed in the Centre de Médiation des Gens du Voyage et des Roms on the 'Wallonie' website: <http://www.cmgv.be/>



Connecting models with EU instruments and policies

⁷¹ European Commission (2011a) *op.cit.*

⁷² European Commission Roma Taskforce (2010) 'Report of the Roma Taskforce on the assessment and benchmarking of the use of EU funds by Member States for Roma integration'. EURoma (2010) *op.cit.*

The Member States have the primary responsibility to design and implement policies aimed at advancing the social and economic inclusion of Roma, while the EU can provide added value and support.⁷¹ National Roma strategies and policies have to be framed in the values and principles of the EU, and model approaches to Roma inclusion can and must be systematically connected with EU legal, policy and financial instruments. In fact, reports demonstrate that the support provided to date by these instruments to Roma policies is insufficiently used and that EU Member States could make better use of them while planning and implementing Roma strategies and developing projects.⁷²

Overcoming deficiencies related to a lack of effective enforcement and use of legal, financial and policy instruments would imply aligning national strategies within the framework of the Europe 2020 Strategy – in particular the European Platform Against Poverty –, bolstering mechanisms for the application of legal and policy instruments, and improving the functioning of and access to financial instruments, especially to the Structural Funds. Member States, regions and municipalities need to frame their Roma interventions in their national policies (i.e. social housing strategies, inclusion policies, education and labour

policies and strategies) and explain the financial instruments available for their implementation, including a link with the National Roma Integration Strategies. Legal, policy and financial EU instruments can be used in a more efficient way by providing adequate support to the NRIS as well as to the policies and plans: in fact National Strategies adequately framed in the European instruments and policies can be based on the EU legal framework, be strengthened by the policies and receive substantial financial resources to achieve the expected goals.

4.1. Legal instruments

The EU is founded on the respect for fundamental rights, the observance of which is ultimately ensured by the Court of Justice of the EU. The Roma National Strategies, policies, action plans and projects should be explicitly rights-based to ensure that Roma, as citizens or residents of the EU Member States, can fully enjoy their fundamental rights as enshrined both in EU law and in international human rights treaties binding on Member States; we briefly refer to some of them and how they must apply to the Roma Strategies and policies.

EU Treaty and Charter of Fundamental Rights ⁷⁵

The EU is ‘founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities’ (Art. 2 of the Treaty on the EU). The Lisbon Treaty has deepened the competencies of the EU in the areas of equal treatment and non-discrimination. The EU recognises the rights, freedoms and principles set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights, assigning them the same juridical value as the Treaties (Art. 6). All six types of rights enshrined in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which is binding on the EU institutions and the Member States when they are implementing Union law – dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizens’ rights, justice – must be the cement of all policies aimed at the inclusion and promotion of Roma and other vulnerable groups.

EU Directives

The Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC⁷⁴

prohibits both direct and indirect discrimination and consider harassment as a form of discrimination. It gives protection against discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin to everyone in the EU in employment and training, education, social protection (including social security and healthcare), social advantages, membership and involvement in organisations of workers and employers and access to and supply of goods and services, including housing. All EU Member States have by now established equality bodies that can receive discrimination complaints, although the scope of their mandate varies.

Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of EU citizens to move and reside freely within the EU

regulates the right of free movement and residence across the EU and EFTA area of all EU citizens and their family members; Roma people who either have the nationality of a Member State or are family members of EU citizens benefit from the rights of free movement and residence conferred by the EU Treaty and the Directive upon EU citizens under the same conditions as any other EU citizen.

Together with these directives other Directives focused on specific areas may be relevant in protecting Roma rights against discrimination, as is the case of the Directive 2006/54 on Gender Equality in Employment (2006)⁷⁵

Framework Decision on Combating Racism and Xenophobia in November 2008.⁷⁶ This Framework Decision aims to ensure that racist and xenophobic conducts are sanctioned in all Member States by effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties. For

any other criminal offences than those covered by the Framework Decision, Member States are obliged to ensure that racist and xenophobic motivation is considered as an aggravating circumstance, or alternatively that such motivation may be taken into account by courts in the determination of the penalties.

International conventions

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR):

states in relation to housing in its Article 25: *“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”*. The right for education is included in Article 26 as follows⁷⁷: *1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. 2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.*

The accession of the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) became a legal obligation under the Treaty of Lisbon and constitutes a major step in the protection of human rights in Europe, although the process is not yet finalised. The ECHR offers protection of fundamental civil and political rights and provides for enforcement machinery through the European Court of Human Rights. Article 14 contains a prohibition of discrimination on “sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status”.⁷⁸

Other conventions and international human right instruments refer to issues closely related to the Roma situation and must be at the heart of approaches to Roma inclusion by EU Member States: for instance, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954), the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961) and relevant ILO Conventions concerning

⁷⁵ EU (2010) *Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*. Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/Charter_of_Fundamental_Rights_of_the_European_Union.Official_Journal_of_the_EU.C83_Volume_53. Available at: [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/treaty-of-lisbon-EU-\(2000c\)-op.cit](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/treaty-of-lisbon-EU-(2000c)-op.cit).

⁷⁴ European Council (2000a) op.cit.; European Council (2000b) op.cit.

⁷⁵ European Council and European Parliament (2006) *Directive 2006/54 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation*. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁷⁶ European Council (2008) *Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law*. Available at: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/

⁷⁷ Other United Nation and UNESCO conventions and recommendations and a good practice compendium can be found at: <http://www.hrea.org/> <http://www.unesco.org/> <http://www.ohchr.org/>

⁷⁸ Council of Europe (1950) *The European Convention on Human Rights. Rome, 4 November 1950 and its Five Protocols*. Available at: <http://www.hri.org/>

⁷⁹ Please see bibliographical section of the present report to access full references.

⁸⁰ European Commission (2010c) 'Europe 2020.A European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth'. COM(2010)2020. 3 March. Available at: http://europa.eu/press_room/ Additional information on the legal and policy developments based on the Europe 2020 Strategy are available here: http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/index_en.htm

⁸¹ European Commission (2011a) op.cit.

⁸² In fact the Integrated Guidelines for economic and employment policies (n°10) contain a specific reference to minorities. European Commission (2010e) Proposal for a Council Decision on guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States. Part II of the Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines. SEC(2010) 488 final. COM(2010)193 final. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁸³ <http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/>

⁸⁴ EU policy framework: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/>

⁸⁵ The Open Method of Coordination in Education and Training. Available at: <http://www.atee1.org/>

⁸⁶ European Commission (2011d) *Communication from the Commission. An EU agenda for the rights of the child.* COM (2011) 60 final. Brussels, 15 February. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/>

equality, non-discrimination in employment and occupation, employment policy, social policy, freedom of association, forced labour, child labour.⁷⁹

4.2. Policy instruments

Roma policies have to be focused on Roma in a clear and specific way and address the needs of Roma with explicit measures to prevent and compensate for the disadvantages they experience. But Roma policies cannot be separated from other policies; on the contrary, existing policy instruments at the European level need to tackle Roma issues according to their objectives and field of action, and for Roma policies to be efficient they need to be mainstreamed into other European policy instruments. The European Parliament and the Council of Europe have played an active role in previous years by supporting resolutions, projects, etc. At the EU level, there are both specific policy instruments and tools focused on Roma and more general policy instruments from which all marginalised groups, including the Roma, can benefit. National and local policies and programmes can benefit from these instruments and make use of them.

Policy instruments relevant to the Roma

The Europe 2020 Strategy:⁸⁰ Europe 2020 is the EU's growth strategy for the coming decade by promoting a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. Three of the five targets proposed at the European level (EU Member States have also defined their own national targets under this heading) are directly relevant to the situation of the Roma people: employment (75% of the 20-64 years old to be employed); education (reducing school drop-out rates to below 10%, and at least 40% of 30-34 years old completing third level education); poverty/social exclusion (at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion).

In the framework of the Europe 2020 Strategy, Member States have drafted their **National Reform Programmes** for the coming decade. The Commission Communication (2011) states that National Roma Integration Strategies should fit in and contribute to the broader framework of the Europe 2020 Strategy and should therefore be consistent with National Reform Programmes.⁸¹ The Europe 2020 process, including the National Reform Programmes, the European Platform against Poverty and all processes related to the Open Method of Coordination, offers a unique opportunity to mainstream Roma issues into general policies and to include Roma measures as part of broader reforms.⁸²

The European Platform Against Poverty: The European Platform Against Poverty is one of the flagship initiatives of the Europe 2020 Strategy, the aim of which is "to ensure social and territorial cohesion such that the benefits of jobs and growths are widely shared and people experiencing poverty and social exclusion are enabled to live in dignity and active part of the society". Amongst other functions, it will constitute a forum encouraging commitment, the exchange of good practices and cooperation between different actors. At the national level, the Platform will facilitate the definition and implementation of measures addressing the specific circumstances of groups at particular risk (e.g. the Roma).

Other flagship initiatives: Other initiatives have forecasted actions could involve and may concern Roma issues and Roma policies (Youth on the Move, Innovation Union, Agenda for New Skills and Jobs, Recommendation on Early School Leaving, Equality in Education and Training Systems, Digital Agenda).⁸³ For instance, Youth on the Move has established four action lines, and 28 initiatives related to continuous training and lifelong learning, youth employment, including actions for the validation of non-formal and informal learning, support for professional training and activation measures, and microfinance instruments for youth entrepreneurs. The agenda for new skills and jobs will focus, among other actions, on providing adequate incentives to persons and companies for professional training, capacities improvements and other competencies related to the access to the labour market.

The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) in Social Protection & Social Inclusion⁸⁴, and OMC in education. Through the OMC on social protection and social inclusion, the EU provides a framework for national strategy development, as well as for coordinating policies between EU countries on issues relating to poverty and social exclusion, health care and long-term care as well as pensions. It can be useful when designing Roma national strategies and policies as it allows assessing progress, benchmarks and indicators. Peer reviews can facilitate mutual exchange and learning at the intergovernmental level in areas related to education, employment, social protection and social inclusion. The Open Method of Coordination in education also focuses on areas related to Roma, such as access and social inclusion in lifelong learning, including disadvantaged youth, preventive and compensatory measures against early school leaving, or desegregating education for Roma children.⁸⁵

The EU Agenda for the Rights of the Child⁸⁶ presents general principles to ensure that EU action respects the provisions of the Charter and of the Convention on the Rights of the Child with regard to the rights of children. It also provides for a number of concrete actions in areas where the EU can bring real added value, such as child-friendly justice, protecting children in vulnerable

situations and fighting violence against children.

The Health policies and programmes: In the Communication on Solidarity in Health, the Commission declares its commitment to take a series of measures to help national authorities address health inequalities and explicitly refers to Roma health inequalities and their conditionings.⁸⁷ The measures would include support of the initiatives that are specifically targeting vulnerable groups including Roma and other ethnic minorities.

Antidiscrimination policies:⁸⁸ The EU institutions have been very active in supporting policies aiming to fight against ethnic discrimination as well as against racist and xenophobic hate speech and hate crime. The Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) helps to ensure that fundamental rights of people living in the EU are protected. It does this by collecting evidence about the situation of fundamental rights across the EU and providing advice, based on evidence, about how to improve the situation.⁸⁹

Other instruments: There are many other instruments and initiatives in the areas of health, employment, education and regional development on the European stage that may be available for supporting Roma policies. For instance the European Agenda for Culture⁹⁰ establishes a new framework for the implementation and further development of cultural policies in the EU by setting commonly-shared strategic objectives and new working methods based on the OMC.

Specific Roma policy instruments

The EU Platform for Roma inclusion⁹¹ is a forum aiming to exchange good practices and experience between the Member States in the sphere of Roma inclusion, to provide analytical support and to stimulate cooperation between all parties concerned by Roma issues, including the civil society organisations representing Roma. In the new Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies, the European Commission will lead the Platform process and its role will be strengthened; the Platform can be an adequate forum not only for information exchange but also to foster multilevel cooperation (international institutions, national governments and civil society), while aligning positions and gaining a common understanding of Roma policies.

The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015⁹² is a political commitment by European governments to improve the socio-economic status and social inclusion of Roma. The Decade is an international initiative that brings together twelve governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as Roma civil society, to accelerate progress toward improving the welfare of Roma and to review such progress in a

transparent and quantifiable way, including in the education field. The Decade has focused in the past on the National plans and activities of its Member States in the four priority areas (education, employment, housing and health) coinciding with the priorities established by the Commission in the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies.

The EURoma Network⁹³ aims to strengthen the role of the Structural Funds in Roma inclusion in order to identify the challenges and possible solutions to make the use of Structural Funds more efficient and effective in underpinning the policies promoting the economic and social integration of Roma. Formed by two organisms in each of its twelve Member States (Country European Social Fund Managing Authorities, and the agencies responsible for Roma policies), EURoma involves the European Commission in its activities as well as other international and civil society organisations and is playing a key role in identifying working methods and allowing information exchange, in the context of the OMC, to identify good practices and improve the use of Structural Funds for Roma inclusion.

Other instruments: Many other EU bodies are actively providing direct support or are undertaking permanent initiatives specifically aimed at Roma. The situation of the Roma has for instance been one of the priorities of the FRA, which has produced several reports on the matter.⁹⁴ On its side, the Committee of the Regions has presented an opinion on the Commission's Communication 'The social and economic integration of the Roma in Europe'.⁹⁵ European and international institutions such as the OSCE and different United Nations agencies have increased their activities related to Roma, often in close cooperation with the EU and are contributing to policy development. Civil society organisations as well as Roma organisations are also actively contributing to Roma policies on the European stage.

4.3. Financial instruments

In the EU there is a variety of financial instruments that can be used for the socio-economic integration of Roma and to support the Roma National Policies and National Strategies. They are not specific budgets or projects allocated to Roma people but rather addressed to areas, fields of work and priorities relevant to Roma needs and Roma policies. The largest amount of available financing is related to the Structural Funds and is allocated to the Member States; in that case, despite being EU money, Structural Funds are under the responsibility of Member States, which have to manage these budgets in the framework of the National Strategic Framework and the Operational Programmes. There are also many other smaller programmes and budgets allocated directly by

⁸⁷ European Commission (2009b) *Commission Communication "Solidarity in health: Reducing Health Inequalities in the European Union"*. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

⁸⁸ European Commission (1997) *European Union Anti-discrimination policy: from Equal opportunities between women and men to combat racism*. DG for Research. Working Document. Public Liberties Series. Available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/>

⁸⁹ Information available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/>

⁹⁰ Description available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/culture/>

⁹¹ European Commission (2009a) 'EU Platform for Roma Inclusion (Prague, 24 April 2009)' MEMO 09/193. Available at: <http://europa.eu/>

⁹² Information available at: <http://www.romadecade.org/about>

⁹³ Information available at: <http://www.euromanet.eu/>

⁹⁴ Information available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/>

⁹⁵ European Commission (2010a), *op.cit.*

⁹⁶ European Commission Roma Task Force (2010) op.cit.; EURoma (2010) op.cit.

⁹⁷ European Commission (2011a) op.cit.

⁹⁸ European Commission (2011b) *Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down common provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund, the Cohesion Fund, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund covered by the Common Strategic Framework and laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1083/2006*. Brussels, 6 October. COM (2011) 615 Final. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ European Parliament and Council of the EU (2010) *Regulation (EU) No 437/2010 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 May 2010 amending Regulation (EC) No 1080/2006 on the European Regional Development Fund as regards the eligibility of housing interventions in favour of marginalised communities*. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

the European Commission from which Roma can benefit.

Structural Funds

The conclusions of the Roma Task Force as well as the EURoma report have demonstrated significant weaknesses in the use of Structural Funds aimed at Roma inclusion.⁹⁶ Inefficient managing models and coordination mechanisms and several bottlenecks render the implementation difficult. Furthermore, the level of expenditure is very low especially in countries with large Roma populations; in fact the problem is not the lack of money but the access to the money and the absorption capacity of states; besides, there is little accountability and available information about the results and impact that Structural Funds have on Roma. In its Communication (2011)⁹⁷ the Commission has invited to the Member States to *amend their operational programmes co-financed by the Structural Funds and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development in order to better support Roma targeted projects, and to align them with their national Roma integration strategies*.

Structural Funds can be a crucial financial tool as well as a relevant policy tool in the implementation of the National Roma Strategies. The recent proposals presented by the Commission for the Budget Review, as well as for regulations of the next programming period (including Structural Funds as well as enlargement Funds for the period 2014 – 2020)⁹⁸ provide important improvements in terms of making EU funds more accessible and efficient for Roma inclusion. Among others, Art. 5 refers to partnership and multi-level governance including with the economic and social partners, civil society etc., in the preparation of the Partnership Contract. Art. 7 points to the promotion of equality between men and women and non-discrimination. Arts. 14c and 87d, when referring to the partnership agreement, focus on the integrated approach to address specific needs of geographic areas or target groups affected by poverty to the greatest extent. Chapter II stresses the importance of community-led local development.

The Commission proposals for the future regulations also highlight the need for effectiveness, for a more focused approach, and for priorities related to employment, education and social inclusion; in fact one of the 11 priorities of the proposed Structural Funds regulations is the fight against poverty, the promotion of social inclusion, and equal opportunities; to some extent the fight against discrimination is considered as a cross-cutting objective for all the Structural Funds. The possible inclusion of Ex-ante conditionalities for the thematic objective of promoting social inclusion and combating poverty, could oblige the Member States to set in place a National strategy for poverty reduction, containing a mapping of the territorial concentration and focusing on marginalised and disadvantaged groups including Roma.⁹⁹

The advantages and potentialities of Structural Funds render them not only a financial tool but also a policy tool: in fact, long-term sustainable projects, extensive financial support, and the possibility of combining action levels (actions implemented concurrently at the national – policies – and local levels – grassroots) can contribute to achieving significant positive impacts. Structural Funds also open up opportunities for a holistic approach to economic development and social cohesion by covering different areas, including education, employment, investment in infrastructures and the fight against exclusion. In the framework of the Structural Funds, it is possible to develop strong partnership schemes; in fact, partnership between public and private organisations (public authorities, businesses, the media and the non-profit third sector) is possible and desirable for policy design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

- **The ERDF** (European Regional Development Fund) can be used to complement investments made with national, regional or local funding for infrastructure and housing projects aiming at improving Roma conditions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in urban areas, in segregated rural settlements, as well as disadvantaged micro-regions. The ERDF contributes to actions in the area of urban rehabilitation, for example, bringing together a range of interventions that increase the quality of life and also allow the improvement of infrastructures (for example, by improving transport connections in rural areas).

The amendment of Article 7.2 of the ERDF Regulation with the aim of rendering the ERDF more effective with regard to funding of Roma housing¹⁰⁰, foresees that housing interventions should take place within the framework of an integrated approach for marginalised communities with actions, in particular, in the fields of education, health, social affairs, employment and security as well as desegregation measures, all of which are highly relevant to the Roma community. In the draft regulations for 2014 – 2020, the Commission proposes as one of Funds' objectives to promote social inclusion, the fight against poverty and to support social enterprises.

ERDF regulations also provide opportunities for other types of interventions, such as for example the possibility of co-funding many types of infrastructures: social infrastructure (e.g. family centres, crèches); education infrastructure (e.g. kindergarten, primary-secondary schools); health infrastructure (e.g. primary care, hospitals); investments, as part of Roma inclusion integrated approaches, etc.

- **The ESF** (European Social Fund) can be used to develop projects aiming to support Roma vocational training and access to employment includ-

ing mediation with companies and the direct creation of employment, as well as to co-finance a wide set of measures ranging from training to self-employment, entrepreneurship and micro-credit activities.¹⁰¹ For instance, it can be used in the education field to co-finance training measures, facilitate links between schools and the Roma community, put in place measures to avoid early school leaving, and promote adult education.¹⁰² The ESF can contribute significantly to reducing discrimination, including gender discrimination. The draft ESF regulation for 2014 – 2020 stresses that 20% of the total funding of the ESF will be focused on promoting inclusion and the fight against poverty. The Roma are mentioned as one of the groups that should be explicitly covered by these funds.

- **The European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)** aims to support the rural areas by fulfilling three objectives: improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector; improving the environment and the countryside; improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging diversification of the rural economy. As has been described in this paper, many Roma, especially in some countries, live in rural areas and have a poor quality of life; in fact, this fund could specifically tackle disadvantaged micro-regions where many Roma rural settlements are located.

Others funds

Many other European programmes managed directly by the Commission can support Roma activities and Roma projects in areas as diverse as education, health, employment, etc. Most of them can provide added value to the policy process and facilitate research, innovation, international exchange, mutual learning awareness-raising and training as well as the design of working tools and adapted intervention materials. Some of them are:

- **The lifelong learning programme** enables people at all stages of their lives to take part in stimulating learning experiences, as well as helping to develop the education and training sector across Europe.¹⁰³ There are three sub-programmes which fund projects at different levels of education and training that are relevant to Roma inclusion:
 - **COMENIUS.** One of the thematic fields on which COMENIUS has been focusing is the improvement of educational opportunities for children of migrant workers, occupational travellers, Roma and travellers.¹⁰⁴

- **GRUNDTVIG.** Focusing on “adult education and other educational pathways”, the Grundtvig action supports many projects designed to address the educational needs of ‘hard-to-reach’ social groups including Roma and Travellers, in order to improve their employability and enhance their capacity to enter or re-enter formal education.¹⁰⁵

- **Leonardo da Vinci,** which focuses on vocational education and training and can provide support to making Roma vocational education more attractive to young people and by helping people to gain new skills, knowledge and qualifications.¹⁰⁶

- **Community Action Programme and PROGRESS.** Support a variety of actions aimed at fighting against discrimination and promoting equality undertaken by public bodies, NGOs, trade unions and employers, but also includes youth organisations, teachers, healthcare professionals, the police and media.¹⁰⁷

- **Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme.** Support to activities provided by private or public organisations and institutions (national, regional or local authorities, university departments and research centres) which focus for instance on combating racism and xenophobia and on protecting the rights of the child.¹⁰⁸

- **The Second Programme of Community action in the field of Health 2008-2013** includes among its three objectives to promote health, reduce health inequalities, and increase healthy life years.¹⁰⁹

- **The European Progress Microfinance Facility.** It is a new programme providing micro-credit to people who have lost their jobs and want to start their own small businesses.¹¹⁰

- **Europe for Citizens program 2007-2013.** The aim of this programme is to bring Europe closer to its citizens and to enable them to participate fully in the construction of the European project. Through this programme, citizens have the opportunity to be involved in transnational exchanges and cooperation activities, contributing to developing a sense of belonging to common European ideals and encouraging the process of European integration.¹¹¹

¹⁰¹ Concrete examples can be found in the publication ‘The European Social Fund and Roma’: <http://ec.europa.eu/esf>

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ More information at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc78_en.htm

¹⁰⁴ More information: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc84_en.htm

¹⁰⁵ More information at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc86_en.htm

¹⁰⁶ More information at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc82_en.htm

¹⁰⁷ More information at: <http://ec.europa.eu/antidiscrimination>

¹⁰⁸ More information at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/programme/index_en.htm

¹⁰⁹ More information at: http://ec.europa.eu/health/programme/policy/2008-2013/index_en.htm

¹¹⁰ More information at: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=836>

¹¹¹ More information at: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/index_en.php

¹¹² More information at:
http://ec.europa.eu/languages/index_en.htm

¹¹³ More information at:
http://ec.europa.eu/youth/index_en.htm

¹¹⁴ European Commission (2008b) *Intercultural Dialogue: Support through EU programmes* (Luxembourg: European Commission).

- Other relevant programmes for Roma inclusion include, Multilingualism (Education and Training Programmes),¹¹² the Youth in Action Programme,¹¹³ Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue.¹¹⁴

INSTRUMENTS AND TOOLS MOST LIKELY APPLICATION

AREAS	LEGAL INSTRUMENTS	POLICY TOOLS	FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS
ALL AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU Treaty - Charter of Fundamental Rights - Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC - Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA - UDHR - ECHR - Other international human rights treaties: CERD, CESCR. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe 2020 Strategy - OMC in SP and SI - National Reform Programmes - European Platform Against Poverty - Antidiscrimination policies - EU Roma Platform - FRA studies and reports - Roma Decade - EURoma network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ERDF - ESF - Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme - PROGRESS
EDUCATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CRC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth on the Move - The EU Agenda for the Rights of the Child - OMC in education - Recommendation on Early School Leaving - Equality in Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth in Action Programme - Multilingualism - GRUNDTVIG - COMENIUS
EMPLOYMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment Equality Directive 2000/78/EC - ILO Conventions: equality, non-discrimination in employment and occupation, employment policy, social policy, freedom of association, forced labour, child labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agenda for New Skills and jobs - Recommendation in Training Systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EAFRD - ERDF - Leonardo da Vinci - European Progress - Microfinance Facility

HEALTH	- EU Directive on Cross-Border Health Care 2011	- Commission Communication Solidarity in health	- The Second Programme in the Field of Health 2008-2013
HOUSING			- ERDF
OTHERS SPECIFIC AREAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CEDAW - Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of EU citizens to move and reside freely within the EU - Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954) - Directive 2006/54/EC on equal treatment of men and women in employment - Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European Agenda for Culture - Innovation Union - Digital Agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue - Europe for Citizens program

5. Annexes

ANNEX 1: Common basic principles for Roma inclusion

Principle no 1: Constructive, pragmatic and non-discriminatory policies

Policies aiming at the inclusion of Roma people respect and realise the core values of the European Union, which include human rights and dignity, non-discrimination and equality of opportunity as well as economic development. Roma inclusion policies are integrated with mainstream policies, particularly in the fields of education, employment, social affairs, housing, health and security. The aim of these policies is to provide the Roma with effective access to equal opportunities in Member State societies.

Principle no 2: Explicit but not exclusive targeting

Explicit but not exclusive targeting of the Roma is essential for inclusion policy initiatives. It implies focusing on Roma people as a target group but not to the exclusion of other people who share similar socio-economic circumstances. This approach does not separate Roma focused interventions from broader policy initiatives. In addition, where relevant, consideration must be given to the likely impact of broader policies and decisions on the social inclusion of Roma people.

Principle no 3: Inter-cultural approach

There is a need for an inter-cultural approach which involves Roma people together with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Essential for effective communication and policy, inter-cultural learning and skills deserve to be promoted alongside combating prejudices and stereotypes.

Principle no 4: Aiming for the mainstream

All inclusion policies aim to insert the Roma in the mainstream of society (mainstream educational institutions, mainstream jobs, and mainstream housing). Where partially or entirely segregated education or housing still exist, Roma inclusion policies must aim to overcome this legacy. The development of artificial and separate "Roma" labour markets is to be avoided.

Principle no 5: Awareness of the gender dimension

Roma inclusion policy initiatives need to take account of the needs and circumstances of Roma women. They address issues such as multiple discrimination and problems of access to health care and child support, but also domestic violence and exploitation.

Principle no 6: Transfer of evidence-based policies

It is essential that Member States learn from their own experiences of developing Roma inclusion initiatives and share their experiences with other Member States. It is recognized that the development, implementation and monitoring of Roma inclusion policies requires a good base of regularly collected socio-economic data. Where relevant, the examples and experiences of social inclusion policies concerning other vulnerable groups, both from inside and from outside the EU, are also taken into account.

principle no 7: Use of Community instruments

In the development and implementation of their policies aiming at Roma inclusion, it is crucial that the Member States make full use of Community instruments, including legal instruments (Race Equality Directive, Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia), financial instruments (European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund, European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development, Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) and coordination instruments (Open Methods of Coordination). Member States must ensure that use of financial instruments accords with these Common Basic Principles, and make use of the expertise within the European Commission, in respect of the evaluation of policies and projects. Peer review and the transfer of good practices are also facilitated on the expert level by EURoma (European Network on Social Inclusion and Roma under the Structural Funds).

Principle no 8: Involvement of regional and local authorities

Member States need to design, develop, implement and evaluate Roma inclusion policy initiatives in close cooperation with regional and local authorities. These authorities play a key role in the practical implementation of policies.

Principle no 9: Involvement of civil society

Member States also need to design, develop, implement and evaluate Roma inclusion policy initiatives in close cooperation with civil society actors such as non-governmental organisations, social partners and academics/researchers. The involvement of civil society is recognised as vital both for the mobilisation of expertise and the dissemination of knowledge required to develop public debate and accountability throughout the policy process.

Principle no 10: Active participation of the Roma

The effectiveness of policies is enhanced with the involvement of Roma people at every stage of the process. Roma involvement must take place at both national and European levels through the input of expertise from Roma experts and civil servants, as well as by consultation with a range of Roma stakeholders in the design, implementation and evaluation of policy initiatives. It is of vital importance that inclusion policies are based on openness and transparency and tackle difficult or taboo subjects in an appropriate and effective manner. Support for the full participation of Roma people in public life, stimulation of their active citizenship and development of their human resources are also essential.

¹¹⁵ These factors have been identified as the most frequent while reviewing secondary sources.

ANNEX 2: Factors that may bolster the success of programmes and projects ¹¹⁵

1. In the projects planning and management

- **Long term approach** and adequate planning.
- **Specific and flexible instruments and working methods**, with capacity for innovation, in order to achieve permanent adaptation to all local communities and circumstances.
 - The heterogeneity of Roma populations suggests that no single strategy for all should be elaborated, but a set of strategic approaches providing specific solutions to problems in their geographical, economic, social and legal context.
- **Rights-based approach.**
- **Integral approach** (projects covering all areas and dimensions), whenever financial resources make it possible. Integral plan must incorporate sectorial policies (thematic policy focus) and realise multidimensional actions.
- **Integrated approach** (adequate coordination and synergies between different working areas and actors) and the need to find synergies between each policy area. Specific and adapted education, employment, health and housing programs in good coordination with the social services and other services, based on individual itineraries.
- Achieve clear **accountability** and be **result-oriented**.
- **Access to employment and housing are the central drivers** in urban areas (including for Roma migrants): employment combined with social housing can act as a springboard complemented with training activities and individual educational itineraries (including systematic support to Roma children to prevent early childhood leaving).
 - Integral approaches are required in rural environments, and must centre on housing, infrastructure and public services, with Roma participation in construction and rehabilitation of their homes and direct environment, and the adaptation of services to Roma needs.
 - Adaptation of services to needs and establishment of adequate spaces for temporary settlements is of primordial importance in the case of travellers and (semi-) mobile Roma.
- **Partnership approach: active Roma involvement** and active Roma engagement in all parts of the process. Must involve **capacity-building actions** for involved actors, adapting criteria and approaches to local circumstances.
 - Involvement of the local community in the decision-making process.
 - Empowerment of existing local organisations, and building on their experience.
 - Remove barriers in terms of administration procedures, reporting systems, formal requirements, co-funding, etc. if less skilled, vulnerable, marginalised groups are to be actively involved.
- **Particular situation of Roma women**, in particular multiple forms of discrimination and gender inequalities, must be taken into account in all phases of the project: design, implementation, monitoring, evaluation.
- Improve the **knowhow and specialisation and raise public awareness:**
 - Effective dissemination of results, involving critical reflection on factors of success and shortcomings, to standardise proactive policies targeting Roma and to raising awareness of public opinion about prejudice and discrimination.

- **Scaling up strategies** (See next section).
- **Tackle the root causes of problems** (structural determinants, including macro-economic trends) and whenever possible **addresses ‘hard’ political issues** (institutional discrimination, political representation and issues linked to Roma leadership, labour relations, gender inequalities) and **deal with negative political reactions** whenever they arise.
- Involve **mainstreaming Roma issues into the general policies**, given that most of the problems have to be resolved through structural policies and that the central criterion has to be normalisation.
- Targeted programmes, therefore, **cannot become permanent policy solutions**, but rather must be defined by a clear objective of incorporation in mainstream public services and resources.
- **Programmes must achieve “explicit but not exclusive targeting”** within the broader objective of mainstreaming Roma participation in society.
 - General programmes should be adapted and open to Roma in order to achieve mainstreaming. Equally, programmes targeting Roma should include other potential beneficiaries, particularly the vulnerable and marginalised.
 - Desegregation must be a key criterion of all programmes in urban areas, and whenever possible, if resources are sufficient, in isolated rural settlements.
 - Actions must secure the involvement of Roma as agents of change and the majority society in order to raise awareness.
- **Improvements in the effectiveness of measures, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.**

The need for evidence-based policies leads invariably to reflect on three issues affecting the effectiveness of actions and the acquisition of know how: ethnic data collection, the monitoring of actions and the evaluation of results based on measurable indicators including information and accountability.

 - **Ethnic data collection.** Subject to methodological and ethical controversies; yet without ethnically disaggregated information, policies lack credibility as there is no possibility of demonstrating and tracing progress. Processing ethnically disaggregated data is not unlawful within the EU, and those policies aiming at social inclusion require a solid evidentiary basis.
 - **Regular data gathering and analysis**, in order to deepen our understanding of the specific needs of the Roma population regarding all four areas of intervention, and to identify any changes of those variables conditioning the social situation of the Roma.
 - **Monitoring and evaluation:** to facilitate the design and implementation of evidence-based policies and facilitate the development of adapted interventions supported by mainstream programmes.
 - **Information and accountability:** to verify whether activities undertaken are actually implemented in accordance with the original plan and what their actual results and outcomes are, in order to allow for a redefinition of approaches and priorities and the reallocation of resources whenever necessary. For each programme and project, minimal indicators, such as the number of beneficiaries disaggregated by gender, key outputs such as the number of enterprises and employment contracts created, the number of Roma trained, among others, should be included in the planning process and measured in annual reports.
- **Consolidate the function of Structural Funds as policy instruments as well as financial resources for Roma inclusion** in order to implement actions at the local level that achieve long-term, sustainable results and that feedback to local initiatives in other Member States. To this end, progress must be made in several directions:
 - Given that real transformations can only be achieved in the medium-term, stakeholders must plan programmes over the full seven-year period.
 - There is a need to combine national and local approaches by acting through programmes that concurrently operate with a national strategy and provide local responses to concrete needs. Actions coordinated at the EU level and implemented concurrently at the national (policies) and local levels (grassroots) have a proven impact: launching a nation-wide programme helps to cover the entire country, but also

¹¹⁶ Subsidiarity refers to the principle that central authority should have a subsidiary function, which signifies that social, economic and political issues ought to be handled by the smallest, lowest or least centralised competent authority. It is a fundamental principle of EU Law, enshrined in the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht. According to this principle, the EU may only enact legislation in cases where legal responses by individual Member States cannot effectively address an issue. The transnationality of the issues affecting the Roma community entails that the EU has a role and can provide added value in providing support, institutional setting to plan, monitor and evaluate policy instruments improving Roma health.

allows the articulation and strengthening of Roma policies, the creation of synergies, economies of scale and therefore achieves a feedback between top-down and bottom-up approaches. EU-sponsored coordination accelerates such feedback and helps to correct deleterious practices.

- A tight coordination between the departments or agencies managing the Funds (i.e. Managing Authorities) and the authorities responsible for planning policies for Roma is indispensable.

2. In the governance processes

- Debate between ethnic approach and social exclusion approach has demonstrated in the long term to be a false debate, promoted by a bias, in some cases, of Roma organisations and local administrations.
 - A Roma person is first a person (human rights), then a citizen (social rights) and then a Roma (cultural rights), and not the other way round.
- **Combination of top-down strategy and bottom-up approaches**, and systematic feedback between them. The national and EU levels have a crucial role to play in the design of local policies.
 - Adaptation to local particularities and systematic vertical coordination mechanisms between various levels of governance (EU-national-regional-local levels).
 - Effective horizontal (inter-departmental, inter-ministerial, and with representatives of civil society) coordination mechanisms.
- **EU framework** that tackles national and micro-regional problems in a holistic and coordinated manner to ensure that all efforts actually make substantial progress by aligning resources, avoiding duplications and contradictions, and achieving results in the benefit of Roma people.
 - **Transnational dimension and subsidiarity:** The inequities experienced by the Roma population must be considered as a transnational problem, because it is common to all EU Member States to a greater or lesser extent. Transnational processes, including Roma migration, transcend and interlink domestic contexts and therefore cannot be resolved exclusively by national or local administrations. The variegated situations of the Roma require a European involvement.
 - **EU coordination of national policies** aimed at the reduction of inequalities and disadvantages of Roma. Considering the EU's capacity to address transnational issues and to coordinate the activities of multilateral, national and local institutions, its initiatives should uphold and complement the authority of national states in the field of social services in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity¹¹⁶
 - Need for strategic planning based on diagnosis of situation involving cooperation and information exchange with public administration, Roma leaders and organisations, and private market actors, including information media.
- The **territorial approach** has been demonstrated to be very effective. However, it is not only about identifying a micro-region with similar characteristics but also about the adaptation of activities, with a bottom-up approach, to the different circumstances and needs of each one of the settlements.
- **Partnership approach**, with an understanding that it is important to involve key public and private actors in the process, on the basis of a common understanding of the issues that ought to be tackled to obtain effective results.
- **Coordination of universal services and targeted measures:** explicit but not exclusive actions – targeted but not segregated approach.
 - Specific measures aimed at the most excluded segments of the Roma community, compensating for disadvantages and facilitating normalisation.
 - Specific measures must be well connected to public services.
 - Excessively targeted and uncoordinated approaches have proven to be inadequate.

- **Transversal promotion of equal treatment** and prevention of any form of discrimination.
- **Civil society organisations** play an indispensable role in the design, implementation and evaluation of Roma policies. Well-organised civil society and Roma movement can:
 - better advocate Roma needs,
 - provide updated and innovative answers,
 - empower the Roma community,
 - be crucial partners in public policy-making,
 - be a permanent identifier of Roma needs,
 - engage the civil society, including economic resources.
- **Scaling up and transferability of projects.** Projects must be of sufficient scale to:
 - Be planned adequately.
 - Follow a rights-based approach.
 - Address root causes of problems.
 - Involve the Roma community in design and management.
 - Follow a bottom-up approach within a holistic macro-strategic framework.
 - Develop partnerships and build institutional linkages.
 - Achieve integral actions, operating in a multi-dimensional way.
 - Set out a policy focus with a number of distinct themes.
 - Set in place robust monitoring, evaluation and dissemination strategies.
 - Face up to harder issues of discrimination and political change.
 - Be able to manage the administrative requirements imposed.
 - Small-scale or micro-projects are likely to achieve only limited, discrete results and impacts and should be implemented with a strong transferability component.

3. In the four priority areas

In all cases:

- Implementation of the principle of explicit but not exclusive targeting.
- Whenever possible, holistic and integral approach, and inter-sectorial intervention in education, training, labour market inclusion, housing and health.
- Targeted action does not necessarily mean having an ethnic approach, but rather an open approach that takes into account specific ethnic and cultural circumstances.
- Territorial approach defines actions at the community level.
- Situations are tackled according to the characteristics of the problems, not the types of people or groups affected by the problems.
- An inclusive, intercultural approach that rejects the coercion implicit in assimilationist and exclusionary policy approaches towards Roma, while remaining compatible with rights-based approaches.
- Roma involvement must take place in the phases of planning, implementation and evaluation, at both macro- and micro-levels of intervention.
 - There is a need for diversified civil society interlocutors, in order to reflect the heterogeneity of the Roma population and diverse realities experienced by Roma men and women:
 - Associations that may represent one sector of the Roma population (but not others), and with which alliances can be built to work on determined areas of intervention (but not others).

- Roma mediators, who are in a position to provide valuable knowledge on the reality lived by Roma communities.
- Members of the Roma population who are not affiliated to any association or church, but who, thanks to their experience, training and sensitivity, may provide valuable contributions to the elaboration and evaluation of policies.
- Users of the services, who through their relationship with staff or mediators may collaborate in all phases of planning and implementation.

Education

- Long-term, effective support for Roma children across a range of their developmental needs is a key element to breaking the cycle of poverty, aiming at breaking down barriers to education and health.
- Desegregation, integrating Roma students into mainstream educational systems by establishing early childhood educational programmes and providing food, clothing, and transportation subsidies to make it easier for poor students to attend school.
- Involve free (or at least subsidised) early childhood, primary and secondary education on a universal basis.
- Engagement of Roma families to raise awareness of parents (or tutors) and increase their knowledge about the benefits of education and early care. Awareness-raising should focus on the transition phases between pre-school education (including informal settings), primary school and secondary school, and on absenteeism at school.
- Systematic coordination between all stakeholders, including public administration (Ministry of Education, Social Policy, Health), Roma leaders, Roma NGOs, school management, teachers.
- Effective coordination between health and educational services, and between employment and educational services.

Employment

Plural set of training and employment measures for the population as a whole, which benefit the Roma population:

- Transition from compulsory school to job market. Gaps ought to be bridged through vocational schools, training workshops, employment workshops for Roma youths, taking into account the gender dimension of work and aiming at the active participation of both men and women in the formal labour market.
- Training courses, labour insertion measures for recipients of minimum income.
- Subsidies for job contracts to disadvantaged groups in private and public sectors.
- Formulas of social economy such as insertion companies.
- Access to employment can be a good springboard for improvements in housing, health, education, especially in urban contexts.
- Employment of Roma for construction work in rural settlements and training in modern agricultural techniques.

Health

- Tackling the structural determinants of health: inter-sectoral intervention and multidisciplinary approach:
 - Human health in particular should be a cross-cutting issue throughout the decision-making in different sectors and at different levels.

- Shared responsibility between all agents involved in the interventions.
 - Inter-sectorial information sharing and coordination.
 - Development of socio-sanitary networks, using multiple channels of welfare provision available in specific geographical areas: health centres, Roma associations, various churches, as well as other associative and administrative resources.
- Normalisation and strengthening of health programmes aimed at the Roma population ('explicit but not exclusive targeting')
 - Equal and universal access to quality healthcare. Roma persons' equal access to health services must be facilitated by compensating for existing social inequalities through programmes targeting the specific needs of Roma (adapted and non-discriminatory attention) and always tend towards the eventual incorporation of the Roma population into normalised resources.
 - In order for normalisation to be effective, social agents involved in the provision of healthcare should implement concurrently the universalisation of healthcare, inter-sectorial intervention, training in diversity for professionals, inter-cultural mediation, and education among equals.
 - Involvement and participation of the Roma population in all processes of intervention:
 - EU, national and local administrations as well as the NGO sector must steer clear of lapsing into a paternalistic approach of health intervention.
 - Therefore, the involvement and whenever possible, the leadership of the Roma as mediators and agents of their own development in all processes of intervention affecting them is recommended to secure changes of attitudes and habits that are unhealthy.
 - Inclusion of a gender perspective:
 - The health of Roma men and women is defined by diverging lifestyles (nutrition, consumption of tobacco, alcohol and other drugs, etc.), which in turn are conditioned by the social norms that govern the different roles and positions of men and women in the Roma population.
 - Prioritising preventive healthcare by targeting Roma women, children and youth:
 - Any reference to the Roma is a reference to an extremely young population, with more than half of the population under 25 years old.
 - Preventive healthcare, which involves changes in habits and behaviours, may generate profound transformative processes by targeting children. Roma children and adolescents should be prioritised for information and education campaigns, in part because they are more permeable to any type of intervention.
 - Taking into account the characteristics of Roma teenagers and youth – defined by relatively early adulthood –, interventions must be targeted at Roma boys and girls, in order to integrate concepts of preventive medicine and, in the case of drug abuse, before the first situations of consumption may occur.
 - Long term planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Housing

- Housing has proven to be essential as a springboard and a 'point of no return' for the social incorporation of the Roma population in urban areas.
- Whenever possible housing programmes must form part of an integral approach simultaneously tackling closely interrelated problems of segregated housing and education, unemployment, unequal access to services including health and also environmental issues, and drawing wherever possible on the opportunities offered by the amendment of Article 7.2 of the ERDF regulations.
- Reducing segregation in housing, including tackling head on the isolation/segregation of settlements in both rural areas and zones of urban influence;

- Elimination of shanty-towns, de-concentration and relocation of Roma families in normalised housing spread around urban areas.
- Selection by municipalities of families for rehousing, which includes an individualised needs assessment to facilitate access to employment, education and health services.
- Municipalities need to take the lead but actions at the local level must be closely monitored and coordinated by central Ministries, and achieve continuity of actions independently of local government changes.
- Systematic outreach efforts by social service providers, including health and social workers, and project managers, identification of needs and engagement of Roma leaders, families and individuals. Participation of Roma beneficiaries in the planning process, if possible in the rebuilding efforts.
- Awareness-raising, educational work and meetings with family heads (men and women) on the adequate use and maintenance of houses and neighbours to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts and promote constructive coexistence.
- Involving Roma as liaisons between communities and public services.
- Providing job training and programs related to construction work (participation of Roma in the building or renovation of their own houses and in infrastructural developments in their areas – water supply, sewage, access roads, public buildings – to improve the habitat), in both rural and urban areas, which may increase the qualifications and opportunities for Roma participation in formal labour markets.

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- EU policy framework: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=753&langId=en>
- EURoma network: <http://www.euromanet.eu/about/index.html>
- Europe 2020 website: http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/index_en.htm
- European Agenda for Culture: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc399_en.htm
- European Roma Information Office (ERIO): <http://erionet.org/site/>
- European Roma Policy Coalition (ERPC): <http://webhost.ppt.eu/romapolicy/>
- European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC): <http://www.errc.org/>
- European Social Fund and the Roma: <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/main.jsp?catId=63&langId=en>
- EU Urban II Cities and Programmes: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/urban2/towns_prog_en.htm
- Europe for Citizens: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/index_en.php
- Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG): <http://www.gitanos.org/>
- FSG *Acceder* Programme: <http://www.gitanos.org/acceder/>.
- FSG *Promociona* Programme: http://www.gitanos.org/upload/32/21/Folleto_PROMOCIONA_FSG.pdf
- Grundtvig: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc86_en.htm
- Multilingualism programme: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/index_en.htm
- Mutual Learning Programme. Peer Reviews in Social Inclusion and Employment, Spain (2006), Greece (2009), Czech Republic (2010), Hungary (2010). National Documents available respectively at:
- Peer review Spain: Housing. <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2006/social-integration-of-roma-people-municipal-programme-of-shanty-towns-eradication-in-aviles>
 - Peer review Greece: Integrated Action. <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2009/integrated-programme-for-the-social-inclusion-of-roma>
 - Peer review Czech Republic: Employment. <http://www.mutual-learning-employment.net/peer-reviews/>
 - Peer review Hungary: Education. <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/newsletter-articles/child-poverty-and-roma-exclusion>
- PROGRESS: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=327>
- Progress microfinance: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=836>
- Roma Decade 2005–2015: <http://www.romadecade.org/about>.
- Roma Education Fund: <http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/>

Urba-Rom transnational research network: <http://urbarom.crevilles.org/>

Youth in Action programme: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/index_en.htm

Selected United Nation Conventions and recommendations:

- Human Rights Education Associates (HREA):
http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=103&language_id=1&category_id=39&category_type=3&group=6
- UNHCR: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966) <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm>
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966)
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (1965)
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979)
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>
- Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954) <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/stateless.htm>
- Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961)
http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/6_1_1961.pdf
- International Labour Organisation Constitution (1919) <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/constq.htm>
- Declaration of Philadelphia (1944) <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/iloconst.htm>
- Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998)
<http://www.ilo.org/declaration/thedeclaration/textdeclaration/lang--en/index.htm>
- Declaration on Social Justice and Fair Globalisation (2008)
http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@cabinet/documents/publication/wcms_099766.pdf

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This document intends to support the work of policymakers in implementing National Roma Integration Strategies and in planning and developing policy plans and projects whilst also providing support to public and private organisations working with Roma by:

- Describing the most frequent types of situations of exclusion experienced by Roma living in the European Union (EU) according to their respective geographical, economic and social contexts;
- Explaining how common basic principles and priority actions have to be adapted to these different contexts and circumstances;
- Proposing policy options, including strategies, approaches and priorities that can be followed on the basis of these situations of exclusion;
- Connecting these policy options with the current EU framework, including legal, policy and financial instruments.

