Bachelor Thesis
International Development Studies

EU Minority Policy and Local Reality

Literature study on the translation of EU minority policy into the local reality of Roma in Bulgaria and Romania using a case study of Roma children in the education system

Alexandra 't Lam

WAGENINGEN UR
For quality of life

Preface

The Roma and their place in society has aroused my interest since I stayed several weeks amongst a Roma community in Babadag, Romania. The experience in that particular local reality got me thinking of the way that local, national and transnational governments deal with this minority in their policies. The Roma have become the largest European minority, but they are also the most disadvantaged one. This shows that the topic is not just a personal interest, but it has social and political relevancy.

The process of writing this thesis has had its ups and downs. Especially at the start it was difficult to make progress, to discover the main issues and stick to them. Together with the fact that I was sharing my interest and energy amongst several (other) activities, this bachelor thesis developed into a long term process. Therefore I want to thank my supervisor Alberto Arce, foremost for his patience, and also for his advices. At the end of the process I can now say that I have learned most from the struggle it sometimes was and I hope to take these lessons with me in other future projects.

Alexandra 't Lam

Preface

Summary

The Copenhagen Criteria for candidate member states are drawn from the enlargement strategy of the European Union (EU). The strong emphasis on minority protection in those criteria have been an incentive to Romania and Bulgaria to improve the often deplorable situation of the Roma. To effectively translate the EU minority policy to the local reality of the Roma in Romania and Bulgaria it is essential to obtain knowledge of the culture and lifestyle of Roma in particular localities. The case of Roma children in the education system enforces that statement and also shows the importance of the representation of Roma in the process of policy making and implementation.

Space, globalization and citizenships are the theoretical concepts that are used to analyze the translation of EU minority policy into local reality. The theory of social space displays the positions of the main agents (EU, national and local governments, majority and minority populations) in the social space, the (power) relations that exist between the agents, and the agents' perceptions of the social world. With agents on transnational, nation and local level the connections and disconnections between those levels are analyzed through the concept of globalization. The impact of EU minority rights on local reality is reflected in the concept of citizenship as legal status and as identity.

Table of contents

Part C - Analysis

1. Introduction

1.1 EU minority policy, Roma and eastern Europe

Protection of minorities is traditionally not on the European Union (EU) integration agenda, but since the 1990s it has become more important for member states to comply to human rights issues such as anti-discrimination principles and prevention of ethnic conflict. Minority protection even became one of the preconditions in EU's enlargement strategy since it was part of the Copenhagen Criteria for Accession of 1993. The EU gave minority protection an important role hoping that this would maintain political stability in all member states, including future member states from central and eastern Europe (Vermeersch, 2004).

The largest European minority is the group of Roma. The Roma are not only the largest minority, but also the most disadvantaged one. This has already been the case from the beginning of the settlement of Roma in Europe, about 700 years ago. The Roma origins lay in north western India, from where they gradually migrated to the west in the tenth century (Pogosyan, 2010). Since their settlement in Europe the Roma have been politically, socially, culturally and economically marginalized by the dominant populations of the region (Barany, 1994). The Roma differ from most of the other European minorities, because of their lack of a kin state. This makes that they are mostly categorized as *ethnic* minority rather than *national* minority, which gives them a secondary minority status that is less preferential (Guglielmo & Waters, 2005).

Romania and Bulgaria are countries that both have a relatively high percentage of Roma living in their country and they recently have become members of the EU. To enter the EU these countries had to meet EU standards for minority protection, which makes it interesting to investigate how this EU policy is translated into the local reality of Roma living in Romania and Bulgaria.

The three elements shortly described above - EU minority policy, Roma, and eastern European countries - form the core subjects of this thesis.

1.2 Research Questions

The main question for this thesis is related to EU minority policy on transnational level and its translation to the local level. This will be illustrated by a case study of Roma children in the education system in Romania and Bulgaria.
The main research question is:

How is EU minority policy translated into the local reality of Roma in Romania and Bulgaria?

To answer this question it is first needed to have background information on the Roma, the EU minority policy, and the schooling of Roma children. Therefore, the following sub questions are raised:

- ❖ What is the EU policy on minorities, especially on Roma?
- ❖ What is the history of Roma in Europe, and especially in Bulgaria and Romania?
- ❖ What is the current situation of Roma in Bulgaria and Romania?
- ❖ What is the situation of Roma children in the education system in Bulgaria and Romania?
- ❖ How can the concepts of space, globalization and citizenship explain the functioning of EU minority policy in local reality?

By answering these questions I will be able to answer the main question: How is EU minority policy translated into the local reality of Roma in Romania and Bulgaria?

1.3 Methodology

The thesis is based on literature study only. To answer the research question, more factual information to discuss the EU policy and the situation of the Roma will be combined with more theoretical information to underpin and interpret this. With the combination of factual and theoretical information the translation of EU minority policy into local reality will be explained. This is further divided into three parts.

- ➢ Part A: Literature review will be given on both EU minority policy and on the history, culture and lifestyle of Roma in Romania and Bulgaria;
- ➢ Part B: Case study on situations and developments of Roma in the education system in Romania and Bulgaria;
- ➢ Part C: Analysis of part A and B on the basis of the theoretical concepts of globalization, space and citizenship.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

There are three main concepts that together form the theoretical framework of this thesis. These concepts are: space, citizenship and globalization. The case study on Roma children in schools will be used as an illustration in which these concepts come to the surface in a local reality.

1.4.1 Space

Space is a concept that Bourdieu uses to represent the social world. *'The social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space."* (Bourdieu, 1985 : 723, 724). In the case of EU minority policy, the most relevant groups of agents are the EU and the minority

population, in this case the Roma. The majority population of a country and the national and local government also play a role. These different groups of agents each have their own position in the social space which is constructed on the basis of properties and their distributions. The positions are not all at the same level, but there is a form of hierarchy within the space (Bourdieu, 1987). *"..(it being understood that, while each field has its own logic and its own hierarchy, the hierarchy that prevails among the different kinds of capital and the statistical link between the different types of assets tends to impose its own logic on the other fields).'* (Bourdieu, 1985 : 724). The hierarchy can thus result in one logic that is dominant over the other logic(s). The groups of agents each will also have a different perception of the social world from the position that they are holding in the space and from their lifestyle. The different lifestyles create distinction between the different groups of agents (Bourdieu, 1987). This is relevant in the case of the Roma minority with their specific lifestyle, living amongst a majority population with a different lifestyle.

The social theory of space is useful in the case of EU minority policy since the concept of space gives an overview of the different positions and power relations interacting with each other and eventually creating reality. The interactions within the social space can give insight in how policy arises and is translated through different governmental levels.

1.4.2 Globalization

Globalization can be defined as the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness (Held *et al.*, 1999). More specific, globalization can be thought of as '*a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power.'* (Held *et al.,* 1999 : 16). Globalization is thus about flows and networks. Flows can be seen as the movements of people, information, symbols etc., while networks refer to '*regularized or patterned interactions'* (Held *et al.*, 1999 : 16). The latter is the most important for this thesis since it includes the globalized networks of transnational organizations like the EU. However, these networks and flows cannot easily be seen as two separated aspects since the combination of the two is creating processes of globalization. But the focus in this thesis is on the impact of globalization on governance.

Nation-states used to be independent and have full autonomy within their borders, but in a globalizing world supranational and multinational organizations and regulations have influence within the borders of a nation-state (Morris, 1997). One such supranational organization is the European Union (EU). Countries in Europe, however, do not only have to deal with the EU, but also with international organizations like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) (Held *et al.*, 1999).

National sovereignty of the member states of the EU is still the basis of the cooperation within the EU. National sovereignty is '*the entitlement to rule over a bounded territory, and the political authority within a community which has the right to determine the framework of rules, regulations and policies and to govern accordingly*.' (Held *et al.*, 1999 : 52). This state sovereignty is different from state autonomy, which means: '*the capacity the state possesses to articulate and achieve policy goals independently.*'

There is a tension between the supranational authority of the EU and the state sovereignty and autonomy of EU's members. The issue of minority rights is founded in EU policy, but it is the task of the member states to execute such policy. What is the impact of the globalization of institutions and regulations, in this case EU policy, on the situation of the Roma minority? How is policy that is formed at the transnational level translated into the local reality of Roma minorities? Does minority policy formed on a transnational level connects to that local reality? These are the questions that make the concept of globalization relevant for this thesis.

1.4.3 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship can be explained in two ways; citizenship as a legal status, as membership in a political community and citizenship as desirable activity, where participation in a certain community generates the extent and quality of citizenship (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994).

1.4.3.1 Legal

Citizenship as a legal status has everything to do with rights. According to Marshall (1964), citizenship rights can be divided in three categories: civil rights, political rights and social rights. By guaranteeing these rights to society, members of that society are able to participate and will feel like a full member of society. When one or more of these rights are not guaranteed but violated, people will be unable to participate and will be marginalized.

1.4.3.2 Identity

Besides the legal aspect, citizenship also has an aspect of identity. Citizenship is not just that legal status, but it is also an identity that is shared with other citizens. There are two main theories on identity: the personal identity theory and the social identity theory. The social identity theory is most relevant in the case of EU minority policy and the Roma. Social identity is about intergroup relations and comparisons between in-group and out-group. By these comparisons a group can identify itself by distinguishing itself from another group (Stets & Burke, 2000). In the words of Ashforth & Mael (1989 : 21) social identity is: '*The perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate.*'. This results herein that people tend to choose activities in accordance with aspects of their identities and that they support the institutions embodying those identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). For the case of EU minority policy and the Roma, the social identity theory is relevant, since the Roma are a specific population group within

the EU and they will be viewed as such in this thesis. The Roma distinguish themselves from other population groups mainly by their specific lifestyle and culture. The other population groups do not identify themselves with the Roma, since they have different lifestyles. The social theory of identity is useful for examining what the distinctions between different groups and corresponding identities mean for the translation and implementation of, and compliance with EU minority policy.

Citizenship has everything to do with minority policy in the EU. The EU can make policy on the legal aspect of citizenship, to make sure that every citizen of the EU has the same rights. It is important, however, that the EU is also aware of identity as part of citizenship and therefore should be part of policy as well.

1.4.4 Case: Roma children in education system

Roma children in the education system will be used as a case study where theory comes to the surface. A school can be viewed as a society in miniature where children of minority and majority population groups 'live' and interact together. Romani children have a hard time in the mainstream educational system which results in low participation rates of Romani children in mainstream schools (Smith, 1997). What are the underlying causes of this? The concepts of space and citizenship are used, through which a connection can be made to the society as a whole. The case of Romani children in the education should make it possible to evaluate EU minority policy and its translation and realization on local level.

Part A – Literature Review

2. EU Minority Policy

To find out what the impact of EU minority policy is on the local reality of Roma, first it is needed to see what kind of policy exists within the EU on the subject of minority protection. Minority protection was not a sector on which the European Union (EU) used to have policy. When and how this is changed will be described in this chapter, together with an overview of the initiatives within the EU to enhance the protection of minorities, with a focus on the Roma.

2.1 EU enlargement strategy and minority policy

From the 1990s the European Community (EC) developed a strategy for enlargement towards countries in central and eastern Europe, like Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. In this period, short after the fall of communism, the EU feared ethnic conflict in the candidate countries since the EU had failed in earlier conflict at the Balkans. To prevent this from happening in the future, minority protection became an important issue in the enlargement strategy, although it was traditionally not on the integration agenda of the EU (Vermeersch, 2004). Since the end of the twentieth century three institutions have worked on minority protection in eastern Europe: The Council of Europe, the Organization for the Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union.

The goal of the Council of Europe is to ensure peace, democracy and human rights (Royer, 2010). After 1989 the Council of Europe formed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Framework Convention) to protect minority groups in Europe (Gilbert, 1996). The summit of the Committee of Ministers in 1994 formed an important instruction for the Framework Convention. The summit stated that national minorities "*should be protected and respected so that they can contribute to stability and peace*" (Thornberry & Estébanez, 2004 : 89).

The second institution working on minority protection in Europe is the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE was given the mandate of 'High Commissioner on National Minorities' (HCNM) in 1992. This mandate contains the following:

> "*The High Commissioner will provide 'early warning' and, as appropriate, 'early action' at the earliest possible state in regard to tensions involving national minority issues which have not yet developed beyond an early warning stage, but, in the judgement of the High Commissioner, have the potential to develop into conflict within the OSCE area, affecting peace, stability or relations between*

participating States, requiring the attention of and action by the [Ministerial] Council or [Senior Council]." (Stoel, in: Crocker *et al.* 1999 : 68).

This means that the OSCE is monitoring minority issues within Europe by means of the HCNM, and that it gives recommendations on the enlargement strategy.

This bring us to the third institution working on minority protection: The European Union (EU). Based on the recommendations given by the HCNM, the rules for EU accession were formed (Johns, 2003). These rules are known as the Copenhagen Criteria, since they are established by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993. To demarcate the field of study, the focus will further be on this third institution, the EU, and its accession criteria since those criteria are directly related to the new member states Romania and Bulgaria and the Roma living there. Since the accession criteria are formed on the basis of the work of the HCNM, this institution will not be completely left out of the picture. To be allowed to enter the EU, candidate countries need to meet these accession criteria:

- *"Stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities (political);*
- *Existence of a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union (economic);*
- *Ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union (community acquis)"*

(www.europa.eu, 2011)

Together with article 49 of the Treaty on European Union the Copenhagen criteria provide the framework for enlargement. Article 49 is formulated as follows:

"Any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union. The European Parliament and national Parliaments shall be notified of this application. The applicant State shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission and after receiving the consent of the European Parliament, which shall act by a majority of its component members. The conditions of eligibility agreed upon by the European Council shall be taken into account.

The conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails, shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements." (Treaty on European Union, 2010 : 67).

Under Article 49 acceding the Copenhagen criteria should ensure a good transition to and connection with the EU on the field of politics, economics and compliance to obligations of membership. Prior to the accession negotiations the EU has a 'pre-accession strategy'. At this stage EU institutions are in discussion with candidate countries about the possibilities of entering the EU and the potential adjustments that have to be realized before the real accession negotiations can start. In the pre-accession stage, the political criterion must already be satisfied before starting further accession negotiations. This shows the high value that the EU assigns to the political aspect, including "*respect for and protection of minorities*" (www.europa.eu, 2011), over the other two aspects of economic functioning and community *acquis*. Minority protection became very important in the enlargement strategy as a precondition for entering the EU. In the 1990s there was, however, also a trend of internationalisation of minority rights. The EU followed this trend by setting the criteria of minority protection for the candidate states (Vermeersch, 2004). Vermeersch (2004) argues that EU concerns in the field of minority protection were mainly focused on candidate states in central and eastern Europe, but internally the EU was not very active on this terrain. The EU wanted most of all to maintain political stability within their future member states. This notion of stability and peace can also be found in the description of the goal of the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe, and in that of the HCNM. Johns (2003) speaks of a 'double standard' that the EU is upholding because many of the changes that the candidate members of the EU have to make, are not consistent with the practices of the states that already are EU members. Especially in the case of minority rights where candidate countries have to realize criteria that the EU members have not set for themselves. This is also found in the work on minorities of the Organisation of Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE); while their work field contains entire Europe, analyses and recommendations were only on eastern European countries (Johns, 2003). This raises the question in how far the EU is really committed to minority protection. With the emphasis on minority policy within the enlargement strategy the EU foremost wants to maintain political stability, instead of being really concerned with the protection of ethnic minorities. The double standard between 'old' and 'new' members that the EU is handling with confirms this. The criteria on minority protection are quite strict for entering the EU, but what happens with the protection of minorities after a state has become member of the EU is unclear (Vermeersch, 2004).

2.2 Roma within EU minority policy

A more general insight in EU minority policy in relation with the enlargement was given above. The Copenhagen Criteria for accessing the EU are formulated in general terms, stating that *"human rights for and protection of minorities"* should be assured. The HCNM specified this criteria in 1998 more and more towards one minority group, namely the Roma. The Roma got this prominent place in the minority criterions since they would officially become the largest European minority if Romania and Bulgaria would access the European Union (which eventually happened in 2007) (Pogosyan,

2010). In both Romania and Bulgaria the situation of the Roma was quite disastrous and the European Union could not close her eyes for the problems the Roma are facing and causing. Besides forming the largest European minority, the Roma are a special minority since they lack a kin state. This has categorized the Roma often as an ethnic rather than a national minority, which gave them a secondary minority status, while they do share many other aspects of minority communities that are categorized as national minorities (Gugliemo & Waters, 2005).

States within Europe used to have their policies towards Roma organized around the perception of Roma as outsiders (Gugliemo & Waters, 2005). In the beginning of the 1990s it were only those states that on their own had these policies towards Roma. When the EU started its enlargement strategy, the Roma were not a main point of concern within the EU because they were not seen as a potential threat to the stability of Europe. Later on in the 1990s the Roma did become important for the EU, since a growing amount of international media and human rights organisations addressed the predicament of the Roma (Vermeersch, 2004) and the potentially destabilizing effects of migration of Roma to western European countries. This reveals the two underlying interests of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM); conflict prevention and migration prevention.

The first report that the HCNM wrote on the Roma in 1993 was mainly aimed at the issue of migration of Roma and the potential destabilizing effect it could have on European countries. Later on, when the candidate states for EU accession had already gone through a process of meeting the accession criteria, the second report of the HCNM in 2000 was mainly aimed at human rights, fighting discrimination and promoting effective participation in public life (Gugliemo & Waters, 2005). This shows the shifting perspective on Roma within European institutions. At first the Roma were treated in policy from a security perspective, later this shifted towards a social issue, and eventually it became a human rights based perspective (Gugliemo & Waters, 2005). Underlying these three perspectives there is the fear of the destabilizing effect of migration of Roma. At first the policies clearly aimed at this concern, but later on this aim became more hidden by trying to provide in better rights and living conditions for Roma to prevent them from migrating.

The difference of the Roma minority compared to other minorities became stressed by categorizing them a particular different way than other minorities. This difference was and is often perceived as a threat and as a reason to exclude and discriminate. Special policy on Roma, even different from policies on other minorities, might increase this exclusion and discrimination. At the other hand, this kind of categorization does acknowledge the different lifestyle and identity of the Roma, of which they are proud and which they do not want to give up. The Copenhagen Criteria can work in favour of the acknowledgment and protection of this identity and lifestyle of minorities.

2.3 To conclude

From 1990 onwards the European Union has broadened its terrain more towards political issues, foremost in the process of accession of new (eastern European) member states. With the decisive criterion on minority rights the EU tries to generate and preserve stability in their (future) member states and it tries to prevent westward migration of minorities. Preserving stability and prevent migration seem to outweigh the aim of protection and justice for minorities. The Roma also became a potential threat for stability for the EU and that is why special attention was paid to them within minority policy.

The EU first treated the minority rights from a security perspective. Later on this changed, the Roma were now categorized as an ethnic minority from which they got a migrant status. The EU's perspective shifted from security to social, since they wanted to preserve stability in the society in which the Roma were living. The final shift in perspective of the EU went from the social to human rights. During this shift of perspectives the labelling of the Roma also shifted from a migrant status to a minority status.

The new found enthusiasm and emphasis on minority rights only seems to hold for the states that are within the enlargement strategy of the EU and not for the states that have been EU members for a long time already. This shows the 'double standard' that the EU has on the issue of minority rights, of which it might be concluded that the EU is not really committed to the protection of minorities but just wants to maintain political stability within the union.

Although there have been positive processes put in motion in minority protection by the EU's enlargement strategy, according to Pogosyan (2010) current policy practices for minority rights protection in Europe continue to be ineffective. More efforts seems to be needed for effective minority policy. The need for change in attitudes among majorities (Gugliemo & Waters, 2005), might be a step in that direction. This change need to come along with the policy, otherwise it will not reach the objective of the policies (Pogosyan, 2010). Psychological transformation is needed to let the legal side really work (Pogosyan, 2010).

3. Roma: History, culture and current situation

Who are the Roma and where do they come from? These questions will be the core theme of this chapter. To find out how the European minority policy impact the Roma, it is good to first get to know this people, its history and its lifestyle. When reading this chapter it should be kept in mind that in some parts a general image is given of the Roma population as a whole, but in reality there is a lot of diversity within this population. Ladányi & Szelényi (2001) investigated that the classification of Roma as 'Roma' differ amongst Roma themselves, experts and researchers. They even state that the classification of Roma is a social construction which creates insiders and outsiders. For the sake of this thesis this cannot be worked out completely, but it is however important not to consider Roma as a homogenous group.

3.1 History: Origin and settlement in Europe

The Roma originate from India. From the ninth century onwards they migrated to several parts of the world, for unknown reasons. In the fifteenth century the first Roma settled in Europe and throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth century they spread over almost all European countries. The largest number of the Roma settled in eastern and southern European countries like Romania, Former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Spain. From the moment of their settlement the Roma have been treated as inferior by the majority of the population they were settling amongst (Pogosyan, 2010). The reason for this marginalization is often explained by the different looks, cultural and social traditions of the Roma compared to the majority population. In the medieval times this was reflected in blaming the Roma population for death, epidemics, diseases and poor harvests (Pogosyan, 2010). In 1498, in Germany the Roma were even declared outlaws which meant that anyone could do violence to Roma and harm them without being considered doing anything wrong or being punished for it (Pogosyan, 2010). The discrimination and persecution urged them to keep up their nomadic lifestyle and hold strongly on to their identity which in the first place separated them from the local population (Pogosyan, 2010). Roma were maltreated throughout Europe, but Romania is ranked as the worst offender through history by enslaving the Roma from the fourteenth until the nineteenth century (Pogosyan, 2010). During Second World War about 1,500,000 Roma perished in the Romany Holocaust (Greenberg, 2010). The communist regimes that took over in eastern Europe after the Second World War wanted to create a uniform class society which did not have space for the different lifestyle and identity of the Roma (Pogosyan, 2010). From then on, the Roma were also more and more forced to give up their nomadic lifestyle because of forced settlement, nationalization of the economy, processes of industrialization, urbanization and the collectivization of agriculture (Greenberg, 2010).

After settlement of the majority of the Roma in eastern European countries, westward migrations have taken place from Second World War until now. The westward migration can be seen in three waves of which the first took place right after

Second World War, between 1945 and 1960. The second wave took place between 1960 and 1980 and was driven by mostly economic, and sometimes political reasons. The third wave started in 1980 and especially from the 1990s this wave of migration was driven by political reasons, since the fall of communist regimes and because of the war in Bosnia and Kosovo. At the same time, however, the migration driven by economic reasons continued (Arayici, 1998). Now that countries like Romania and Bulgaria are part of the EU, the westward migration of Roma seeking for better living conditions in the west will go on and might even increase. This trend is causing the western European countries difficulties.

The total of Roma people living in Europe is now about twelve million (Arayici, 1998). Exact data on Roma are, however, hard to give since there are no official data on most of them. The accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the European Union in 2007, made the Roma the largest minority in Europe (Pogosyan, 2010).

3.2 Culture, lifestyle and marginalization

Roma are travellers from origin, however, nowadays the majority of Roma are permanently settled and are not travelling on a regular basis anymore. The historical legacy of forced settlements is a major cause of this development. The history of a traveller's way of life is a very specific one by which Roma were just dependent on each other. This makes that the Roma often have very tight relationships within their own communities. Together with their specific lifestyle and their own Romani language this might create a boundary between Roma and the majority population of the country they live in.

When Roma settle in a country, they often do not live amongst the other population of that country. While more than half of the population of Europe now lives in urban spaces, the large majority of Roma live in the rural spaces. These spaces outside the towns, have few opportunities for work and schooling. Such Roma settlements often look like shanty towns, with no electricity and no sewerage system. In short: The living conditions are poor. Residence is just one aspect that distinct Roma from the rest of the population. Furthermore, there is the difference in language, clothing and employments (Cretan, 2006). The unemployment rate of Roma people is high, about four times higher than the overall unemployment rate of the populations they live amongst. The jobs that Roma generally do can be described as 'working independently'. Examples of such jobs are working on markets, funfairs and circuses, industry, scrap-metal collection, music, grape-picking, etc. (Arayici, 1998). Many Roma have difficulties finding a permanent job, only 14.5% have salaried jobs (Arayici, 1998). When they have salaried jobs, then the Roma are often paid unequally as opposed to non-Roma workers. Half of the unemployment and a third of unequal payment of Roma is a result of discrimination (Böcs, 1996 in: Arayici, 1998).

However, another important explanation for the high unemployment rate of Roma is that many Roma children drop out of school in the 5-8 classes, since they are

put to work when they finish about four years of school (Dobraca, 1994, in: Cretan, 2006). Furthermore it is usual for Roma girls and boys to marry at a very young age. (Cretan, 2006) states that girls marry at an age of ten or eleven, and for the boys this would be about one or two years later. (Cozma e*t al.*, 2010) gives numbers for the age of marriage of Roma in Romania that are around seventeen and eighteen year.

Flowing forth from the early school drop-out they lack professional training which lead them into only the lowest-paid jobs (Cretan, 2006). On top of that, Roma are often not legally registered, which means that they do not have an identity card. Legal employment and social benefits are therefore not within reach (Cretan, 2006). Also, the birth rates among Roma are higher than those of the majority populations. In Romania, for example, the average birth rate is 1,9 per woman while for the Roma the birth rate is 5,1 per woman (Cozma *et al.*, 2010). This means that the percentage of poor educated and unemployed people in eastern Europe will continue to grow (Greenberg, 2010). Next to the high unemployment rate, the health situation of Roma is poor. As a result of that Roma live ten to fifteen years shorter than non-Roma from the same region (Greenberg, 2010). This is, amongst others, caused by limited access to medical care, diabetes, inadequate nutrition and poor housing conditions (Greenberg, 2010).

Many Roma are dependent on state welfare systems to survive. From that they may receive social assistance, unemployment benefits and child support payments (Greenberg, 2010). The non-Roma population is often not amused by these payments since they consider it that the Roma get support from their tax money (Greenberg, 2010), which is another reason for increased tension between the populations.

The reason for Roma living in poor living conditions on the one hand can be explained by early school drop-out, unemployment, discrimination and illegality. At the other hand, Roma want to and choose to hold on to their traditions and specific way of life (Pogosyan, 2010) including marrying at a very young age, which leads to early school drop-outs, which can easily lead to unemployment. Also living together in communities just outside of towns, not integrating into the majority population of their country can be explained as caused by discrimination, but again it is also the Roma themselves that choose to live in this way, since they want to maintain their cultural separation (Cretan, 2006). It is hard to tell what is the real causing factor. Are the Roma discriminated because of their traditions and specific lifestyle and because they do not integrate into the majority population, or are the Roma holding so firmly on to their traditions, specific lifestyle and separation from the majority of society because they are discriminated?

Fact is, however, that many Roma live in poor living conditions and are often marginalized in such a way that even human rights are at stake. These marginalization include denial of justice, violent abuses, lack of political rights, child homelessness, school segregation, lack of adequate health care, lack of employment opportunities (Pogosyan, 2010). Roma poverty rates are ten times higher than poverty rates of non-Roma population, and forty per cent of Roma are living below the poverty line.

3.3 Roma situation in Romania

Between 1.8 and 2.5 million Roma are nowadays living in Romania (Davidova, 1995, in: Ladányi & Szelényi, 2001). As stated earlier it is not possible to give exact numbers since many Roma are not legally registered. Roma first came to Europe in the fourteenth century and Roma also first settled in Romania in that century. From their settlement onwards Roma have always been marginalized in any country they settled, but Schvey et *al.* (2005, in: Pogosyan, 2010) states that Romania has been the worst offender. From their settlement in Romania until the 1850s the Roma were enslaved in Romania (Achim, 2004; Pogosyan, 2010). In 1864 the Roma were granted legal rights as free citizens, but this, however, did not bring improvements to their social and economic condition (Pogosyan, 2010). It even led to the perishing of 500,000 Roma in the Romany Holocaust during the Second World War (Pogosyan, 2010). After the war, the communist regime ignored any ethnic differences and especially that of the Roma, to create a uniform society (Pogosyan, 2010). "*Roma citizens were discouraged from expressing or even acknowledging their identity."* (Goldston, 2002, in: Pogosyan, 2010 : 4). Forced settlements during the communist regime made an end to the nomadic lifestyle of the majority of the Roma (Pogosyan, 2010). Because of a lack of education the Roma could only find low paid jobs, that is if they could find a job at all during communist economy (Pogosyan, 2010).

After centuries of marginalization of Roma, the anti-Roma sentiment did not suddenly turn around when Romania got involved with the EU accession process. The marginalization of Roma is not only shown amongst the majority population but even high raking government official remain in openly expressing their dislike of Roma (Pogosyan, 2010).

3.4 Roma situation in Bulgaria

Between 600,000 and 700,000 Roma are living in Bulgaria (Davidova, 1995, in: Ladányi & Szelényi, 2001). The Roma make up more than six percent of the total Bulgarian population which is about nine million (Titterton & Clark, 2000). The first groups of Roma settled in Bulgaria in the fourteenth century and their place in society was then at the bottom of the social and economic ladder, and because they were considered 'different' they were made subject to specific taxes (Titterton & Clark, 2000). In the late nineteenth century, when Bulgaria was reunited, and the start of the twentieth century they tried to gain more control on the immigration of Roma and on their nomadic lifestyle by assigning them low-status tasks and social duties (Titterton & Clark, 2000). From the 1920s there were some positive developments with literacy campaigns and even starting schools for Roma children, but these developments came under pressure during the Second World War (Titterton & Clark, 2000), where many Roma perished. After the war the regime of Stalin started to expel Muslim Roma to Turkey and all other Roma groups needed to be assimilated to society. This process is also known as the "*Bulgarianisation*", which meant that the specific culture and lifestyle of Roma were no

longer tolerated (Titterton & Clark, 2000 : 39). In the 1950s the Roma with their nomadic lifestyle were forced to settle and this is when the so called "*Romani ghettos*" started to appear at the side of bigger cities, in the more rural spaces (Titterton & Clark, 2000 : 39). This process of assimilation continued in the 1960s and took even more extreme forms with enforcing Turkish Roma to change their names into Bulgarian names (Titterton & Clark, 2000). Furthermore, Romani music and the Romani language were forbidden and would get fined if they were still used (Titterton & Clark, 2000). At the same time, the communist regime had a good influence on the physical living conditions of Roma, with improving housing conditions and educational opportunities (Titterton & Clark, 2000). After the fall of communism in 1989 several Romani political, economic and media organization arose. It appeared, however, to be difficult for the Roma to make a real fist in politics and be of influence because of the diversity amongst the Roma population (Titterton & Clark, 2000). In the 1990s discrimination of Roma in Bulgaria was still taking place. This was reflected in, for example, segregated schools for Roma children. Those schools are poorly maintained and are often referred to as schools for mentally retarded children (Titterton & Clark, 2000). Furthermore, unemployment levels and poverty rates are high and the housing and infrastructure situation are very poorly (Titterton & Clark, 2000). On top of that there were several violent attacks to Roma communities and Roma individuals (Titterton & Clark, 2000). From the beginning of the 1990s Bulgaria got involved in the enlargement strategy of the EU and to continue in that process the country had to meet the Copenhagen criteria and furthermore sign human rights documents and declarations. Although those documents and declarations have been signed by both Romania and Bulgaria, Pogosyan (2010 : 2) states that "[...] *there has been very little change in the life, opportunities and treatment afforded to persons of Roma background*."

3.5 To conclude

The countries in which Roma have settled for the first time and in the countries that they later on migrated to, the specific cultural identity and lifestyle of Roma and the marginalization of Roma makes that they have not integrated with the majority population but often literally and figuratively live outside of society. In both Romania and Bulgaria, Roma have had a hard time during the communist period where in they were forced to assimilate instead of making effort of real integration. The regime change after communism has caused westward migrations of Roma. Regime change toward more global regime of the EU has and will increase this process and this is perceived as a threat to stability by the EU and a reason to set the accession criteria. If the Roma will be able to have a proper living in Romania and Bulgaria, they will not have incentive to migrate westwards. Since Bulgaria and Romania got involved in the EU enlargement strategy at the start of the 1990s, this has led to more governmental efforts to protect minority rights and to improve the situation of the Roma population. Even though this led to some improvements in the living conditions of the Roma, they are still the most disadvantaged minority of Europe.

Part B – Case study

4. Roma children within the education system in Romania and Bulgaria

The integration of minorities is highly regarded in the accession criteria by the European Union. To see how Romania and Bulgaria are processing these criteria, there will be looked into the education system and how Roma and non-Roma children are or are not integrated in that system. According to Cozma e*t al.* (2010 : 282) "*assessing the education situation of the Roma constitutes one of the most important starting points for the integration of the Roma in Romanian society*". By looking at the way that Roma and non-Roma are being segregated or integrated in schools may be a reflection of how this segregation or integration is taking place in society as a whole. Besides looking at the integration of Roma and non-Roma children in the education system, this chapter will also give an insight in how the position of Roma children in the education system has changed over the past decades and if there is a relation with the EU accession process that Bulgaria and Romania entered.

4.1 Roma in the education system: The general eastern European picture

Across Europe, the attendance of Roma children in the education system is very low (Cozma e*t al.*, 2010). Seventy to eighty percent of Roma across different countries have less than primary education (Greenberg, 2010). After the 1990s the educational system in former communist countries changed, but at first this was not in the advantage of the Roma, it even lead to many Roma children to drop out of school or not even start to attend school (Kyuchukov, 2000). Within the decade between 1990 and 2000 the economic and social condition of the Roma decreased, which resulted in less children attending kindergarten since their parents could not afford to pay the fees (Kyuchukov, 2000). Besides the decreasing economic and social situation there are some specific cultural characteristics of the Roma that make it difficult for them to adapt to the regular education system. The education system itself also has flaws in dealing with Roma children.

4.1.1 Statistics and characteristics

As seen in chapter three, Roma have a special culture and lifestyle. This influences their position in society and because of that also their position in the education system. Roma children speak the Romani language, often next to the official language of the country they live in. In the education system in eastern Europe, this bilingualism is often ignored or seen as a handicap (Kyuchukov, 2000). Some statistics on other cultural habits, lifestyles and traditions that influence the school attendance of Roma in Romania are:

- *"the average age of marriage is 17 for girls and 18 for boys;*
- *the birth rate is presently 5.1 children per woman, while Romania' s average birth rate is 1.9 per woman;*
- *during the past 16 years, the Roma population has increased by 80%;*
- *58% of all men and 89% of all women have no professional qualifications;*
- *59% of all women and 44% of all men are illiterate;*
- *only 4.5% of the Roma population graduates from high school;*
- *40% of Roma children (up to the age of 8) do not attend kindergarten; only half of the children aged 7± 10 years attend primary school only 7% pursue a secondary education."* (Cozma et al., 2010 : 282)

Although these are characteristics from Roma in Romania, they are roughly true for many Roma communities throughout eastern Europe. About the average age of marriage there are however even numbers known that state that this age is eleven for girls and thirteen for boys (Cretan, 2006), which will of course have an even larger influence on school attendance.

Within their communities Roma children learn already from a very young age about everyday life (Kyuchukov, 2000). From this traditional community-based Roma education, the children learn about the *"economic, social, linguistic, political and moral codes of their society"* by watching and listening (Kyuchukov, 2000 : 274). When these children come into regular schools they often cannot keep up with the non-Roma children, since it is a different kind of knowledge that is learned in the schools, or the knowledge is presented in a different way than the Roma children are used to (Kyuchukov, 2000). Furthermore, the Roma children often have difficulties in adapting to the class room environment and the school rules, while teachers often try to deal with that by placing the Roma children in the back of the classroom or sending them to schools for retarded or physically handicapped children (Kyuchukov, 2000). Roma children, however, do often have more knowledge about life, while school is boring from the viewpoint of Roma children since their interests are more connected with everyday life (Kyuchukov, 2000). Non-Roma children generally do not get too much in touch with Roma children as they are often regarded as "*dirty*" (Kyuchukov, 2000). On top of that Roma children often do not have the required books since their parents lack the financial means to purchase them (Kyuchukov, 2000). Within those books and other school material there is no attention paid to Roma history, culture, music or literature, even though Roma contributions can be called notable and bring diversity to society (Kyuchukov, 2000) and therefore also to the education process for both Roma and non-Roma children.

4.1.2 Segregation in the educational system

As a condition of accession to the European Union, eastern European countries are imposed to eliminate racial discrimination, of which the discrimination of Roma covers a large part. In the education system this discrimination is clearly revealed in the widespread segregation of Roma school children from non-Roma school children

(Greenberg, 2010). This segregation can be literally in the way that there are separate schools for Roma and non-Roma children. While the general rule in eastern Europe is that any child may attend any school. Priority is given to those children who live closest to the school, but many non-Roma schools refuse to enroll Roma children (Greenberg, 2010). Another way in which segregation is carried out is that school officials tend to diagnose Roma children very easily as having "*light mental retardation*" and send them to special schools, which lead to inferior education for these Roma children (Greenberg, 2010 : 936). The parents often send them to these schools anyway, since the children get free meals, clothing and school equipment that they would not get at a regular school (Greenberg, 2010). A third form of segregation is known by the name "*intraschool segregation*" and it means that within the school there are separate classrooms or section within the classroom where the Roma children are placed (Greenberg, 2010 : 936). All three ways of segregation are even more strengthened by the fact that many Roma parents want to hold on to the tradition of sending their children to the same school as they themselves attended (Greenberg, 2010).

4.2 Roma in the educational system of Romania

4.2.1 General situation of the education of Roma

Officially the Romanian law guarantees the right to education. In reality, however, Roma children are treated as second, if not third-class citizens within the Romanian education system or they cannot even get access to education at all (Pogosyan, 2010). Roma and non-Roma children often get taught in separated schools or classes. Besides the segregation, the school buildings used for Roma children are often in bad shape, with no electricity and running water. Teaching materials are not up to date and teachers are often not qualified on the required level (Greenberg, 2010).

There are some specific characteristics of Roma that make them a special group within the education system. Roma are not very eager to be in school for many years, Roma children often leave school somewhere between the fifth and the eight class, amongst others because the age of marriage of Roma is much lower than of non-Roma (Cozma *et al.*, 2010 and Cretan, 2006). Furthermore, Roma prefer to learn in a practical way, to be able to get into a job soon after school.

4.2.2 Desegregation in the educational system

All three forms of segregation in schools are present in Romania. About the intraschool segregation Cozma *et al*. (2010) state that this is actually a form of "*ghettoization*", because a 'ghetto' is created within the school by the separated Roma classes. This may easily lead to rejection and marginalization of the Roma children and the teachers that teach such classes (Cozma e*t al.,* 2010 : 283). This "*ghettoization*" that is taking place within schools will most likely carry on in society as a whole, since children already get used to the separation between Roma and non-Roma children. In 2007, the year that Romania became a member of the EU, the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research

and Youth put out a command on the "*prevention and elimination of school segregation of Roma children*" (Greenberg, 2010 : 964). This directive was meant to fight the segregation and promote the integration of Roma and non-Roma children in schools. It became mandatory for preschool, primary school and secondary school to have mixed groups/classes according to the proportion of Roma and non-Roma children living in the region (Greenberg, 2010). It is also the wish of most Roma children and policy makers for Roma children to attend regular schools and regular classes (Cozma *et al.*, 2010). Although there is a small minority of Roma that is against it. Those Roma often live in situations where they face discrimination and violence and in the fear that this will increase when Roma and non-Roma children will go to the same schools (Greenberg, 2010). Another argument of some Roma parents against desegregation was that Roma children need to be in their own compact group to be able to perform well at school (Greenberg, 2010). Putting Roma children in classes for retarded or handicapped children is taken up as an intermediate within the transition from separated to integrated schools. Within these retarded classes, Roma and non-Roma children are taught together in the same classes. However, it can very well be questioned whether it is ethical to classify Roma children as retarded while they 'just' have difficulties to keep up with the level and manner of teaching. Those difficulties flow mainly forth from the specific culture and lifestyle of the Roma children which makes it hard for them to adapt the regular schools, and which is not represented in the way of teaching.

From 2007, when the directive about the desegregation of schools and classes was prescribed, there have been surveys that showed that the enforcement of the directive is still weak. There is still a high incidence of segregation within the Romanian educational system (Greenberg, 2010). School segregation is, however, not a magic process that will solve all Roma issues. From their socio-economic situation Roma cannot afford to pay teachers to tutor them after regular school times, which does often happen with non-Roma children (Greenberg, 2010). The difference in level of education between Roma and non-Roma children may increase for that reason. Furthermore, there is a geographical problem in getting Roma and non-Roma children to go to the same schools, since Roma mainly live in communities in the rural spaces outside the towns. In this way the segregation of schools is a product of the geographical location of Roma and non-Roma districts. To have an equal reorganization of Roma and non-Roma children it would be fair to displace as many Roma children to former non-Roma schools as non-Roma children to former Roma schools. However, the conditions of the Roma schools are so poor, that everyone agrees that it is not an option to send any children to those schools (Greenberg, 2010).

4.3 Roma in the educational system of Bulgaria

4.3.1 General situation of the education of Roma

A census held in Bulgaria in 2001 showed that 81 percent of Roma had a primary education or less, although there are some differences in numbers between types of

Roma (Greenberg, 2010). Primary school enrollment rates for Roma in Bulgaria are 33 percent lower than of the non-Roma population (for Romania it is 20 per cent lower than non-Roma population) (Greenberg, 2010). This is flowing forth from the allocation of Roma outside of the cities, dating back to the 1950s when this allocation started (Pogosyan, 2010). In these districts, the Roma had no proper access to infrastructure and they lived under poor conditions. The schools that were built in the Roma districts were only intended for Roma children to attend and were meant to create poorly educated labor force to be able to work at the lowest levels of industry (Pogosyan, 2010). The poor living conditions, like the lack of electricity, running water and updated educational materials make it hard for children to concentrate in class and at home to do their homework (Pogosyan, 2010).

4.3.2 Desegregation in the educational system

Several action plans have been taken up in Bulgaria to promote and improve Roma education. Some examples are the Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma into Bulgarian Society (1994), which stressed the need for integrated schools, The Plan of Action of the Center for Educational Integration of Children and Pupils from Ethnic Minorities at the Ministry of Education and Science, National Program for Improving Living Conditions of Roma and there could be mentioned more (Pogosyan, 2010). The Centre of Integration of the Ministry of Education also has several programs that aim to enhance desegregation in education and create an "*multicultural environment*" with projects in sports, music, literature and school mediation (Greenberg, 2010 : 974).

Despite these plans, which were sometimes also translated into laws, it turned out to be difficult to enforce them (as well as in Romania). This is mainly caused by a lack of targets and indicators to monitor and control the plans and laws (Pogosyan, 2010).

The integration of Roma and non-Roma children need to be carried out with consideration. A research held in Bulgaria showed that Roma children do well when they begin to attend an integrated school from grade one. However, when they are somewhere halfway their years in school and then switch from a Roma school to an integrated school, they can often not keep up (Greenberg, 2010). The Roma children lack behind their fellow peers who have a past of higher quality education.

4.4 Analysis

The high school drop-out rate of Roma children is mainly caused by the economic situation of the Roma and by the education system itself and its lack of flexibility (Kyuchukov, 2000). Despite of the efforts that have been done, the educational system as it is now in Romania and Bulgaria does not adapt to the needs of Roma children in class. On the contrary, it is the Roma children that are forced to adapt to a system of education that does not connect to their lifestyle and cultural identity. If schools have this essential role in the social integration of Roma and non-Roma as Cozma *et al.* (2010) state, than it is the challenge to involve more Roma children in the educational process

and make this educational process more interesting and productive for the Roma (Kyuchukov, 2000). The desegregation process of schools should therefore have its focus on the integration of Roma and non-Roma in the system op education, so that both groups are represented. Differences in culture, lifestyle and way of learning should be recognized and integrated in the system, instead of forcing assimilation of Roma to the mainstream education model. Not just for the sake of recognition, but because Roma children will perform better when the school is more connected to their life world.

Cross-cultural education might be a proper new form of education for both Roma and non-Roma children. It is a form of education that should be suitable for the different cultures that can be found in society and can therefore also be found in a classroom (Cozma *et al.*, 2010). To make the cross-cultural education work, teachers need to be trained to work with children from different cultural backgrounds. This approach is more an attempt to integrate instead of an attempt to force assimilation.

4.5 To conclude

Over the past decades there have been more activities, plans and laws to stimulate the desegregation of Roma and non-Roma schools. This may very well be related to the accession criteria that the EU has set for Romania and Bulgaria. The correlation between those two can however not be stated for sure, but it is plausible that the accession criteria have had an influence on the increasing efforts that have been made by Bulgaria and Romania to improve the education system in such a way that it improves the integration of Roma and non-Roma. Fact is that the directive in Romania to stimulate the desegregation in the education system was set in 2007, the year that Romania became a member state of the European Union. This shows that the efforts to improve the situation of the Roma did not stop at the moment Romania entered the EU, but that the Romanian government tries to carry on within the process of improving the rights and living conditions of the Roma.

The specific way of living of the Roma is an important, if not the most important aspect of the difficulties in desegregation of schools, just as it is in society. Roma often do not acknowledge the value of education, but rather want to be involved in economic activities from a young age. The majority of the adult Roma population does not see the correlation between good education and the social and economic status (Cozma *et al.*, 2010).

For a real improvement of the educational system a change in the attitude of society towards the Roma is necessary (Kyuchukov, 2000). Together with that an improvement of the social and economic situation of the Roma is needed to make them able to afford going to school. Last but not least, there must be real integration and representation - instead of assimilation - of cultures in the education system so that Roma will gain more from the education.

Part C – Analysis

5. Theoretical framework analysis

The concepts of 'space', 'globalization' and 'citizenship' form the theoretical framework through which the EU minority policy and local reality of the Roma is analyzed. Using these concept will provide a theoretical basis for interpreting and analyzing part A (descriptive information) and part B (case study) to eventually come to a thorough and theoretical underpinned conclusion.

5.1 Space

Space is a concept that Bourdieu uses to represent the social world. The social theory of space can be useful in the case of EU minority policy since the concept of space gives an overview of the different positions and power relations which are interacting with each other and eventually create reality. The interactions within the social space can also give insight in how policy arises and is realized. Different actors – or agents as Bourdieu prefers to call them - play a role in the space in which the EU minority policies and the local reality in Romania and Bulgaria is taking place. Those agents can be imaged in a hierarchical model:

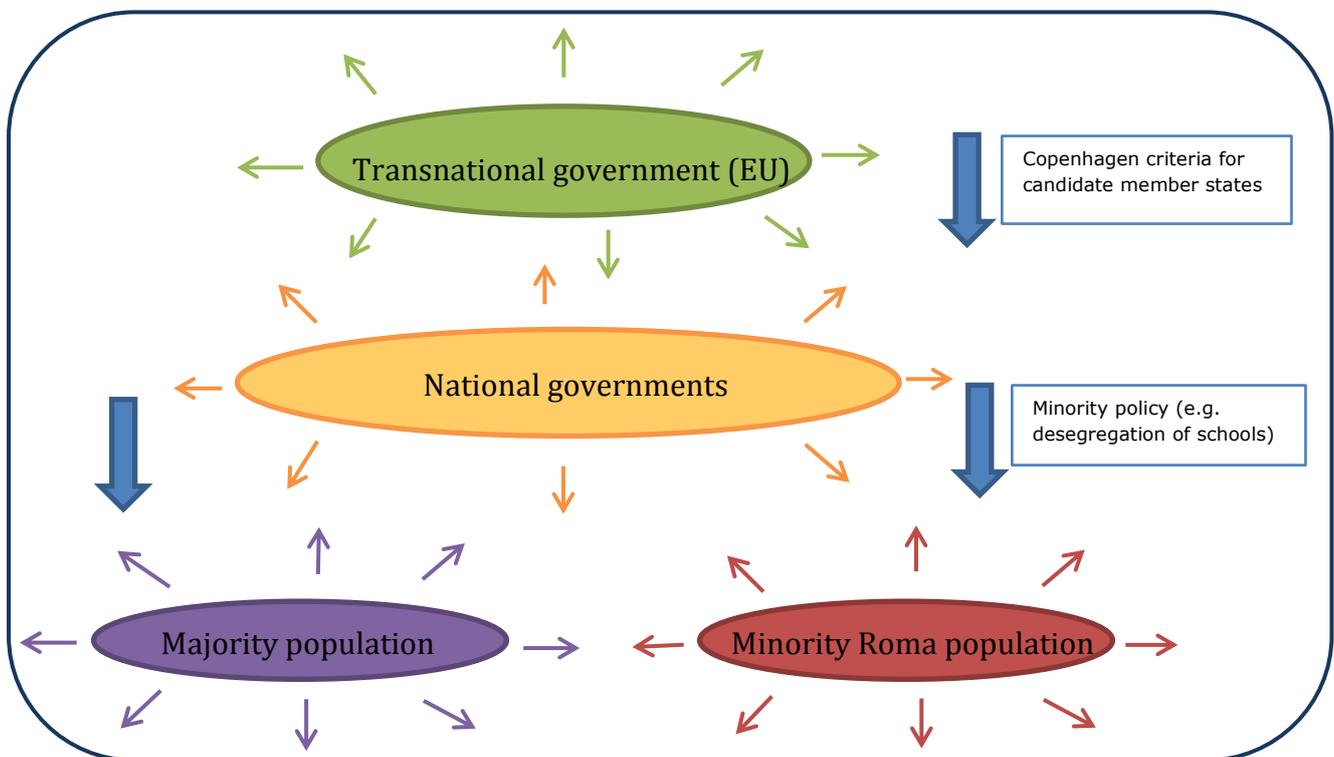**Social space and agents'**

Fig. 1: Social space of EU minority policy, and agents' perceptions

It needs to be said that this way of imaging the social world on the terrain of minority policy is, of course, a simplified display. In reality the social world is not unilinear, but rather multidimensional (Bourdieu, 1985). From the position that the agents are holding in the space, the agents or groups of agents each have a different perception of the social world and of each other. This is symbolized with the arrows: Each agent has a different colour. Each of them has their own space in which they have certain power and influence. In the case of the accession criteria and minority protection, although, they are dependent on the power of the institution that is above them in the hierarchy. The agents also have a different perception of the social world from the lifestyle they are living. The different lifestyles create distinction between the different groups of agents (Bourdieu, 1987). The lifestyle of the Roma, as described in chapter three, also creates distinction between the Roma minority population and the majority population they live amongst. That there is a difference in the way agents perceive the social world can be illustrated by the value that the Roma and other agents attach to education. The Roma do not value education as high as the majority population or as the government institutions. Roma feel the need to let their children participate in economic activities from a very young age, since they do not see the correlation between education and better opportunities for employment. This is also not to be seen separate from the aspect of culture and lifestyle that also flows forth into a different perception of the social world.

The EU can be seen as the dominant agent, at the top of the hierarchy because it is the EU that sets the criteria for national governments for entering the EU. In other cases national governments are fully in charge of their own national policy and then the EU might not have that much power and influence. EU may be dominant because it sets the criteria, it is not dominant in translating policy into reality. Reality is not to be caught in a hierarchical model, it is more flexible instead. It is up to national governments to work with the Copenhagen criteria and since they are vaguely formulated, it is difficult for the EU to enforce them all the same in the candidate countries.

Furthermore, it is shown that the influence of the EU on minority protection tends to fade out once a member has met the entering criteria. The EU does not pay as much attention to minority issues in states that have been member of the EU for a much longer time, which is called the 'double standard'. In Figure 1 the population, both majority and minority, is placed at the bottom of the hierarchy, because the minority policy is imposed on society by the governmental institutes that are placed above the population. The majority and minority population are therefore depicted on the same level, but they are not one and the same. Because of the different perception they have of the social world they cannot be placed together. *"To speak of a social space means that one cannot group just* anyone *with* anyone *while ignoring the fundamental differences, particularly economic and cultural ones* (Bourdieu, 1985 : 726). There are fundamental economic and cultural differences between the majority population and the Roma. This is the case within a country like Romania or Bulgaria, but on a larger scale this is also the case for the European Union as a whole. With 27 member states the EU contains a

lot of differences on economic, cultural and political field. From Bourdieu's viewpoint on the impossibility of placing groups with fundamental economic and cultural differences in one social space the EU enlargement strategy might be doomed to fail. However, Bourdieu (1985 : 726) also states that the fundamental differences "[...] *never entirely excludes the possibility of organizing agents in accordance with other principles of division – ethnic or national ones, for example* [...]". Although, Bourdieu (1985) adds to this that making a division by ethnic or national principles is generally related to the earlier mentioned economic and cultural differences. This emphasises the difficulties that the EU had, has and will have in dealing with the many nationalities and especially with the minorities. The Copenhagen criteria that candidate member states need to meet show that the EU is trying to get those countries aligned with the principles of the EU on economy, politics and rights.

On a small scale, the segregation on account of economic and cultural differences is seen in the educational system in Bulgaria and Romania as described in chapter four. Due to discrimination and marginalization of the Roma, and due to the lifestyle of Roma which value education differently, Roma and non-Roma did not go to school together but were taught in segregated schools. The desegregation process that has taken place in Bulgaria and Romania shows that it is not easy to overcome the economic and cultural differences. If this is already the case on the small scale of a classroom, this will likely even be more difficult on a national scale and a transnational scale.

Though the three agents (or group of agents) in the model all have their own logic, the dominant agent "[...]*tends to impose its own logic on the other fields*" (Bourdieu, 1985 : 724). The dominant agent here is the EU and for states to become a member state, they need to comply with the logic of the EU. In this accession process the EU imposes its logic on the future member states by setting them the Copenhagen criteria. Countries like Romania and Bulgaria have become an EU member state after they have met these criteria with that they should have taken over the logic of the EU. For taking over the logic of the dominant agent, it is essential for that dominant agent to have knowledge of the other agents and their logics. Bourdieu explains this as follows: *"Knowledge of the social world and [...] the categories that make it possible are the stakes [...] of political struggle, the inextricably theoretical en practical struggle for the power to conserve or transform the social world by conserving or transforming the categories through which it is perceived."* (Bourdieu, 1985 : 729) The EU is trying to transform the social world by imposing its logic on potential member states via the Copenhagen criteria. To be able to achieve this transformation in the social world it is essential for the EU to have knowledge of the social world and the categories that this social world is divided in to. When we use this information on the education process in Bulgaria and Romania, it can be said that the national government need to have knowledge on the Roma and non-Roma population. By means of the desegregation of the education system, the governments want to decrease marginalization of Roma and stimulate the integration of Roma and non-Roma. From the problems the desegregation of the education system still entails it is very likely that the governments do not have enough knowledge, or do not

have the right knowledge, on the Roma and non-Roma to be able to transform the social world. The reality of EU policy implementation is more complex than having a dominant logic and imposing that on the subordinate logics. Reality is more flexible and with that also more complex. It is not a linear process, since national governments have power in how they interpret and implement the criteria in their country. Especially since the criteria lack a system of enforcement.

Discrimination and marginalization of the Roma is still present, also in the education system. Together with the culture and lifestyle of the Roma from which they do not value education high, this results in the fact that the social space of the education system has made some steps to transform but did not went through a complete transformation. To make policy work out well in reality, knowledge of the social world and its categories is required. The policy needs to reflect and represent the perceptions of the agents, only then a transformation of the social world is possible. Minority policy in Romania and Bulgaria therefore need to be in line with perceptions of Roma and non-Roma, for example on the education process.

5.2 Globalization

EU as supranational institution gets influence on more terrains of the 'European society'. It is not only an economic union anymore, but political issues, such as minority rights and minority protection, are high on the EU agenda now. As a consequence of the enlargement strategy more and more minorities are part of the EU. How does this relate to the influence and sovereignty of national and local institutions? What is the impact of the globalization of institutions and regulations, in this case EU minority policy, on the situation of the Roma minority? It is interesting to see how the minority policy that was formed on the transnational level of the EU is or is translated to the local reality of Roma in Romania and Bulgaria.

In an era of on-going globalization *"formerly independent states and nations are being bound by a complex web of interstate organizations and regulations into a truly international community"* (Morris, 1997 : 192). Nations and states used to be the only holders of autonomy on their territory. Nowadays states have to deal with several interstate and supranational organizations that also assert their regulations. The relation between a supranational organization like the EU, and its member states is quite complicated. One might say that the supranational level is the highest level, but this does not mean that rights established at that level are always guaranteed on the level of the nation-states (Morris, 1997). The execution of those rights is up to the member states, which have sovereignty on their territory. There might be, however, consequences for failing to execute the rights that are set by the EU. Such a consequence could be exclusion from the union. In the case of the Copenhagen criteria, potential member states like Romania and Bulgaria were driven by the obtainment of EU membership in meeting those criteria that were set on the supranational level. In this

era of globalization there is thus still an important role for the state and its sovereignty, which makes it difficult for supranational institutions to enforce their regulations on nation-states. Besides that, the Copenhagen criteria are stated in a general way, which does not give the candidate member states directions or guidance on which goals should exactly be achieved for meeting the criteria (Vermeersch, 2004). This makes it also difficult to monitor the criteria. Because the criteria are so general, they do not take account of the differences in minority groups, let alone the differences within one minority group. Romania and Bulgaria had to find their own way of meeting such criteria and improve the situation of the Roma. The general criteria that were made on the supranational level needed to be tailor-made for specific local situations by the national governments.

The question is now, what is happening with minority rights now that Romania and Bulgaria have become member states of the EU and are not driven by those criteria anymore. Will they still make efforts to improve the socioeconomic situation of the Roma and protect their rights? In the case of the education system it is shown that Romania and Bulgaria are maintaining the desegregation process (although the approach is disputable). Since Romania and Bulgaria entered the EU only in 2007 it is hard to conclude whether those states are really making improvements in minority protection on that relatively short notice. It can, however, be said that through globalization and the existence of a supranational organizations like the EU, the improvement of minority rights have been put on the agenda of countries like Romania and Bulgaria. These developments would probably have not happened, or at least not as fast, without international organizations (Vermeersch, 2004).

5.3   Citizenship

The concept of citizenship consists of two aspects: Legal and identity. Citizenship can be explained as a legal status which means the participation in a political community. The other explanation is that of identity, and more specifically social identity which is about intergroup relations and comparisons between the in-group and the out-group. Both aspects will be analysed in the light of EU minority policy.

5.3.1 Legal

The Roma have become recognized as EU citizens - just as every other EU citizen - when the country in which they live enters the EU. This can be seen as the legal aspect of citizenship, the Roma are now legal citizens of the EU and need to be equally treated with majority populations according to the rules the EU has on its citizens. This means that both majority and minority population share the same civil, political and social rights. Since minorities are, however, often marginalized, the EU has designed policy for minority rights and protection. In these minority policies, the Roma are identified as one community, while Roma differ much in languages, cultures and identity. It is, however, a rational policy choice to categorize all Roma as a single community and the

Roma might benefit from the collective politics considering the issues on which they are marginalized (Gulgliemo & Waters, 2005).

The question is if the Roma are in reality treated as equal citizens and full members of society, if they consider themselves as such and whether they experience a sense of belonging. Kymlicka & Norman (1994 : 354) state the following on this: *"By guaranteeing civil, political, and social rights to all, the welfare state ensures that every member of society feels like a full member of society, able to participate in and enjoy the common life of society. Where any of these rights are withheld or violated, people will be marginalized and unable to participate."* The socio—economic situation of the Roma, that is still lacking far behind of that of majority populations, and the case of Roma in the education system shows that there is not an equal situation. Despite minority policies and governmental efforts to desegregate the education system, and society as a whole, to create an integrated society with full citizenship for both minority and majority populations, it is still reality that Roma are marginalized. This is called "passive" or "private" citizenship, because the policies and efforts are still quite passive entitlements and there is no real obligation to participate in public life (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994 : 354). The lack of a real obligation is seen in the case of the educational system where Romanian and Bulgarian governments have put effort in the desegregation of schools, but despite that it turned out that enforcement of these efforts is difficult.

5.3.2 Identity
Even if the Roma legally possess the common rights of citizenship, they may still feel excluded from the 'common culture' because of their socioeconomic status and also because of their sociocultural identity (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). Within the EU there are a lot of initiatives with the aim to include Roma. Does this have impact on the identity of minorities and their sense of belonging to the 'common culture', especially of the Roma? Do they want to be included in the rest of 'EU society' or do they rather want to hold on to their specific culture and lifestyle? The difference between Roma and other citizens becomes emphasized by categorizing them in a particular way in policy. This difference was and is often perceived as a threat and as a reason to exclude and discriminate, instead of including the Roma in society. Special policy on Roma, even different from policies on other minorities, might increase this exclusion and discrimination. On the other hand, this kind of categorization does acknowledge the different lifestyle and identity of the Roma, of which they are proud and which they do not want to give up. With the set-up of the policy on Roma, however, the Roma were not consulted nor involved. They did not have a voice in that process. Policy was written about the Roma, but not with the Roma. The representation of the specific culture and lifestyle of Roma is therefore not achieved in such a way that Roma can identify themselves with the policy and feel represented by it. The case of Roma in the education system shows that misrepresentation or no representation of Roma in the desegregation plans will not have the desired result. The plans came from a government,

in which the Roma are (almost) not represented. Besides that, the minority policy was in the first place set-up from a security perspective of the EU, to maintain stability in the eastern European countries. The human rights perspective, with its concern on protection of minority rights was subordinate to the security perspective.

Cultural pluralists believe that a 'differentiated citizenship' is needed to meet the special needs of minority groups, since common rights of citizenship cannot accommodate them (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). This differentiated citizenship means that people not only belong to a political community as individuals but also as member of a certain group (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994), for example a minority group like the Roma. The rights of the Roma then would depend, in part, on their group membership (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). For historically disadvantaged groups, such as the Roma, differentiated citizenship can be a means to demand special representation in the political process or self-government[1] (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). It might sound contradictory to have group-differentiation when we talk about integration of Roma and non-Roma, while citizenship used to be defined as a matter of treating people as individuals with equal, non-differential rights under the law (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). In the case of the Roma the view of differentiated citizenship is interesting and might indeed connect in a better way to the needs of this particular minority group. As was seen in chapter three and four, the Roma tend to hold strongly on to their specific culture and lifestyle. It is likely an interplay of centuries of discrimination that pushed the Roma to strongly hold on to their culture and lifestyle, and also, that specific culture and lifestyle was the motive for the discrimination of the Roma. Since the Roma culture and lifestyle is so important and yet distinguished from other populations, differentiated citizenship is in theory suitable for the Roma. Within differentiated citizenship, the special needs and treats for this particular minority group can be met. This will not likely be the case when the Roma are in policy lumped with other population groups. The case of Roma in the education system in Romania and Bulgaria has shown that the special culture and lifestyle require a special approach to involve Roma in the education system. By putting Roma children in separated schools or classes, or even putting them in schools for retarded, upholds the image of Roma as a backward population. What kind of identity does this create amongst Roma and non-Roma children about themselves and about the other? For non-Roma children this might confirm their view on Roma as backward. However, just placing Roma and non-Roma together in one classroom, without acknowledging and responding to the large differences in interests and ways of learning, has not turned out to be successful either (see chapter four).

Therefore, it would be an improvement when Roma identity would receive more acknowledgment, both in classrooms as in society as a whole. What makes this

---

[1] Minority self-governments (MSGs) allow minorities "*to form their own political bodies to work in partnership with both local and national governments.*" (Ringold *et al.*, 2005 : 132). The MSGs were established in Hungary in 1995 as part of a broader approach for minority integration, *"through recognition of the collective rights of minorities, and the introduction of unique mechanisms for resource allocation and political voice."* (Ringold e*t al.*, 2005 : 132).

complicated is the fact that not all Roma can be seen and treated as a unity, because there exist different groups with different lifestyles, languages and traditions. At a local level, governments should be aware of the cultural traits of the Roma living in their territory so that policies can adapt to the needs of that particular group. Differentiated citizenship, carried out on the local level is therefore a good way to acknowledge the Roma identity and respond with policies that grant them particular needs that connect with their lifestyle and culture.

With differentiated citizenship that differences between population groups will be acknowledged and rights can be more specifically assigned to the situation of a particular population group. In theory this sounds very suitable for the situation of the Roma. Ignoring differences and treating all population groups the same is unjust. It does not acknowledge the different needs of different population groups, especially historically excluded groups like the Roma. Because of this historic legacy Roma are hardly represented in governments and policy making. This leads to ignorance of Roma needs and rights. From a theoretical point of view differentiated citizenship almost sounds like the ideal solution. In practice, however, there will be several difficulties and counterarguments. A society based on groups differentiated citizenship will be organised totally different than the current society that is based on (equal) citizenship (Porter, 1987, in: Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). In a situation of differentiated citizenships, population groups will tend to focus more on their own group and on what distinguishes them from other groups (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). This will lead to more segregation instead of integration, and with the lack of a binding elements conflicts between groups will increase (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). Another difficulty with differentiated citizenship rights is that could imply a "*politics of grievance*"(Kymlicka & Norman, 1994 : 372). Since the rights are granted to disadvantaged groups, political leaders of other groups would not put energy in overcoming difficulties in their group because then they also might be entitled to the differentiated citizenship rights (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994).

The practice of differentiated citizenship brings forth some problems that are hard to deal with. Another way must be found to acknowledge group differences in culture and lifestyle in the process of policy making and implementing.

Flowing forth from Social Identity Theory (SIT), Ashforth & Mael (1989) state the following: *"[...] individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspects of their identities, and they support the institutions embodying those identities."* (Ashforth & Mael, 1989 : 25). This shows that it is of high value that the EU, national governments and local governments also embody the identities of the Roma to make the policy on Roma work. The case of Roma in the education system illustrates this. Within schools, even when desegregated, Roma history, language and culture are not represented in the teaching material. School then might become one of the activities to Roma that is not *"congruent with salient aspects of their identities"* (Ashforth & Mael, 1989 : 25). Roma will therefore not feel represented and recognized within that education system and as a consequence they will not likely support that institution. The same applies for the EU

as transnational institute. If the identities of the Roma are not embodied within the EU, the national governments, the local governments and schools, Roma will not likely support those institutions. To make the Roma real citizens of the EU and of the country or locality they live in, it is necessary that they can hold on to their own identity and that this identity is recognized and represented within the policies. *"[...] it is likely that identification with an organization enhances support for and commitment to it."* (Ashforth & Mael, 1989 : 26).

6. Conclusion

Translation and enforcement through different spaces

The enlarging European Union now (2012) consists of 27 member states with a variety of political systems, histories, economies, geographies as well as minorities. With the entrance of Romania and Bulgaria as EU member states, the Roma became Europeans largest minority. Driven by EU minority policy – especially the Copenhagen criteria - good efforts are done to gain more and equal rights and protection for national minorities within the territory of the European Union, and especially for the Roma. Although the EU does not set the same criteria for minority protection to its 'old' member states. This so called 'double standard' illustrates that the EU did not just set the criteria to improve minority protection, but rather to maintain political stability arising from a security perspective. This perspective influences the way that minority policy will be translated to the local reality, since that translation has to be in service of achieving and maintaining political stability.

There is a lack of making EU minority rights enforceable. This lack is flowing forth from the fact that the agents that are part of the involved social space are all on another level, from transnational (EU), to national (states: Romania and Bulgaria), to local. Due to globalization there are many linkages between the transnational, national and local level, both in policy and in 'real life'. This does not mean that differences between them disappear. The EU might be an overarching transnational organization and the dominant logic in the social space, it does not have the power to enforce individual rights. By means of the Copenhagen criteria the EU has set standards for candidate member states, and these states must on their turn implement these criteria to their population. This step between the transnational level and the local level shows that the EU is not dominant in the translation of the policy into local realty. Together with the general formulation of the Copenhagen criteria this is reflected in the lack of enforcement of those criteria.

Knowledge on culture, lifestyle and locality

Just as all the different member states of the EU, Roma amongst themselves are a very diverse people with different languages, religions and ways of living. Imposing the same policy issues on all Roma in Europe, how very different their communities may be, will not give the desired result. Minority policies need to be made specific, taking local situations into consideration.

The case study on Roma in the education system showed that policy that was made on transnational level should be tailor-made in local reality. To make a real transformation of the education system possible, knowledge of the social world and its agents is necessary. Better understanding of the needs of the Roma flowing forth from their culture and lifestyle is essential so that the education process can connect to that. Teachers should be trained to work with children from different cultural backgrounds that have different perceptions on education. Knowledge of culture and lifestyle of Roma is a precondition for teaching Roma and non-Roma in desegregated schools.

This is also true for EU minority policy in general; knowledge and representation of Roma culture and lifestyle is needed before policy can be written and translated to the local reality where it will be implemented. Minority policy should then be made more specific and adjusted to the particular features of Roma communities on local level. It is then more likely to create integration instead of one- sided assimilation.

Representation in policy making and implementation

The effort is done by the EU, with its emphasis on minority rights in the Copenhagen criteria, to create an equal form of citizenship for majority and minority population. Governments of Bulgaria and Romania have taken this over and it is thereby translated into national plans and laws to improve the socio-economic situation of the Roma, especially on the desegregation in the education system. However, because of a lack of enforcement and a lack of adaptation to the culture and lifestyle of the Roma, it can be said that it has set a right trend, but as of now there is still no equal citizenship for Roma and non-Roma in Romania and Bulgaria. The specific group identities and lifestyles of Roma communities need to be acknowledged in policies to integrate Roma and non-Roma. The Roma will then be recognized and represented as a people that does not have to change and adapt its culture, lifestyle and identity to be a real citizen of the country they settled, and of the EU. The difficulty remains, however, that the Roma are not a uniform group with one identity. Instead, there are many differences in language, religion and lifestyle amongst them. Therefore it is impossible to set up Roma minority policy on the transnational level of the EU while considering them as one group. Minority policy should be translated from the transnational level to specific Roma localities, reflecting and representing Roma identities.

The translation of EU minority policy to the local reality of Roma lacks the representation of Roma culture, specific local features, and enforcement. To gain more progress in preserving minority rights for the Roma, knowledge on their culture and identities should be reflected, represented and implemented in policy in order to attain the desired result in local reality.

7. Discussion and abbreviations

A more interesting point of view could have been gained by comparing the Roma situation and minority policy in a country that has been an EU member state for a longer period of time already, instead of a country like Romania or Bulgaria that has only entered the EU recently. In this way the statement about the 'double standard' that the EU seems to hold on minority policy (explained in chapter two) could have been reinforced. Comparing two countries that differ more from each other but are both hosting relatively large populations of Roma would probably have given a more dynamic and powerful picture of EU minority policy and the local reality. For example a comparison with Hungary. This country has set up a system of Roma self-governments[2] (Ringold *et al.*, 2005) that is specified on the local realities. It would be interesting and useful to have a study on how these self-governments have come into being, if and how they have the desired outcome, and what the influence of EU policy has been in this case.

The fact itself that Romania and Bulgaria entered the EU recently (2007) also generates difficulties. To be able to show the full impact of the Copenhagen criteria and the EU accession, a more long term analysis is needed. It is therefore recommended to keep studying the minority protection and how transnational policy can be successfully translated into local reality.

---

[2] Self-governments were established in Hungary. Hungary adopted the Minorities Act in 1993 in which cultural, educational and linguistic rights were granted to the minorities living in Hungary through a system of minority self-governmnets (MSGs) on national and local level (Ringold *et al.*, 2005). Hungary also established the so called Minorities Ombudsman, one of the tasks of this institution is to monitor the implementation of minority rights. Exactly the things that are lacking in the EU minority policy in Romania and Bulgaria: Representation and monitoring implementation.

References

Achim, V. (2004) '*The Roma in Romanian History*', Central European University Press, Budapest.

Arayici, A. (1998) 'The Gypsy Minority in Europe – Some considerations', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 15, Issue 156, pp. 253-262.

Ashforth, B.E. & Mael, F. (1989) 'Social Identity Theory and the Organization', *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 20-39, Academy of Management.

Barany, Z.D. (1994) 'Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 321-344.

Böcs (1996) in: Arayici, A. (1998) 'The Gypsy Minority in Europe – Some considerations', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 15, Issue 156, pp. 253-262.

Bourdieu, P. (1985) 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 723-744.

Bourdieu, P. (1987) 'What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups', *Berkeley journal of sociology*, Vol. 32, pp. 1 - 18.

Cozma, T., Cucos, C., Momanu, M. (2010) 'The Education of Roma Children in Romania: Description, Difficulties, Solutions', *Intercultural Education,* Vol. 11, Issue 3, pp. 281-288.

Cretan, R. (2006) 'From (Self-)Exclusion to Integration: The Case of Roma in Romania'.

Davidova (1995) 'Romano Drom – Cesty Romu: 1945-1990', in: Ladányi, J. & Szelényi, I. (2001) 'The Social Construction of Roma Ethnicity in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary During Market Transition', *Review of Sociology,* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 79-34.

Dobraca, L., (1994) 'Réflexions Géographiques sur la Minorité des Tsiganes en Roumania', in: Cretan, R. (2006) 'From (Self-)Exclusion to Integration: The Case of Roma in Romania'.

Gilbert, G. (1996) 'The Council of Europe and Minority Rights', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 18, Nr. 1, pp. 160-189.

Goldston, J.A. (2002) 'Roma Rights, Roma Wrongs', in: Pogosyan, K. (2010) 'Paper Presentation: 'Roma EU Realities Today: The Case of Romania and Bulgaria", *Working Papers Series,* European Union Centre of Excellence, York: York University.

Greenberg, J. (2010) 'Report on Roma Education Today: From Slavery to Segregation and Beyond', *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 110, No. 4, pp. 919-1001.

Gugliemo, R. & Waters, T.W. (2005) 'Migrating Towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy Towards Roma', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 763-786.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., Perraton, J. (1999) '*Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture',* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Johns, M. (2003) '"Do as I Say, Not as I Do": The European Union, Eastern Europe and Minority Rights', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.17, pp. 682.

Kymlicka, W. & Norman, W. (1994) 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, Vol. 104, No. 2, pp. 352-381.

Kyuchukov, H. (2000) 'Transformative Education for Roma (Gypsy) Children: An Insider's View', *Intercultural Education*, Vol.11, No. 3, pp. 273-280.

Ladányi, J. & Szeléni, I. (2001) 'The Social Construction of Roma Ethnicity in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary During Market Transition', *Review of Sociology,* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 79-34.

Marshall, T.H. (1964) 'Citizenship and Social Class', *Class, Citizenship and Social Development, Essays,* pp. 65-122, Garden City, Doubleday, New York.

Morris, L. (1997) 'Globalization, Migration and the Nation-State: the Path to a Post-National Europe?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol, 48, No. 2, pp. 192-209, Blackwell Publishing.

Pogosyan, K. (2010) 'Paper Presentation: 'Roma EU Realities Today: The Case of Romania and Bulgaria", *Working Papers Series,* European Union Centre of Excellence, York: York University.

Porter, J. (1987) '*The measure of Canadian Society',* in: Kymlicka, W. & Norman, W. (1994) 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, Vol. 104, No. 2, pp. 352-381.

Ringold, D., Orenstein, M.A., Wilkens, E. (2005) '*Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*', The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, Washington, DC.

Royer, A. (2010) '*The Council of Europe'*, Council of Europe Publishing.

Schvey, A.A., Flaherty, M.S., Higgins, T.E. 'The Children Left Behind: Roma Access to Education in Contemporary Romania', in: Pogosyan, K. (2010) 'Paper Presentation: 'Roma EU Realities Today: The Case of Romania and Bulgaria", *Working Papers Series,* European Union Centre of Excellence, York: York University.

Smith, T. (1997) 'Recognising Difference: the Romani "GYPSY" Child Socialisation and Education Process', *Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 18, Issue 2.

Stets, J.E. & Burke, P.J. (2000) 'Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3, pp. 224-237.

Stoel, M. van der (1999) 'The Role of the OSCE High Commissioner in Conflict Prevention', in: *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World,* edited by Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O., Aall, P., pp. 67-83, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C.

Thornberry, P. & Estébanez, M.A.M. (2004) '*Minority Rights in Europe: A Review of the Work and Standards of the Council of Europe*', Council of Europe Publishing.

Titterton, M. & Clark, C. (2000) 'Working with Socially Excluded Romani Communities in Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons from Bulgaria', *Social Work in Europe*, Vol. 7, pp. 38-45.

Treaty on European Union (2010) 'Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union', *Official Journal of the European Union*, Vol. 53.

Vermeersch, P. (2004) 'Minority policy in Central Europe: Exploring the impact of the EU's enlargement strategy', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 3-19.

www.europa.eu (2011) 'Conditions for Membership', *http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/index_en.htm*, latest view : 28-09-2012.