



Romani mobilities in Europe: Multidisciplinary perspectives

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Prof Thomas Acton

Theorising mobility: migration, nomadism, and the social reconstruction of ethnicity

Almost the first lecture in West European and North American Romani Studies classes establishes the theoretical distinction between commercial, pastoral and hunter-gatherer nomadisms, and between all three of them and migration. Whether and how they can be anchored into any theoretical framework of economic development is more controversial: nationalist visions tend to regard nomadism as a reactionary obstacle to the establishment of a secure, territorially based modern state. The discourses of East European Romani Studies are therefore rather torn between their desire to present nomadism as a retrogressive pathology caused by persecution, and their desire to assert a non-territorial ethno-political identity which transcends the nation-state.

This paper will suggest that the analytical distinction between the various sources of identity and social capital are not as hard and fast as they seem. It will suggest that since all perceived ethnic boundaries are the consequences of mobility, it is not surprising that nomadic traditions can assist success in migration, and indeed that commonality of ethnicity may aid persons of sedentary culture to acquire elements of social capital that assist successful migration. The patterns of cultural change and the acquisition of new cultural capital are very complex, as may be seen in the differences between the adaptations of 19th, 20th and 21st century Romani migrants from Eastern Europe, the distinction encapsulated in the American Vlach Romani distinction between 'amare Roma' and 'themeske Roma'. A more complex theoretical framework may help to deconstruct the ideologies which lead Western states to obstruct the free movement of people, and perhaps ultimately to dismantle the controls themselves.

Dr Gerhard Baumgartner

From persecution to recognition: history of the Austrian Roma movement since 1945

The paper will discuss the development of the first Austrian Roma movement in the late 1980s – initiated and furthered by the Association of Austrian Minorities, an NGO of recognised ethnic groups – which led to a surprisingly quick recognition in 1993. The price for this success was that the Austrian Roma communities virtually excluded all Roma migrants from the Balkans as possible members of the recognised minority, since the Austrian Minority Bill (Volksgruppengesetz) of 1976 stipulated that only a group of Austrian citizens, with a non-German language, a distinct cultural tradition as well as a history of settlement of at least three generations (Beheimatung) was eligible for recognition under the bill.

The Roma movement was thus virtually split along the cleavage of resident Austrians versus migrant families of the 1960s, a breach which has been somewhat overcome, though not completely resolved till today.

The article will concentrate on depicting the development of the two movements and their achievements as well as the reaction of the Austrian public. In explaining this it will be necessary to reach further back in history to illustrate the origins of current conflicts and problems, especially to the persecution and genocide under Nazi rule between 1938 and 1945.

Barbara Giovanna Bello

Roma young people in motion between the anti-discrimination policy and citizenship barriers in Italy and in Germany: to be or not to be EQUAL?

In the last 20 years a high number of Roma young adults (now aged between 18 and 30 years) moved with their families from the areas of ex-Yugoslavia to Germany and Italy. In spite of the shared migration trajectories, they are facing a range of different situations in both countries: while some of them managed to obtain EU citizenship, others are granted humanitarian protection on a temporary basis or have no confirmed legal status.

In the last few years the main attention in Germany has been driven by human rights activists and Roma self-organised young people on the decision of the German government to deport refugees, mostly Roma, back to Kosovo, after a long period of asylum in Germany: many young people who have grown up in Germany, speak perfect German, are attending German universities and schools, have largely lost their ties with Kosovo, do not know Albanian language and would have no work prospect once back. In Italy the situation has become even worse for many Roma young adults after the passing of the Law n. 94 of 15 July 2009 which criminalises irregular migration, making the situation of Roma groups without a confirmed legal status very critical.

In both countries Roma young people joined their energies in order to advocate their own rights, in some cases through the Council of Europe and the European Commission's programmes in the youth sector, which have been focusing on youth active participation in civil society and on the promotion of equal opportunities, in particular through trying to involve vulnerable young people, including Roma migrants and refugees. In this scenario, the situation of Romani young women is particularly vulnerable and there is a need to strengthen their participation and visibility both in the Roma minority and in their social/economic/cultural life in the society at large.

Bearing that in mind, the aim of my contribution is to describe, in a comparative perspective, the frictions between on one side the CoE and EU's attempts to foster anti-discrimination measures with regard to young Roma (and, within this group, to Roma young women in particular), on the other side citizenship and security regulation in Italy and in Germany which are nullifying the Roma young people's chances for equal opportunities. In order to do that I will describe the legal framework and explain its practical implication through the presentation of two study-cases (one in Germany and one in Italy) concerning Roma young people I interviewed during year 2009 and their self-organised empowerment activities.

Stefan Benedik

On the streets and in the bed: gendered and sexualised subtexts in popular discourses on Central European Romani migrations

The aim of this paper will be to discuss common features of discourses and images on Roma and Romnija migrating within Central Europe from a feminist perspective. The case study will be based on an analysis of recent movies, documentaries, novels and newspaper articles especially from Austria.

In the rather uncertain situation of the new emerging migrations, these forms of media in particular have provided the Austrian public with knowledge about Romani communities. Those stories are fostering Romani identity as a blend of 'classical' perceptions (poor East, savages, dependence) with (new) especially 'ethnic' images. It is a common feature of most of these approaches that they rely on gendered and/or sexualised general subtexts which do not fit into any teleological conceptualisation.

Thus, Romani migrants may be depicted as fleeing unjust patriarchy or chaotic matriarchy, Romnija may be seen as exploited and exploitable/seducing at the same time.

To find possible explanations for these confusing linkages between contradictions and paradoxes, the paper will pick out three different types of images and hence emphasise differences within discourses on Romani migrants.

In outlining the varying visions, imaginations and narrative elements involved, it becomes clear that contexts are of utter importance for each different discursive structure. For instance it seems to be obvious that Romnija are mostly shown as individuals who are driven by irrational motivations (desire, emotion, dependence) in stories of love/sex, whereas in the context of mendicancy Romnija are shown as very determined and calculating. The paper emphasises the fact that settings of the production of such images are not divided as one might expect – such as anti-gypsy vs. NGO, right-wing vs. left-wing. Quite the contrary, the diverse types of perceptions of Romani migrants are absolutely cross-cutting in adopting certain elements to different circumstances.

Dr Marie Bidet

Will French Gypsies always stay nomadic and out of law-making process?

In France public policies towards Gypsies could be characterised by two aspects. On the one hand policies are based on nomadism, as a category of public action. On the other hand, Gypsies are completely absent from the law-making process related to them. Since the XVth century, the nomad has been considered as a vagrant. The state wanted to protect its frontiers and its population from people who travel around, who have thus a specific way of life and who are moreover (suspected to be) gypsy. The targeted groups are consequently defined in reference to this characteristic. For the authorities Gypsies are necessarily nomadic. The political administration and policies in France hinge upon mobility. For example they specific identity papers or a specific law is dedicated to their way of parking.

The Besson law for example, voted in in 2000, imposes welcoming areas for Gypsies in all towns over 5000 inhabitants. The legal requirements of this law also specify that the towns have to organise the 'grands passages'¹. During the law-making process, French Gypsies were not directly involved but were only represented by 'intermediate' associations which acted as go-betweens with the public authorities. Even if the 'grands passages' are not the most important part of the Besson law, they constitute nevertheless a window of opportunity for the Gypsies' self-recognition and especially for the Pentecostal Gypsies. Described as experts of this issue, the Pentecostal Gypsies became co-organiser of the 'grands passages' and fit with the authorities' dream of a single representative for all Gypsies. To get one of their own recognised as spokesperson by the authorities, French Gypsies have to face many issues of social and institutional non-recognition. To be able to negotiate with the authorities, they have to give proof that they are organised and representative. Contrary to the main Roma claims throughout Europe, French Gypsies don't ask for specific minority rights but would prefer to be treated as normal French citizens and to merge with the population. To give a positive image of themselves, they usually impose a clear distinction between themselves and the new Roma coming from East European countries. Because of their poverty, these are accused of tarnishing the reputation of French Gypsies. Relationships between state and Gypsies have two effects. In the case of the 'grands passages', the partnership reinforces the one-way idea of nomadic Gypsies: they only need places to stop. The French Gypsies' general fight for recognition (as French) may also explain why

French Gypsies – and even the Pentecostal – do not fit with the International Roma Organisation and its quest for a common Roma nation.

Dr Laura Cashman (with Dr Eamonn Butler)

Romani mobilities in the context of the new EU: what could or should the EU be doing?

The fall of communist regimes in 1989 and rise in attacks on Roma during the economic liberalisation and restructuring process prompted many Roma to seek asylum in western European states. Opportunities for movement of Roma across Europe were further enhanced with the 2004/2007 enlargements of the EU which provided free movement for Roma, as EU citizens. However, a number of high-profile cases (Italy 2008 and Northern Ireland 2009) provide evidence of increased tensions within host communities and heightened levels of general intolerance towards migrant populations.

Some activists and scholars have argued that, given the geographical spread of anti-Romani sentiment and discrimination, compounded by increased Romani mobility following EU enlargement, the EU should be the natural choice to lead policy developments to tackle such prejudices. Others argue against this, claiming that individual states should retain responsibility for dealing with such problems. This debate is important and not just for the identification of solutions to the problems of discrimination faced by Roma.

It is argued in this paper that this debate reflects a much larger political discussion about EU responsibility and identity. The failure of the Lisbon Treaty to capture the hearts and minds of the European public emphasises the stagnant nature of the EU vis-à-vis its market-oriented versus social dimensions and highlights a crisis of identity for the EU. The Romani migration issue is one case which has the potential to force scholars to think afresh and confirm the social functions/responsibilities of the EU. This is important because until the EU clarifies its position as a social actor it will never be in a position to (1) move forward as a political entity or (2) play an active role in the development of Roma rights, thus prolonging the debate Roma activists are currently engaged in and preventing active solutions to the problems faced by Europe's Roma population.

Dr Isabella Clough Marinaro

Life on the run: biopolitics and the Roma in Italy

This presentation argues that the recent treatment of the Roma population in Italy can be best understood within the context of international debates on the rising use of biopolitics to govern refugees, illegal immigrants and other undesired groups. The study examines the evolution of Italy's policy of containing Roma in camps since the 1980s and of subjecting them to increasing surveillance, culminating in the drive to collect the fingerprints of the entire ethnically-defined group in 2008 and carry out mass deportations of foreign Roma. It demonstrates that although Italy's centre-right government has intensified official anti-Roma discrimination, these recent events are a coherent progression in a strategy of biopolitical control of Roma which has been evolving in Italy - and especially in the capital - for nearly thirty years. Drawing on Giorgio Agamben's discussions of homo sacer and the state of exception, it is argued here that a campaign is underway in Italy to force Roma to reside in relatively safe but isolated state-run camps in which their private lives are under the constant scrutiny and control of the authorities, or to become internal exiles, bare life in a condition of constant flight from the police and vigilante attacks.

Dr Samuel Delépine

Different forms of Roma mobility, difficulties of classification: the French example

This communication aims to explain how the French 'Gens du Voyage' and the migrating Roma people, coming from Eastern and Oriental Europe, have to deal with important restrictions of their mobility practices on French territory. Despite the fact that they find often themselves in nearby areas, on the outskirts of cities, the constraints which each of them have to face are influenced by their different juridical status and therefore are not, in theory, comparable. Nevertheless, we notice important similarities in the way authorities treat these populations. We plan to analyse here the restricted mobility in French territory for both the Roma and the Gens du Voyage. We will have a look into the similarity of the two situations: the one have been French for centuries, the others are citizens of the European Union (we will pay particular attention here to the Romanian Roma) and still it is their common Roma origin which is brought forward to account for the limitations of their mobility, their access to different rights.

Our demonstration will be based on the analysis of the mobility of the 'Gens du Voyage' around the city of Angers and the migrating Roma people settled around the city of Nantes, both locations being situated in western France.

We will also illustrate the limitations of this comparison while insisting on the very difficult situation of the migrating Roma in France.

Our objective is to show that the classification of different groups and individuals under a unique ethnic entity can harm the identity of these persons if used as a simplistic argument which ignores their historical background, their evolution, status and the individuals themselves

Dr Elisabetta Di Giovanni

Like suspended particles: the long way to social inclusion of a Roma community in Sicily

This ethnographic research, conducted for four years, focuses on the case of a nomad camp in Palermo, where three Roma groups have lived for 25 years in ghetto conditions. This nomad camp constitutes a world apart from the city, better an encompassed microcosm, even if it is located within the city. This means that there are no interrelations between the camp and the rest of the external space. Specifically, the three different groups (Xoraxané, Cergara and Serbians) represent for the outside a generic nebulous whole, confined in a green area, surrounded by a high wall. Not seeing them signifies not caring about them, about their living conditions, about their culture and about their identity. The only interaction between Roma and gage (non-Roma) happens at traffic lights where Roma go to beg (manghel). In the indigenous imagery, there is a lot of prejudice in term of exclusivity: first of all the idea that their occidental space is invaded by this unpleasant microcosm that must stay in its boundaries. Focusing on Roma negotiation of identity, the research showed that, except for Romani married women, the youth of the camp usually prefer to hide their ethnicity from local friends. In particular, this demographic group allows us to analyse the continuous fluctuation of young Roma as suspended particles in their attempt at social inclusion, based on masking their original culture, and assimilation to the consumerist values of Italian society.

Dr Jean Baptiste Duez

Romani mobilities in Europe: the French example of the individuals and NGOs ideologies, facing government actions.

The paper describes the trajectories of several families evicted from an encampment to another in northern Paris, that we have followed since the end of 2007. It allows us to depict how the debate on migration of Roma/Gypsies is being built on the local political scene, under the constraints of tough national guidelines, and the emergence of a discourse on Roma throughout Europe.

All this raises a question which is essentially the relationship to legality in the debate on ethnocracies and indigenous peoples. The transgression of the law through small offences or "criminal begging", which appears inevitable although one or the other of these forms of subsistence constitutes only the prerogative of a part of this population, has as a corollary the maintenance of a consensus around these people. Their position of dominated people is lived like a fate; therefore the concept of identity occupies unfortunately a central place in their way of life, allowing the maintenance of ethnocracies lived like immutable by the Roma people, as well as those around them.

In such a context, the ideology of the individuals involved with the Roma, and that of NGOs has to be identified. In addition to the role played by associations, how do they actually help to modify the power relationships built on the fieldwork? This interrogation also offers the opportunity to question these populations future perspectives.

Dr Yelis Erolova

Labour migrations of the Bulgarian Roma in Poland

From 1989 the political changes and transition to a market economy in Bulgaria were accompanied by a prolonged economic crisis, which led to mass labour migrations of Bulgarians mainly to the countries of Western Europe. The Roma as part of Bulgarian society were also affected. This report presents the labour migrations of Roma from Bulgaria to Poland over the past two decades – the migrations' social and cultural consequences, their impact on identity and community development. The report analyses the case of so-called Turkish Roma Muslims from Balchik who migrated to Poland, and changes in their common group ethnocultural development, characteristics and values. After 1989, trade in clothing became their main labour activity in Bulgaria, but practising this occupation appeared to be more profitable in Poland, and this defined their migrations. Poland is not an unknown country for the Roma from Balchik, because in the so-called socialist period they established contacts with Polish citizens, for whom Balchik was a preferred tourist destination. In terms of labour emigration in Poland, some Roma from Balchik have married Polish women, which is untypical for the endogamy marriage model of the group. The Polish wives in Balchik are the pride of local Roma in the settlement. Through mixed marriages, the identity of the Roma from Balchik has acquired new dimensions and forms, which can be observed in children from these marriages. As a result of free movement and labour mobility in the European Union nowadays, the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the Roma in Bulgaria are changing and creating new aspects in the process of constructing their identity.

Doris Farget

The Roma people, mobility and Europe: a challenge in terms of human rights

Through our presentation, we would like to present a part of our PhD research, dealing with the cases delivered by the European Court of Human Rights, since 2001, regarding 'the positive obligation imposed on the Contracting States by virtue of Article 8 to facilitate the Gypsy way of life' (E.C.H.R., 18.01.2001, *Chapman v. United-Kingdom*, § 96).

This case law raises challenges in terms of space for living recognised for a minority, and accommodation with the way of life, conceptions and values of the European national majorities.

First, our purpose is to expose the state of the law concerning the right to respect of the Romani way of life, and its relationship with Romani mobility. Secondly, we would like to discuss the significance of that right in the European context. Does it mean a right to the Roma's own forms of establishment and occupation of the territory? Does it mean a right to the Roma's own conception of the concept of residence? Does it represent a right to mobility across borders and to a nomadic life? Finally, how does that right understand the Romani way of life? In other words, is it perceived as uniform and homogeneous or does it allow diversity?

Our presentation will therefore critically discuss the established European human rights protection in relation to the Romani way of life and culture.

Lucie Fremlova

Mapping survey of the movement of Roma from new EU Member States to England

The study dwells on some of the most significant challenges in education and other service provision to A2 and A8 Roma children and families in England. Qualitative and quantitative data on Roma was collected over a period of 16 months in a nationwide survey of local authorities in England, commissioned and funded by the Department for Children, Schools and Families.

Often coming from most adverse backgrounds characterised by high levels of discrimination, the vast majority of A2 and A8 Roma interviewees reported arriving in England in search of equal opportunities, a society free of anti-Roma attitudes, and a better economic, social and political future for their children.

Roma have been moving to this country because of their experience of relatively low levels of discrimination. Some Roma respondents said that in England they felt proud of their Roma ethnicity for the first time in their lives. They maintained that such a celebration of one's ethnic origin, encountered not just at home, but also at school, in the workplace or among non-Roma friends, would not have been possible in their country of origin.

As a result of the Roma's exposure to, and sometimes learnt tolerance of racism and discrimination in their country of origin, these positive perceptions may be at times shaped by low expectations and ambitions, and accepting anything that is better than what they experienced back in their country of origin.

The case of Bulgarian and Romanian Roma is further aggravated by the employment restrictions imposed on A2 nationals, which effectively bar them from entering formal employment in the UK..

The research findings indicate that education in many areas of England has played a central role in the social inclusion and wellbeing of A2 and A8 Roma children, families and communities of new EU citizens who are here to stay.

Wolfgang Göderle

In search of Romipen – in search of Romani migrations? Notes on the official statistical perception of Romani mobilities in 19th and 20th century Central Europe.

In my doctoral thesis I deal with migration in Central Europe between 1869 and 1937 and how it is represented in the official statistics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its successor states. In particular I am focusing on the way in which Romani migration patterns are represented in those statistical sources and in the administrative discourse dealing with Romani issues.

My analysis is therefore carried out on two different levels: Firstly an examination of the official statistical sources of the Habsburg Monarchy investigates by which codes Romipen is generally expressed in this discourse. As there is neither a category 'Romani language' nor one 'Romani people', it is assumed that Romipen is expressed by a cluster of different qualities. Which languages are ascribed to Romani people, which religious beliefs and where are they supposed to live?

Secondly the socio-scientific investigation tries to put the migration patterns of the Romani population of the Habsburg Monarchy into numbers and on the map. In order to enhance the quality of my output data I apply a procedure of multivariate statistics. This allows me to generate links between different subcategories of the statistical sources I use, and to determine characteristics of Romipen by means of quantitative analysis.

My work tries to bridge the gap between qualitative and quantitative analysis in migration studies conducted on Romani migrations in the context of the late 19th and early 20th century Central European space. I consider the processes researched in my work crucial for the understanding of what is happening today in the enlarged Schengen space of the European Union.

Dr Margaret Greenfields

Settlement and anti-Gypsyism: 'If you know someone hates you before you start, you puts up the barrier'

This paper draws upon findings from an on-going series of connected research studies undertaken by the author and colleagues at other institutions. It addresses the following two themes: settlement and resettlement issues in the context of widespread anti-Gypsyism and early emerging data pertaining to the relationship between indigenous/long-established Gypsy and Traveller communities and recently arrived Roma migrants.

In particular, this presentation will explore the theme of community relations between Gypsies and Travellers (both sited and housed) and the nature and quality of their social relationships and networks with their non-Gypsy/Traveller neighbours. A consistent and significant finding across several study localities is that, despite the prevalence of long-established Gypsy/Traveller families in certain areas, a high percentage of respondents in all age ranges reported a lack of meaningful social contact and communication between their families and the surrounding 'settled' population, even when participants had relatives who were of dual heritage (e.g. inter-married Gypsy/Traveller and 'gorge'[non Traveller] backgrounds), or they reside in housing, amongst relatively diverse populations.

Respondents to questionnaires and participants in focus groups frequently dwelt both on the strength of their identity as a Gypsy/Traveller, (often focusing on the notion of 'travel' and 'nomadising' regardless of the extent of their personal experience of such 'cultural markers'), and their personal and/or community history which led to either residence in housing or a decline in nomadism and

residence on a settled site. Narratives frequently express tensions between recognition of the need for a 'stable' base which is not subject to the insecurities of eviction and a reluctance to remain too rooted to one place, particularly when this is perceived as enforced residence in 'bricks and mortar' accommodation – a form of residence which is often articulated as being symbolic of a policy of sedentarisation and wide-ranging anti-Gypsyism.

The second theme (which was touched upon in recent focus groups) concerns participants' consciousness of social, cultural and ethnic similarities and differences between Roma migrants and indigenous Gypsy and Traveller populations and whether points of social contact or political engagement currently exist between the two groups, or may be constructed in recognition of a common heritage and/or experiences of exclusion and discrimination amongst 'mainstream' populations.

Ramneek Grewal

Institutional inertia and international initiatives: debilitating for Roma activism?

This paper seeks to investigate the divergent treatment of and sentiment towards Roma in Macedonia and Serbia. The structural conditions in each state pose different challenges to Roma becoming equal members of their respective societies. The paper argues that this can be explained with reference to political opportunity structures (POS) and transnational advocacy networks. The political environments in Macedonia and Serbia will be compared to examine the process of Europeanisation and influence of international organisations. Four main concepts within the social movement literature will be examined to analyse anti-Roma sentiment and the mobilisation of Roma activists: discriminatory political institutions, international alliances, externalisation/diffusion and elite politics. This paper will posit that although Serbia has been less receptive to international influence, the integration of Roma is relatively similar to the case in Macedonia. Finally, the paper will argue that non-institutionalised forms of contestation and grassroots activism may promote Roma claims-making in the respective states.

Jan Grill

Džal opre andre Anglicko' (To go up to England). From asylum seekers to EU labour migrants: the case of East-Slovakian Roma

Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork among East-Slovakian Roma groups both in Slovakia and in the United Kingdom, this paper explore some continuities and discontinuities of their migratory mobilities within EU borders (but also, from a historical perspective, across these prior to Slovakian accession to the European Union in 2004). The paper addresses what happened to one Roma grouping after the larger socio-political order was reconfigured with Slovakian accession to the EU in 2004. Many of these Roma migrants were seeking asylum in various western European countries during the 1990s (UK, Finland, Denmark, and Netherlands). However, most of them were not granted asylum and were deported home to Slovakia. Following May 2004, many of these started to migrate to the UK as legal labour migrants with official rights to work and reside. I will first provide a brief historical context highlighting how the Roma migrants have been exposed to various state policies – from asylum seekers (with claims based on the anti-Gypsy racism in Slovakia) to legal labour migrants (as Slovakian members of the EU). The paper will then look at the circulatory migration pattern and transforming modes of identifications that have developed among Eastern Slovakian Roma. I shall

outline the recent migratory dynamics between Slovakia and the UK and the flow of people and goods (in both directions) and highlight the correlating social and migratory mobility of these migrants, their imagery and strategies.

Finally, some methodological and analytical difficulties will be considered in relation to the researcher's positionality and ways of engaging with his knowledge publicly on such a sensitive issue of Roma migration to the UK (and within Europe more generally).

Michael Guet

Challenges related to Roma migration and freedom of movement

Dr Will Guy

EU Roma initiatives: alternative approaches

The EU accession process appeared to offer positive opportunities for improving the conditions of Roma in the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Meanwhile the situation of Roma in existing Member States was mostly ignored.

The Lisbon Strategy, focusing on social inclusion, rectified this imbalance but in spite of aid provided earlier to applicant states, mainly through the Phare programme, and subsequent Lisbon-related projects, progress to date has been deeply disappointing. Substantial yet remarkably similar difficulties encountered by both initiatives might suggest that a more targeted, Roma-specific framework strategy, directed by a dedicated EU secretariat with its own budget would be more effective. The alternative would be to persevere within the broader framework of an EU social cohesion agenda. This presentation draws on the speaker's experience of reviewing both Phare and Lisbon programmes throughout the EU for the European Commission.

Régis Guyon and Michael Rigolot

A new European issue for the French Republic: the schooling of migrant Roma and Gypsy pupils

We are going to compare the conditions of schooling for migrant Roma children on the one hand and native Gypsy and Yéniçhe children on the other hand. We shall rely on the joint studies we led as representatives of the Ministry of Education in two Academies (Regional education authorities) in the east of France, Besançon and Rheims.

The reception and schooling of both populations are governed by the same official text dated April 25th, 2002. The writer distinguishes the reception of 'pupils who have just arrived in France' and 'Traveller's children'.

Schools have welcomed more and more Roma children coming from the Eastern European countries for about ten years, and have first considered them as 'pupils who have just arrived in France' with linguistic needs, without considering their specific cultural membership.

Compared with other recently settled communities, we can assess that their schooling is disturbing, both the significant number of pupils leaving the school without diplomas, and the frequent resort to special education.

Moreover, the Gypsy and Yéniche children, native of these two regions, are schooled under the administrative name of 'children of the Journey'. Efforts are made to make their registration easier in the common school system. Nevertheless, this assessment is also worrying: absenteeism, indifference to secondary education, a massive appeal for distance learning, a systematic end to studies at the end of the compulsory education.

All these elements cause us to wonder about the reasons of these difficulties and about the difficult institutional and ideological position of the state school system in relation to these children whom the European laws consider all in their variety as belonging to the 'most important ethnic minority of the Union'.

Dr Basel Houshieh

From Transylvania to Manchester; eye-witness reflections on Roma migrations

This paper will reflect on the everyday realities experienced by Roma migrants in Manchester. The author is a Palestinian doctor who trained and worked in Romania from 1993–2001. During this time he was involved in the health care of Roma and witnessed the discrimination faced by Roma. In 2002, the author came to the UK where he spent five years as an asylum seeker trying to gain residency and employment as a qualified doctor. Since 2007 he has been an interpreter, especially for the Roma in a variety of contexts; e.g. criminal justice system, healthcare, education, job centres and housing. He established close and trusting relationships with many Roma who found it easier to communicate and trust an independent non-European to interpret and advocate for them.

Recently, Dr Houshieh was appointed as a Community Development Worker specialising in the mental health needs of Black and Minority Ethnic communities in Manchester.

This paper will present a personal perspective of the journeys made by Roma from Romania to Manchester over a 16-year period. It will focus on the pressures faced by Roma both in Romania and in settling into new communities in socially deprived areas of Manchester. Dr Houshieh will reflect on the challenges faced by both migrants and the receiving communities and explore strategies to ensure effective settlement, free of harassment and discrimination.

Rachel Humphris

Governing Roma mobilities in the UK. How UK asylum and migration policy has affected Roma mobility: a historical perspective

The purpose of this paper is to chart how the UK has tried to control Roma migration and settlement through asylum and migration policy from the 1960s to the present day. It will give a historical overview and conclude with the situation at the moment through a case study of Polish Roma migrants in London. The structure of the paper is as follows:

- A chronological overview of key changes in UK asylum and refugee policy and the context surrounding those changes;
- How these changes were targeted or specifically affected the migration patterns of Roma from Eastern Europe to the UK (eg the Prevention of Terrorism Act (2000) which gave authorisation from the Home Secretary for immigration officials to discriminate against Roma migrants and British immigration checks introduced at Prague airport);

- The implications of the European policy context in the UK and consequences for Roma migrants, such as the legal requirement placed on all member states due to the Race Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) and the Employment Equality Directive (2000/79/EC) and since the 2000 Lisbon European Council introduced National Action Programmes (NAPs).

It will then address how the UK dealt with EU accession and the changing status of Roma from asylum seekers/refugees/irregular migrants to 'EU migrants' with rights of free movement. This route clearly offers more potential for settlement and for the accessing of increased work opportunities and an improved quality of life than the asylum route, not least because it is rights-based. However, the paper concludes that the Polish Roma in London have not experienced a great change in situation since the accession and are not aware of these rights.

Åsa Jansson

Deviance and Diversity: Zigenare and Romer within the Swedish Minoritetspolitik

In 1995 the Council of Europe agreed upon the European Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, in a purported attempt to award legal recognition and due protection to a number of groups labelled as ethnic minorities, a move expressed as an attack on racism and discrimination within the borders of Europe. Four years later, the Swedish *riksdag* ratified the Convention and sought to incorporate its principles into domestic law and policy through a new *minoritetspolitik* which was, it is argued here, in line with a long-standing official Swedish narrative casting the Scandinavian state as an equal and diverse society as well as a global and local human rights defender.

Listed as one of the five national minorities legally identified by the Swedish government within the scope of the *minoritetspolitik* are *Romer* – a term which when it was adopted as part of the policy on minority rights simultaneously became the official denomination for people previously labelled *Zigenare*. This paper will argue that *Zigenare* has for centuries served as an object of official and public Swedish discourse as a representation of otherness. As such it has functioned as a location for anxieties about both external and internal threats to ethnic Swedish bodies. However, in adopting the term *Romer* simultaneously with a *minoritetspolitik* and a new, firm anti-discrimination policy, official Swedish discourse created a new object the purpose of which was to legitimise this discourse.

Thus, tracing official and public Swedish discourse on *Zigenare* and *Romer* from the early 1990s until 2007, this paper will argue that far from representing an attempt to incorporate the voices, actions, and viewpoints of people living within the borders of Sweden and identifying themselves as Romani, *Rome'* as a group nominated as part of the *minoritetspolitik* constitute yet another stereotype, a discursive object fulfilling specific functions within a policy initiative which is a domestic reproduction of an official European agenda aimed at shrouding the continent as political body in a postmodern language of rights, equality, and cultural diversity.

Chris Johnson (with Marc Willers and Dr Andrew Ryder)

Facilitating the Gypsy and Traveller way of life through the Courts in England and Wales

The European Court of Human Rights has expressly recognised that there is a positive obligation imposed on States by article 8 of the Convention to 'facilitate the Gypsy way of life'.¹

The Caravan Sites Act (CSA) 1968 imposed a duty on local authorities to provide Gypsy and Traveller caravan sites. However, many local authorities failed to comply with the duty and when it was repealed in 1994 a quarter of those Gypsies and Travellers living in caravans were still living on unauthorised encampments.

There was little change between 1994 and 2006 when the government published Circular 1/06, Planning for Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Sites, which introduced a new system to meet the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers. Circular 1/06 requires local authorities to carry out an assessment of the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers. Their findings must then be reported to Regional Planning Bodies which will in turn produce Regional Spatial Strategies which identify the number of pitches that are required in each local authority area within its region. In response local authorities should then produce Development Plan Documents which set out site-specific allocations for the number of pitches required. In the event that a local authority fails to comply with these requirements, the government has the power to direct it to do so.

This paper will discuss the scope for using the Courts to ensure that the new system meets its aim and facilitates the Gypsy way of life. The discussion will also explore the interaction between Circular 1/06, human rights and homelessness legislation and will frankly address problems thrown up by recent case law.

Dr Peter Kabachnik (with Andrew Ryder)

Nomadism and New Labour: constraining Gypsy and Traveller mobilities in Britain

Since the 16th century the state has restricted the manoeuvrability of Gypsies and Travellers in Britain (Clark and Greenfields, 2006). In 1994 a duty to provide sites was repealed and greater restrictions on nomadism were introduced (Johnson and Willers, 2007). Motivation for restrictive state policy stems from economic factors (Acton, 1994) but also involves processes of 'othering' (Richardson, 2006). As studies have repeatedly demonstrated, nomadic Gypsies and Travellers experience high levels of exclusion (CRE, 2006).

The 2003 Anti Social Behaviour Act promotes new eviction powers against Gypsies and Travellers, placing nomadic Gypsies and Travellers in the 'Respect Agenda' (CLG, 2006). Campaigners argue that this could lead to a greater cycle of eviction (*Guardian*, 2003). Together with a new policy framework that favours sedentary Traveller site development (Housing Act, 2004; Circular 1/2006), our paper will consider the impact on nomadic Gypsies and Travellers and the rationale behind these policy initiatives.

This paper will adopt an empirical approach analysing case studies where attempts have been made to develop transit sites (Crawley 2006, Hastings 2007 and Southampton 2009) and the role of political opposition, the media and public opinion in thwarting these proposals. The paper will also examine the significance of the successful development of a transit site for nomadic Travellers in Bristol.

This paper will produce practical outcomes giving advice on how policy can be reformed to encourage greater site provision for nomadic Travellers, which the authors argue is in the interests of both the

¹ See Chapman v UK (2001).

settled and the Gypsy and Traveller communities. Comparison will also be made with the experiences of nomadic Gypsies and Travellers in Ireland, France and Holland and considers what lessons can be drawn in policy and campaigning and whether there are any implications for the EU and ECHR/HRA. Finally, we will consider whether any parallels exist between the experiences of nomadic Gypsies and Travellers and newly mobilised sections of the recently emigrated Roma community.

Dr Olivier Legros

Permanence and change in the policies towards Roma migrants in France: the 'villages d'insertion' of the suburbs of Paris in question

Like Spain and Italy, France is one of the main destinations of Roma migrants from Romania. Without financial resources and residence permits, most of them are located in the urban margins of the large French towns. In the northern suburbs of Paris, some slums have sheltered up to 600 people, as in Aubervilliers, Saint-Denis and Saint-Ouen in 2007. Faced with this new 'public problem', as defined by political scientists, institutions are experimenting with the following policy: a large majority of dwellers of the slum planned to be destroyed is expelled, while about twenty families, who have been selected before, are grouped together in a 'village d'insertion', where they have to learn the principles of urban life with social accompaniment. The system of the 'village' reminds one of the 'camp', put into practice at the beginning of the last century in order to control and to protect strangers (Bernardot), or to the 'cités de transit', brought into operation in the 1960s within the framework of eradication of slums (Pétonnet). The principles of selection, regroupment and eviction of the 'undesirable strangers' which are applied today, belong to a global movement of assertion of the security paradigm shaped in the 19th century. The reference of the present policy is mainly constituted by the policies of immigration which have been renovated by the present government, by the measures of emergency accommodation and the struggle against social exclusion, engaged in the 1990s. How, in these conditions, can one explain the permanence of policies grounded on eviction and forced assimilation? This question is the main theme of my presentation.

Óscar López-Catalán

Local politics, forced mobilities and access to basic rights: the case of Romanian Roma in the metropolitan area of Barcelona

Romanian Roma in the metropolitan area of Barcelona are not very important numerically compared with other migrant populations, but have a deep symbolic and social impact (widespread negative images, persistent exclusion, etc.).

Besides that, they share with other migrant groups important hurdles in order to obtain the *empadronamiento* document (registration in the local administration census), that in the Spanish regulation is at the same time an administrative act and the acknowledgment of citizen rights and access to basic services. However, this procedure is strongly related to local political agendas and it is used frequently as a settlement control strategy: although Romanians are EU citizens, the proportion of non-registered Romanian Roma remains significantly high because of socioeconomic factors (mainly related with housing) and political strategies. That creates a sort of circular dynamics in which the consequences of not having a legal settlement registration prevents this population from improving their situation and fulfilling the requirements (i.e. a legalised housing contract) for this same registration procedure.

The key point is that although local administrations are allowed to register anyone living in their territory, they actually do just the opposite, limiting the number of registrations per house, not letting social services certify who inhabits a certain place and so on.

The aim of this paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork during the last three years, is to present an overview of that legal framework and its particular application by some local authorities that consider Roma population as people 'not supposed to be in their territory'. I shall also present some of the consequences that these dynamics have on the urban mobility of Romanian Roma in Barcelona. Even if other mobilities have some advantages (i.e. related with marginal subsistence strategies), this one is in this case one of the factors that contributes to their socioeconomic exclusion.

Tobias Marx

Roma-elite and the problem of re-presentation

With the EU enlargement to Romania and Bulgaria and the possible further accession of Macedonia, Roma became a significant presence in EU demographic, social and political landscape. In order to strengthen the intension of integrating them and to give them a chance for having a 'voice' in the EU and parliaments, programmes are forming and educating a 'new' group of Roma-elite: young well-educated Roma/Gypsy students. These individuals should be 'key-bearer' of the coming communication with their represented group(s). My contribution explores the questions raised by the emergence of Roma elite in Bulgaria and Macedonia and some of its backgrounds. Since the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 gaje-institutions – at least those which want to work with Roma-groups or want to fulfil an expectation of a possible Roma integration into the mainstream society – are looking for at least one distinctive leader or representative of 'the' Roma-group for getting in contact with them and to negotiate in different terms and reasons.

Since the OSI has been financing a more dedicated programme of building a Roma leadership or Roma representation, the expectation of possible integration or at least inclusion via these new elite was growing enormously. But the outcomes fell short these great expectations.

History shows that in previous times, when Roma/Gyps groups entered Europe they brought along with them 'their' 'big men', 'Kings' or persons called 'counts' or 'earls' or the like. Today in a few regions it appears that Roma/Gypsy groups have their 'own' old group leaders beside the new ones. Where is the 'old' Roma elite? Does it exist today as well? And if yes, why didn't they do the job? These and other questions inspired me to try to look a bit more carefully at these 'new' and 'old' actors and there fields of actions. I include under the topic Roma elite leaders of every kind (Rom Baro, Sherudno, Voj(vo)da, advocates, representatives, presenters, party holders, NGO-holders, businessmen, 'Gypsy- King[s] etc.).

In my dissertation project I want to show how 'old' and 'new' leaders of several Roma groups or *mahalas* act and interact within their communities and to the outside world of the gaje.

My intension is to create a typology (presenters – re-presenters – trans-re-presenters) of Roma-leaders ('new' and 'old'). This will give us a possibly better view on to the question of 'Who is the 'new' Roma elite and how are they socialised in their community and in the gaje-society?'

An 'overview' or typology of Roma-representatives possibly guides us to a deeper understanding of the consequences of an outstanding inclusion of Roma and surely it will give us new facts for reaching the groups of Roma communities.

The collected narratives (autobiographical data, data about socialisation, education, and opinions about their position in the 'outside-world' and in the 'inside-world' of [their] Roma-communities or families) show a very strict evidence for some first conclusions, which will be presented.

Dr Aidan McGarry

Ethnicity – blind and differentiated treatment: fine-tuning the EU policy on Roma

The Romani community has recently attracted more attention from the European Union (EU) in the form of discursive interventions and policy initiatives. Traditionally, the EU has left the issue of minority protection within the hands of member states, however such an approach has failed to address the real needs and interests of Roma. By pursuing an ethnically-blind approach to minorities, the EU treats Roma as a social group with fundamentally social problems. I argue that the interests of Roma (discrimination, inadequate political participation, access to socio-economic provisions, racism, and poverty) are informed by their experience as a distinct ethnic group, thus in the case of Roma, identity and interests are insoluble. Roma therefore require differentiated treatment in order to improve their situation in national and transnational political contexts. By unpacking the relationship between integration and difference, this paper sheds light on how current EU policy towards Roma is based on unstable foundations and could exacerbate the problems faced by the Romani community. The paper asks whether differentiated treatment in the form of an EU strategy, an EU directive, or the creation of a Roma Unit in the Commission would improve the capacity of Roma to secure their interests. Moreover, how does the relative absence of a Roma political voice in Brussels impact on attempts to steer and influence EU policy? It is posited that only Roma can define and articulate their needs, thus transnational mobilisation is imperative if the interests of Roma are not to be assumed or ignored by the EU. This paper is based on discourse analysis and personal interviews conducted with the European Roma Information Office, Commission officials, and a Romani MEP.

Oana Marcu

Cash Cash: young Roma and social visibility strategies

By the means of an ethnographic transnational research, in Milan, Rome and Craiova, we intend to deconstruct some of the stereotypes regarding the Roma and to deepen the understanding of the life of young Romanian Roma migrants. The interests of the research team are related to adolescence and youth, in the particular context of a migrating stigmatised community, favouring an approach in which experience, with all of its dimensions (intellectual, physical and mostly emotional) become the most important exploration tools.

Coming from a social context with strong pressures for social visibility and power claims, young Roma live, as every young migrant, the challenges of the inclusion processes, sometimes of limited access for them, while handling possible divergences with family's expectations, part of the complex dialectic between tradition and global youth culture. Personal stories and paths, from that of the pickpocket to that of the 'good boy/girl' going to high-school, are strongly marked by the virtual identities imposed on the 'gypsy' category by media discourses (mostly discourses of criminality), that often prevail in front of the efforts of building one's own social image, becoming interiorised and strongly asserted by adolescents themselves. All this, on the background of the 'nomad camp' policy in Italy, consequence of reductive labelling policies that associate the term 'nomad' to a group of people,

unrealistically seen as homogeneous, and the opacity of the social services system in Craiova, choosing to ignore or marginalise the stringent social problems affecting local Roma communities.

In these coordinates, various symbolic universes merge, related to the different group belongings, that are expressed in cultural consumption too. We illustrate the continuous dialogue between globalised youth culture and tradition, between the segregation of the 'nomad camps' and the free use of the city, between the imposed, undifferentiated stigma and the hybrid, local and self-expressive identities.

Aleksandar Marinov

From the outside looking in: the impact of migration on Roma from the Roma perspective

Over the centuries, despite exposure to different influences, pressures, and policies, the Roma have largely preserved their cultural peculiarities. They generally excite the interests of the Gadze, the Romani word for people of non-Roma origin, with their generally unknown origins, appearances, their communities, which have been overly closed to outsiders, or their distinct cultures, behaviour, practices, and beliefs. Thus, their general group identity is the result of the process of relating to 'the Other' and in most cases against 'the Other'. It should be noted that the Roma groups are not static and unchanging, but they have been different in the different times of history and they will continue to change (Marushiakova and Popov, 2007, 15).

This paper seeks to analyse the effects of the migration of the Roma people on their culture and identity as well as the effects that their migration has on the countries in which they settle. This study seeks to shine a light on this phenomenon from the Roma perspective. The case of Roma in Bulgaria will be interrogated; the researcher (a Roma living in Bulgaria) will be conducting a qualitative study with a convenience sample, the data will be analysed using discourse analysis. Specifically discourse analysis, informed by the social constructionist framework, was chosen as it recognises the power of language as a constructive tool in shaping identities and knowledge about the social world. The main purpose of the study is twofold as it seeks to look at the impact of the Roma people on Bulgarian culture, and secondly the impact of migration on Roma culture from generation to generation by analysing the discourses of the participants from the different age groups.

Dr Adrian Marsh

Anti-diaspora and Anatolian exceptionalism: mubadele, mobility and identity amongst the Romani communities of Turkey

In their study of 2007, Acton and Marsh² noted the phenomenon of a distinctly anti-diasporic discourse amongst the Romanlar groups of Turkey, articulated in both the personal and political arenas. This was frequently expressed in the formulation that Romani people in Turkey were Turks, Muslims and then Romani, very much in line with the dominant ideology of Turkish nationalism and an antithetical attitude to minorities embedded in the Republic since its earliest days.

This notion of a three-step hierarchy of identity was itself a product of the population exchanges in the 1920s and 1930s and the forced expulsion of large numbers of Muslim *and* Christian Gypsies from

² Acton, T.A. & Marsh, A. (2007), 'Charting the Variety of Aspirations of Romani/Gypsy Groups in Turkey 2006 (Full Research Report RES-000-22-1652)' *Economic & Social Research Council UK End of Award Report*, Swindon: ESRC

Greece and elsewhere in the region. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Republic was, for a great many Roma 'a place of greater safety' during and after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-23). The Kemalist Revolution was not merely a struggle of abstract ethnic and religious ideologies, but a literal march (in this case), a human event of complicated dimensions and frequently tragic outcomes (as Richard Cobb once noted of another Revolution³). The *mubadele* (population exchange) of the Roma⁴ lies at the foundation of modern Romani identities in Turkey and at the core of the anti-diasporic conception of them⁵.

However, with the governmental meeting between 107 Romani representatives from organisations and associations all over Turkey in December 2009, the basis of modern Romani identity has shifted. The increasing likelihood of Turkey's AKP governing party adopting the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' in 2010 looks set to reconnect Romani communities separated by centuries and challenge the notion of Anatolian exceptionalism at the heart of Turkish Romani identities. It will also confront the remainder of 'Romanipen' with a reality that will force a major change in understanding Romani histories, cultures and confessionalities. With four and a half million Muslim Romani people, Turkey is the nation-state with the largest Romani population in Europe and the only place where Romani, Domari and Lomavren speakers live side by side in the same communities.

What will this mean for Romani identities in Turkey and in Europe?

Prof Elena Marushiakova and Prof Vesselin Popov

Gypsy/Roma European migrations from 15th century till nowadays

The paper will present the three major waves of Gypsy migration across Europe. Through them, the Gypsies spread in new areas and acquired new social and economic space in which to settle down. The first wave of migration is in the 15th century, when the Gypsies from the Balkans are settled across Europe. The second wave of migration is in the late 19th and early 20th century, when the Gypsy groups from the principalities of Wallachia and Moldova gradually settle not only in Europe but also in more global scale. The third wave of migration of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe starts in the 1960s and includes several stages, and continues in various forms to nowadays.

The socio-economic reasons which justified these main waves of Gypsy migration will be analysed, primarily the acquiring of new economic niches and new territories, although these reasons usually are concealed behind the politico-ideological explanations by the Gypsies themselves, and often by the researchers. The new forms of Gypsy migrations today, which are acquired under the influence of the surrounding macro-society in the countries of Eastern Europe will be revealed too – the model of

³ Cobb, Richard (1969), *A Second Identity: Essays on France and French History*, Oxford: OUP

⁴ Türkiye-Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi, the Turkish-Greek Population Exchange saw some 1,250,000 Christian Greeks and 500,000 Karacaovalılar, Pomaklar ve Müslüman Çingeneler exchanged, following the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. The process of exchange took place 1923-24, but further shifts continued over the next decade and Roma from fascist regimes in the Balkans during the 1930s also sought refuge in Turkey. The conventional wisdom was that the Çingeneler (Gypsies) were all Muslim, but research in İçel (Mersin) in 2006-08 revealed substantial numbers of these were originally Greek-speaking Christians and became converts in their migration in Anatolia, somewhere around Diyarbakir.

⁵ Paspates notes a distinction amongst the Muslim and Christian Gypsies in the late Ottoman Empire (1860-63)– the speaking of *Romanës* was perceived as Christian.

temporary labour mobility, allowing large parts of the Gypsies to remain 'invisible' for the public in the countries of Western Europe (except for certain cases, turning into a public scandals). Special attention will be given to the specific instances of migrations due to ethnic cleansing and flight from armed conflicts. Accordingly the various models of attitude towards Gypsies applied by the 'host' countries to which the contemporary Gypsy migration is heading will be presented.

Based on the overall picture of Gypsy migrations to countries of Western Europe, the various migration strategies and preferred destinations existing before the Gypsies of Eastern Europe will be given, driven by the internal heterogeneity of the Gypsy community, their traditional lifestyle (nomadic or settled) and reached degree of social integration in the countries from which they originate.

Prof Yaron Matras

Migrations and their impact on Romani political movement in the early 1990s

The paper discusses the reactions among Romani NGOs engaged in political campaigning to the rise in Romani east-west migrations immediately after the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the impact that these relations had on the overall agenda of what might be loosely termed 'the Romani political movement', as well as on governments and multilateral organisations. I shall be dealing with a number of case studies based mostly in Germany, which was the scene of the most intensive political debates on these issues. While the account is specific to a number of case studies, lessons can be drawn in respect of earlier historical migrations, and indeed of later, most recent events, such as the immigration of Czech and Slovak Roma to Britain in the late 1990s and the treatment of Romanian Roma in Italy over the past two years. Reactions to Romani migrations are, I propose, not simply oriented towards legal and infrastructural problem-solving, but carry an exceptionally strong emotional dimension. One of the challenges facing Romani activists is therefore how to deal with the majority fears amidst Romani migrations: whether to deny or ignore these fears, whether to confront them, or indeed whether to exploit them.

Dr Roberta Medda-Windischer

Legal aspects of Romani mobility and traditional lifestyle as facets of Romani cultural identity

The Roma, Gypsy and Travellers are present in virtually all European countries and comprise approximately ten million people. In most of these countries the Roma communities face considerable obstacles to the full enjoyment of their fundamental rights. This paper will analyse the major legal aspects of Romani mobilities, in particular, the relationship between Romani mobilities and respect for their traditional lifestyle and cultural identity. These aspects will be discussed through an analysis of main case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, concerning the Roma, Gypsy and Travellers community.

Minority lifestyle was discussed by the Strasbourg Court in a series of important cases concerning Gypsy and other travelling communities and the refusal by the authorities to provide them with permission to station their caravans on their own land on the grounds of 'impact on visual amenity' and 'intrusion into an attractive rural area' (the so-called 'UK Gypsies cases'). In these occasions, the Strasbourg Court considered the applicants' occupation of their caravans as an integral part of their ethnic identity as Gypsies, reflecting the long tradition of that minority of following a travelling lifestyle. In these cases, moreover, the Court underlined that there may be said to be an emerging

international consensus amongst the contracting states of the Council of Europe recognising the special needs of minorities and an obligation to protect their security, identity and lifestyle, not only for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the minorities themselves but to preserve a cultural diversity of value to the whole community.

Cristi Mihalache

Freedom of movement within the European Union at work: the case of Romanian Roma

The massive enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 respectively raised an interesting theme to the public opinion within the 'old' member states such as UK, Italy or France. Worries of massive waves of ethnic Roma citizens of the newly adhered member states have been expressed at various levels of the public sphere, including by politicians or policy makers. The issue has been brought on the agenda of the European Union, and it has been discussed by its institutions, such as the European Parliament, the Commission or the Fundamental Rights Agency (formerly the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia). The accession of countries like Romania to the EU has evidenced no such massive waves of ethnic Roma flowing to the 'old' EU member states.

I will argue in this paper that the impact of socio-economic determinants as push factors for ethnic Roma EU citizens to move to other EU member states is overestimated. Moreover, I will explain how discrimination and historical racism is indeed the main factor determining whether the Roma leave their countries of origin. I will use the case of Romanian Roma, extensively discussed subsequent to the presentation in Italian media of particular cases of crimes allegedly committed by Romanian Roma. The paper will analyse some economic and social aspects of marginalisation, will link the xenophobic attitudes with the perception of the Roma within the countries of destination. The document will try to demonstrate the connection between existing socio-economic determinants on the situation of Roma and historic and current discrimination facing this ethnic group in Romania. The argument is further strengthened by an existing tendency to perceive Roma as second class citizens within the EU, in frequent cases ignoring their use of the right of freedom of movement internally within the EU.

Baroness Emma Nicholson of Winterbourne

2005-15: The 'Decade of Roma inclusion': what has been done and what should be done

The 'Decade' represents a political will at the international level to recognise the difficulties of the Roma minority within the member states' boundaries and to act coherently to improve the Roma people's social and economic status. Over the years huge independent efforts have been developed – public and private policies, programmes and projects – aiming to alleviate and improve the condition of the Roma in post-communist countries. EU, World Bank, UNDP, International NGOs charities, etc. have all sponsored such projects. Other issues to be raised are the Roma's weak state of healthcare, low education, poor housing conditions and high-rates of unemployment and, as a consequence, the lack of revenues, all these being combined with multiple forms of discrimination that they experience, leading to social and economical marginalisation and exclusion.

Dr Alexandra Nacu

The politics of healthcare among Roma migrants in the Paris region

My research deals with Eastern European Roma, mostly Romanian and Bulgarian, living in the Paris suburbs and with the various forms of medical intervention (by various health institutions and NGOs) targeting them in the context of post-EU accession of their countries of origin. I analyse the struggles that take place around the categorisation of both the population and the type of medicine performed in these situations where the Roma can be framed as health hazards as well as healthcare targets. The management of sometimes large groups of illegal immigrants and squatters has become an issue for many municipalities, especially those in the former 'red belt', in the North and East of Paris. Migrants have to juggle between visibility and discreetness in order to be tolerated for as long as possible.

These struggles tend to involve interactions between multiple scales of actors engaged in the process of managing the migrants. On the side of health professionals, I identify a transfer of practices from previous experience with other ethnic groups. This raises questions about the emerging field of migrant medicine and the role that 'cultural differences' can play in healthcare. I also examine the way Roma take hold of these categories, showing that healthcare can be a place of empowerment as well as of domestication of an exoticised 'other'.

My fieldwork is based on participant observation with Médecins du Monde, Paris, as well as on interviews with patients and the professionals involved. I choose to combine the anthropological perspective of the fieldwork with the sociological study of health issues and more specifically of the field of migrant medicine. Thereby, this case study illustrates the social construction of simultaneously social and racial borderlines within the French health system which, however, does not openly acknowledge such differences.

Dr Martin Olivera

Interrogating the doxa about Roma migrations: the realities of Romanian Roma in the Parisian area

In France, like in other states of western Europe, Roma migrations are presented as an important and crucial public question: despite the small scale of those migrations (the number of Roma from Romania, Bulgaria and ex-Yugoslavia is estimated around 10,000 persons in France), this 'problem' is recurrently tackled by politics and mass medias.

By my communication, based on ethnographic fieldworks in Romania as well as on my six years' professional experience with Roma migrants and social workers in the Parisian area, I propose to interrogate the representations motivating this irrational disproportion between the realities of those migrations and the institutional (and popular) discourses and worries they cause.

In opposition to what today's popular understanding, European Roma do not constitute one 'population', neither socially nor culturally. Diversity is the keyword. This is true for Roma migrants as well, as I will show.

I propose to deal with the lack of awareness about Roma realities in Romania, which are frequently reduced to an univocal image combining social marginality, discrimination and inadaptability to 'modernity', and the consequences for the situation of Romanian Roma in the Seine-Saint-Denis department. We will observe that their difficulty of access to the *droit commun* and their local marginality are deeply grounded in the stereotypes constructed all along the past 15 years in our western countries. Somehow, and paradoxically, they suffer much more discrimination in western Europe than in their native land.

Dr Giovanni Picker

Left-wing progress? Nationalist policies vis-à-vis Romani immigrants in Florence, Italy (1988-2007)

Although 'the Italian left was once the largest and most impressive popular movement for social change in Western Europe' (Anderson 2009), at the end of the 1980s the Tuscan left-wing regional council imposed the construction of fenced camps for Romani immigrants supposedly in order to give Roma the possibility of developing their own traditional habits.

Going beyond the existing literature on Romani migrations to Italy, which depicts the receiving context as politically neutral and homogeneous, in this paper I propose an 'oblique' approach to this topic by contextualising Romani new immigration within locally situated left-wing rhetoric which constructed Roma alternatively as *Zingari* (Gypsies) and 'nomads'. In particular, I frame my whole discussion within the 'anthropology of policy' framework of the impositions, in the late 1980s and early 1990s by regional policy makers, of the vocabulary to address this new 'type' of immigration.

My focus is the city of Florence, which is one of the Italian cities with the longest and most socially rooted tradition of left-wing politics. In this paper I discuss the rationale behind the construction of the camps for Roma, by looking at the texts of the first two regional laws addressing Roma – which were voted in 1988 and 1995 – and I compare this analysis with the findings of my ethnographic fieldwork among local authorities that I have been carrying out between 2007 and 2008.

In the conclusion I suggest that the conditions of material and symbolic segregation which has been affecting Roma in Florence for over twenty years is one of the consequences of adopting a specific sort of culture-based strategies by policy makers. In addition, I show that one of the causes of the current violent anti-Romani campaign in Italy is the culturalist representations of Roma since the late 1980s, which can be ultimately viewed as nationalist rhetoric.

Dr Jo Richardson

Discourse dissonance: an examination of media, political and public discourse and its impact on policy implementation for Roma, Gypsies and Travellers at a local level

This paper will examine the discourse surrounding Roma, Gypsies and Travellers in Europe, with a particular focus on the debate in the UK. This builds upon previous analysis (Richardson, 2006) and ongoing research on media campaigns and their effect (Richardson and Ryder). The paper will analyse media discourse and debate by politicians in Europe and the U.K; as well as on a very local district and county level. It is often at this local level that the immediate impact of discourse, which can include entrenched anti-Gypsyism, can be seen in the policy decisions – particularly in planning cases.

A range of sources will be used including historic and current media reports, particularly newspaper articles and the public response (on newspaper websites) to the articles. The author has also input over 200 planning appeal cases into a database, including extensive deliberations on the 'definition' of Gypsies and Travellers according to English law, which is an illuminating part of the overall debate which is had about travelling communities, often to negate the responsibilities of local authorities to help accommodate Roma, Gypsies and Travellers. Further examination of these cases will reveal some interesting findings on 'professional' discourse and can be matched to planning appeal decisions to see the dissonance between the government's publicly stated aims to help provide sites for travelling communities, and the implementation of the policy on the ground which does not necessarily increase site provision; this represents a discontinuity in public national government discourse and local social and accommodation policies for Roma, Gypsies and Travellers.

Examination of these different strands of discourse will take place within a Foucaultian framework of power and control to understand the impact on the lives of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers.

Márton Rövid

One-size-fits-all-Roma? On the normative dilemmas of the emerging European Roma policy

The paper discusses three moral and political dilemmas that inevitably arise in the context of the emerging European Roma policy, and on which all concerned parties, including grassroots Romani organisations, should be able to express their views.

The first concerns whether anti-discrimination measures based on individual rights are sufficient to promote the social inclusion of Roma, or whether those based on group rights are required to ensure the exercise of their fundamental human rights. Even though there appears to be a consensus on the insufficiency of the former approach, it is unclear exactly what sorts of group rights should be promoted – which leads us to the second dilemma of generic versus targeted minority rights.

Although populations labelled 'Roma' may confront similar forms of discrimination, for instance in education, housing or health care, which affirmative desegregation measures may counter, these groups also differ in many respects that do not only concern 'specific issues of cultural identity' but are directly relevant for issues of social exclusion.

The third dilemma is whether to recognise Roma as a national minority or as a non-territorial nation. The paper argues that the notion of non-territorial nation can be debated on anthropological, political and moral grounds. Anthropologists have pointed out that often communities labelled 'Roma' are not aware of the vision of a non-territorial nation or they do not identify with it. Others consider the claim politically harmful or counterproductive. Finally, the moral standing of such a post-national vision may also be contested.

Dr Pietro Saitta

Roma in Sicily: informal economy and processes of resettlement -

The present paper focuses on Mazara del Vallo, Sicily. It aims to show how a group of Roma from Kosovo, living in the area since the 1970s, has gained a livelihood through such enterprising methods as music, improvised handicrafts, and small-scale drug dealing. These individuals have been able to exploit the ambivalence of the authorities as well as opportunities presented by the thoroughgoing informality of this Sicilian town. Although a culture of poverty perspective would suggest that they are merely reproducing poverty from generation to generation, in-depth observation shows that the informal economy represents a paradoxical means for social advancement.

Dr Carlotta Saletti Salza

The adoptions of Roma and Sinti minors in Italy

The paper will analyse social and civil-tuition procedures which lead to declaration of adoptability of Bosnian, Serb, Croatian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, Kosovan, Italian Roma and Sinti minors in Italy. The research has focused on the years 1985 to 2005, and analysed acts and documents produced by eight different law courts. It has been led within the wider research project 'Adozione di minori rom/sinti e sottrazione di minori gagé' ('Roma and Sinti minors' adoption and Gagé minors')

removal'), whose other part was concerned on presumed kidnappings of non-Roma children by Roma adults.

In its whole, the research shows how easily -and independently from the local context social and civil-tuition processes slip into indistinguishing Roma children from each other, identifying them with mistreated minors: as if they could be hurt by their own 'cultural difference'. Tuition in many different local contexts becomes an action of removing the minor from its parental context in order to educate him, as if Roma culture had not an educational model, or at least not a valid one. It is then fundamental to read data about declarations of adoptability within the social and migration context of the different Roma and Sinti communities involved.

A comparison can thus be made between today's Italy and Switzerland during the period 1926-1973, when more than 600 Jenisches children were forcibly taken away from their families by the 'Oeuvre des Enfants de la grand route', an Institution whose only mandate was in fact eradicating nomadism. In which direction are these minors' tuition interventions bringing Italy?

Prof Carol Silverman

Balkan Romani music in transit: production, consumption, and appropriation

When Madonna performed a fusion of East European Romani music on her summer 2009 tour, she epitomised how celebrity patrons appropriate the music of marginal groups. But when she was booed by Romanian fans after she bemoaned the plight of Gypsies, she exposed another paradox: Roma, loved for their music, are hated as people. These twin poles of admiration in the arts and marginalisation in social life form a historic pattern, yet their relationship to migration needs to be analysed. This presentation explores the music of Roma in the Balkans and in migratory locations such as the United States and Western Europe, and in the commercial market. I discuss genres, texts, ritual contexts and performers in terms of identity issues as well as the multiple marginalisations (social, economic and political) that Roma face. Through ethnographic research in Romani migrant communities, and with commercial producers, I investigate how Roma respond to a hierarchical music industry through artistic negotiation. I will contrast the cultural context of music within Romani diasporic communities to the commercial contexts of the consumption of 'Gypsy music'.

How is Gypsy music marketed, who is collaborating with whom to produce it, and how are power relationships implicated in these exchanges? Noting that Roma are rarely in charge of their own representations (Hancock1997), I investigate how the image and sound of the fantasy Gypsy is created, and who participates in and who benefits from the popularisation of Gypsy music. This paper relates the rising tide of xenophobia and anti-Gypsyism (under the rubric of nationalism and populism) that is sweeping Europe to the emergence of 'Gypsy music' as a 'hot' commodity. In fact, the marginality of Gypsies may serve to confer the authenticity needed to sell the music.

Prof Alessandro Simoni

At the outer limits of the rule of law: Romanian Roma and their impact on Italian legal culture

Although its real dimensions are not clear, the migration flow of Romanian Roma experienced in Italy in recent years has had a strong social impact, forcing political actors and public institutions to find new forms of legitimisation of the actions aimed at decreasing the 'political pressure' that constantly originates by any allegedly increasing Romani presence. Before the accession of Romania to the EU,

the formal status of Illegal immigrants of the Romanian Roma was enough to mobilise public force when needed, with all the flexibility deriving from the discretionary power implied in immigration law. Together with the marginality of Romani issues in public debate, this made the condition of Roma a largely neglected topic also in legal scholarship, something which in its turn meant that actions in favour of the Roma developed by NGOs were seldom formulated in legal terms. The necessity of government agencies to find legal tools different from immigration law to keep Romani presence within the narrow limits tolerated by public opinion is launching the Italian legal culture into unknown territories. The increasing visibility of purely legal controversies involving the enforcement of public policies for the control of Romani presence brings to the surface unresolved tensions between formalistic styles and more value-oriented ones of legal argumentation, as well as the need to formulate a discourse on the civil rights of ethnic minorities and marginal groups that in Italy was previously left mostly out of the legal arena. Certainly, the judicial rulings issued until now can be considered quite unsatisfactory and the rule of law still appears to be constantly stretched to its outer limits when the Roma are involved. This notwithstanding, the fact that the condition of Roma is now the object of an open discussion in the legal community is likely to lead in the long term to a transformation of both how lawyers speak about ethnicity and how Roma perceive their position in the Italian society.

Tove Skotvedt

Romanian Roma's migration to Norway: push and pull factors

Romanian Roma have for some years been a visible part of the capital of Norway. Their appearance is new and has increased the negative attitude towards both the Romanian Roma and the Norwegian Roma. Why do they leave Romania in the first place and why do they choose to come to Norway, being far away, with a difficult language and a harsh climate? The scapegoat situation and the discrimination of the Roma in Romania is fairly well known. The Roma are free to enter Norway, the country being a member of the Schengen agreement (but not an EU member). The two main occupations of the Romanian Roma in Norway are begging and street prostitution, which are both legal activities. Will these two push and pull factors last and what happens to the Rumanian Roma in Oslo? How does Norway's previous forced assimilation of Romani/travellers influence the situation of the Romanian Roma in Oslo and how have the Norwegian authorities, institutions and Norwegian Roma reacted to the situation? Does the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (among which are the Norwegian Roma in Norway), ratified by Norway in 1999, affect the situation of Romanian Roma in Norway?

Some final remarks will relate the analysis on Romani mobilities and cultural identity to the risks behind certain policies aimed at the protection of groups' identity and diversity, namely the 'culturalisation' of minorities' problems and claims and the 'internal cruelty' or illiberal practices within minority groups.

Dr Magdalena Slavkova

Romani Migrations from Bulgaria to Spain: Challenges and Perspectives⁶

Following the downfall of the socialist regime in Bulgaria (1944-1989) a social and economic crisis emerged. The life of the Gypsies changed dramatically and a great many of them remained jobless. Many people left their birth places either temporarily or permanently in the process with the hope of providing better lives for their families. Some of the Gypsy communities joined the common migration flows towards Spain together with the Bulgarian population, while others gave start to their own migration waves. As a result of the processes of cross-border labour mobility the Gypsies acquired a new social and economic space and settle to live within its boundaries.

The paper presents the results of ethnological fieldwork among Bulgarian Gypsies working in Spain. During the research lifestory interviews combined with participant observation were employed. The research was carried out in Spain (in the regions of Castile and León, Madrid, Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia and Murcia) in May 2006 and during 8 months in 2009. In Bulgaria several months were spent on fieldwork among various Gypsy groups between 2006 and 2008.

Concetta Smedile

Migration, prostitution, identities: a comparative study of two Immigrant Roma communities in Italy

The paper analyses the interplay of so-called forced and economic forms of migration by studying two different Roma communities that migrated to Italy: (1) Muslim Roma Xoraxanè, who fled the wars that followed the break-up of Yugoslavia; (2) the Christian Orthodox community of Roma Spoitori, who came from Romania after the collapse of the communist regime.

In particular, the paper studies the phenomenon of prostitution as one of the new and increasingly functional elements in the accumulation of wealth within immigrant communities where the ideology of virginity is at the centre of their ideological ethnic distinctiveness. Prostitution, in my hypothesis, is discreetly incorporated into the working practices under an 'alternative economical morality' and does not 'discombobulate' their social order.

The paper argues that it is not sufficient to focus on economic motives of migration. My anthropological study provides insight to the dynamics within the selected Roma groups, as well as the relation between Roma of 'Eastern' Europe and the 'Western' host societies.

Marco Solimene

Xoraxané Romá, Romanian Rom and Rome

The materials on which my considerations are grounded come mainly from the ethnographic experience for my doctoral studies in anthropology. The fieldwork took place in Rome between April 2007 and May 2008, involving a group of Bosnian Xoraxané Romá I have been attending this community since 1999 and still visit during my stays in Rome.

⁶ The project entitled "Labor activities of Bulgarians in Spain" and the following fieldwork among Bulgarian community in Spain in 2009 have been financed by the National Science Fund, Bulgarian Ministry of Education, Youth and Science (contract No. ДО02-355/30.12.2008).

The focus of the paper here presented is the situation of the Romani population in Rome, especially but not uniquely during my fieldwork; under analysis is the recent immigration of the Romanian Rom and its impacts on both Rome and the Xoraxané Romá.

The massive flow of Romanian Rom provoked a strong alarm in the world of the gagé, triggering xenophobic incidents in the Roman population and authorities' repressive policies. The continual evacuations, controls, arrests and expulsions resulted in the extreme mobility of Romani families in urban territory. Such reality is extremely dynamic and difficult to grasp, even in short periods.

The arrival of Romanian Rom provoked a small 'earthquake' within the Romani world, since the newcomers started to occupy similar social, cultural, economic spaces to the other Gypsy groups already present in Rome; the result was a drastic alteration of the already delicate balance between Roma and the city of Rome (although well rooted in specific territories of Rome, Xoraxané Romá still represent a recent migration flow since most of them arrived in Rome right before or during the conflict in Yugoslavia).

Under analysis will be the relations between Xoraxané Romá and the newly arrived Romanian Rom; this horizon, which will be examined both in terms of the ideological horizon and of the social usages, appears quite complex and ambiguous, oscillating between the unifying principle of being Roma and being categorised as Zingari/ Roma/nomadic by Italian society, on the one hand; the claim of specificity and differentiation between Gypsy groups on the other hand.

Dr Teresa Sordè-Martí, Ariadna Munté, Dr Òscar Prieto-Flores, and Ana Contreras

Building common alliances and developing shared strategies: immigrant and native Romani women

The present paper analyses the alliances and strategies built between Romani women both immigrant and native to fight back the widespread anti-Gypsyism found in Spain. Anti-Gypsyism affects all the Roma, whether migrants or native; and it is greatly amplified in the case of Roma migrants. The fact that this group is largely associated with poverty and marginalisation only reinforces the rejection and discrimination faced. Thus, the negative images and stereotypes that are applied to the Roma migrant community are mostly associated with women (e.g. traditional clothing, begging). The multifaceted stigma suffered by Romani migrant women places them in a highly vulnerable position in terms of discrimination translated into access barriers to basic rights. Drawing from a Spanish Ministry of Science funded qualitative research project, the authors will first analyse the specific gendered elements attached to the stigma associated with Romani women migrants.

Second, given that Romani migration is usually a family-based strategy, with many children among those migrating, the present paper will also analyse the role played by these women within the migratory project and in the process of settling down. It will be argued that far from the well-extended stereotypes, many Romani women feminist ideas are changing gender and family relations, creating new understandings of their identity, generating new opportunities to fully participate in society, through their work or education, and making their own decisions.

Third, authors will explore the fact that Romani migrant women are very often the ones actively participating in initiatives together with native Roma associations. The authors will present evidence of how Romani women both migrant and native are building common alliances and developing shared strategies to fight back against the widespread anti-Gypsyism found in Spain. Examples will be provided to illustrate these strategies and alliances, and the transformative dynamics found at their individual lives and also in their social contexts.

Dr Hana Synková

Can NGOs serve as mobility channels?

In the Czech Republic there was a general proliferation of NGOs after 1989. The founding of an organisation was quite simple and low cost and some Roma took this opportunity as well. In my research done in one NGO founded by a middle-aged woman I look at what possibilities open through 'becoming an NGO or becoming especially a Roma NGO, as the Romaniness of the organisation can be used in a strategic way. In contrast I show what kind of people the Czech NGO sector prefers as regards its development and functioning. Authors like Lisa Markowitz and Karen Tice (2001) argue that when an NGO grows, the influx of money deeply changes the organisation's internal processes and structure. A need for high-skilled employees that can deal with grant applications and PR is created. What happens when the organisation oriented at employing one's family and friends gets 'European money' and confronts pressures of professionalisation?

Catalina Tesar

'Good Gypsies' in Romania, 'de-ethnicised' beggars In Italy. Politics of representations and politics of work among so called 'traditional' Romanian Roma

In Italy the victory of the rightwing coalition in the elections of April 2008 was, among others, a result of an electioneering elaborated around the theme of 'security' of national citizens. The forthcoming months witnessed an outburst of legal and physical assaults against Roma, of whom a great number were of Romanian citizenship, followed up by a year-long mass media campaign of criminalisation of the Roma population. Romanian mass media uncritically translated negative representations of the Roma in Italian press into national context, conveying a widespread image of a morally reprehensible Romanian Gypsy who vilifies representations of the Romanian ethnics abroad. An immediate effect was intensification of racist attitudes against Roma in Romania.

My presentation, based on anthropological fieldwork carried out among Romanian Roma beggars in interaction with state representatives (such as lawyers, police etc) in North Italy in September 2008, inquires into the mechanisms through which the Italian State constructs and maintains an image of the Gypsy as a worthy enemy of the Italian nationals while making use of the same image for the assertion and strengthening of its own power.

Whilst begging does not fall at present under criminal law in Italy, Roma migrants beggars are subject to different other ambiguous local regulations, which most often are appealed by grant- aided private lawyers. I argue that through its twofold sets of practices that recommend the Italian State, on the one hand as a political actor (that exerts control over citizens when penalising beggars) and, on the other hand as a moral actor (that pace human rights, financially supports recourses to court initiated by have-nots/beggars), the state participates in reproducing the phenomenon of begging whilst appearing as its redoubtable combatant.

Barbara Tiefenbacher

Romipen on the move Questions of language and identity among Yugoslavian Romani migrants in Vienna

This contribution is based on a sociolinguistic case study which is carried out among Romani migrants in Vienna. The main focus is a group of Romani migrants who came from the mid-1960s

onwards as guest workers, so called *Gastarbeiter*, to Austria. They are part of the Yugoslavian labour migration, which was – based on a bilateral agreement – organised and controlled by the Austrian State. Although their migration was considered to be just temporary, many of them have stayed in Austria. Nowadays already the second and third generation is living in Austria but they still keep strong ties (kinships, property, regular visits) to their countries of origin – to the successor states of Yugoslavia.

Although from the beginning of the 1980s several research-projects were carried out among the *Gastarbeiter* community, none of them took either the 'sub-group' of Romani migrants or Romani language into consideration. So far almost no literature (despite a few articles in the journal *Romano Centro*) and no data about the Romani community originating from ex-Yugoslavia are available.

This case study is dealing with those languages, especially with Romanes, that are spoken within the community at the present time and raises the following questions:

Which factors on the macro- and microlevel influence the use and the choice for a language? Regarding the Romani ethno-emancipation process that is taking place, are Romani skills necessary for Romani identity? Is Romani considered to be an ethnic marker? Which role do the other languages spoken in the successor states of Yugoslavia play? Are they of any importance or necessity for keeping the ties to the 'home country' alive? Are they important for an interaction with other non-Romani migrants from former Yugoslavia?

Dr Sabrina Tosi Cambini

The social dangerousness of the accused is 'at one with her own condition of nomad'

The paper will introduce some results of a research on the kidnapping of non-Roma children by Roma adults and Sinti in Italy: a study conducted in parallel with another one by Carlotta Saletti Salza on the social and civil-tuition procedures which led to the declaration of adoptability of Roma/Sinti children. The research has focused on the years 1986 to 2007, and started with the analysis of the ANSA (Italian National News Agency) archive of national and local news in order to identify cases of presumed abduction. I say 'presumed', because cases I found out were all about a presumed attempt of abduction and not a real abduction. And this is, overall, the main result of the research.

After comparing these cases, I inquired the judicial files (acts, documents, sentences etc.) of cases for which a penal procedure and action had been opened. Also, I interviewed some lawyers and public prosecutors, so that I could observe the developing of two trials (Lecco and Florence), operating a participant observation of the proceedings.

The paper will discuss what emerges from the study of the trials and in particular how the knowledge of common sense can influence a juridical treatment. In many cases, the mental frame of prosecutors, lawyers, judges etc. approaches the accused with a negative stereotype: not Roma but nomads, dangerous nomadic people, insider foreigners from whom society must be protected. In most of the studied trials, it is possible to recognise an action of 'forcing' juridical tools, which is always justified just by an assumption, a sort of socio-cultural axiom: the accused is a Zingaro, so a nomad (even if he/she was born in Italy, if he/she lives in a house with a 'regular' address etc.), so he/she is dangerous and asocial, he/she can do horrible things like these ('Gypsies kidnap children!'). So, the accused's implicit fault just has to be made explicit by an appropriate legal procedure (the trial).

Some scholars have investigated the construction or even the invention of the category of 'nomad'. Others, have analysed the implications of this category in the everyday life of Roma people. This

research shows how mobility, presumed mobility or – better – presumed nomadism can change the regular ratio of the trial, but not its formal procedure. How a presumed and misunderstood socio-cultural style of life (mobility and/or nomadism) turns into a homogeneous and essentialistic category which creates an imagery and justifies a strong social control or an indirect discrimination. Then the accused stops – too often – being a person, and starts being just a member of a defined dangerous category.

Prof Peter Vermeersch

Between Europeanisation and discrimination: the Roma as a special focus of EU policy

Since the accession of ten post-communist countries to the European Union (EU), various EU institutions have expressed their concern about the precarious social position of the Roma in these new member states. The EU has singled out this group for extra attention. This strategy is based on the assumption that the Roma need support "from above" because they - in contrast to other minorities in this region - have no clear national lobby or external homeland to defend their interests. The EU is thus considered to be the Roma's best ally. This paper sets the benefits of such special EU concern against the problem of its politicization. The EU has managed to put the Roma on the political agenda by considering them a category of people who are exceptionally vulnerable and therefore in need of special attention; but this EU attention - although well intended and, in certain aspects, not unlikely to produce some positive effects - can have problematic unintended consequences once it becomes politicized in the domestic arenas of countries where politicians try to mobilize voters on an ethnic basis and seek to win the support of Euroskeptical citizens.

Dr Julie Vullnetari

Of fortune tellers and work visas: migration experiences of Roma in Albania

The collapse of communism in the early 1990s in Albania was followed by massive emigration, particularly to neighbouring Greece. The Roma living in Albania were among the first and most numerous in these flows, the vast majority of which were undocumented. However, their migratory trajectories and experiences remain under-researched and not well understood. This paper aims to contribute to this and broader discussions about the Roma mobilities in Europe through an analysis of data collected in 2008 within the framework of a broader study on gender, remittances and development in Albania. I specifically draw on 38 household questionnaires, plus in-depth interviews and a group discussion with Roma seasonal migrants and residual migrant families in rural south-east Albania, as well as participant observation there. The findings specific to these communities are presented here for the first time and are placed within a wider background of historical, socio-economic and cultural context. I argue that migratory patterns among the Roma are shaped by their marginalised position in Albanian society, and by the double discrimination faced vis-à-vis the Greek immigration regulations and authorities as both Albanians and 'Gypsies'. As the spring approaches, Roma women go to seek the advice of fortune tellers to see if their husbands will be lucky to get a seasonal work visa for Greece that summer – the only hope for a decent livelihood in the face of poverty and social exclusion. Remittances from Greece help families survive, but come at a high cost for the migrants' teenage children, who withdraw from school to look after younger siblings while both parents emigrate.

Sofiya Zahova

Refugee migrations of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians to Montenegro and their impact on the communities' social and cultural development

After the Kosovo war conflict many Gypsy groups, united nowadays by the definition in international documents ratified by the Montenegrin state as RAE (Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian), migrated as refugees into the territory of Montenegro. Their number is estimated between 6000 and 7000, the bigger part of them settling in the country into legal or illegal camps based in the Montenegrin municipal cities Podgoritsa, Bar, Berane, Budva, Hetzeg Novi, Kotor, Nikshich, Plevlya, Tivat, following the route of migration of early labour migrants within former Yugoslavia. The most numerous is the Roma community, the Egyptian community comes second in number. Some of the war refugee migrants still live in Montenegro; many of the them migrated to EU countries while other are exploring the possibilities to come back to their place of origin in Kosovo.

In the last decade the RAE refugee communities came into contact with the other Roma groups in the territory of Montenegro (estimated as 12000–13000), including labour migrants from Kosovo throughout the period of socialist Yugoslavia, and this also reflected the refugee communities' development in terms of social status and cultural identity. At the same time on its way to democratisation and institutionalisation of rule of law and human rights policies Montenegro recognised the status of the population called Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians and undertook a series of government measures that recognise the right of refugees to proper living conditions, identity revealing and development and support for their access to work, and of social and cultural development.

The proposed paper will explore the relationship between the legal refugee status of the RAE population in Montenegro and the patterns of their mobility and occupation in the state; the relationship between the Roma communities settled in different periods before the breakup of Yugoslavia and newly arrived as refugees migrants and will analyse the impacts of these processes on RAE migrants' community status and identity.