Roma Civil Monitor

A synthesis of civil society's reports
on the implementation of
national Roma integration strategies
in the European Union

*Identifying blind spots
in Roma inclusion policy*

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Justice and Consumers

Roma civil monitor pilot project

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEE   Central and Eastern Europe (in the context of this report often referring to the subset of Central and Eastern European countries with the largest disadvantaged Roma populations: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia)
ESF   European Social Fund
ERDF   European Fund for Regional Development
EU   European Union
EUFW   EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020
FRA   European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
ICT   Information and Communication Technologies
NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation
NRIS   National Roma Integration Strategy
RCM   Roma Civil Monitor pilot project

Note on terminology

Unless specified, this report uses the term 'Roma' as an umbrella term including Roma, Sinti, Travellers, Rroms, Kalé, etc., as well as population administratively designated as *gens du voyage*, people identifying themselves as Gypsies and other groups.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The third cycle Roma Civil Monitor (RCM) synthesis report asked local NGOs to identify and discuss the issues they consider crucial for successful Roma inclusion, hence a series of case studies are presented that whilst not giving the more uniform overview of previous reports present valuable insights into persistent or undetected problems facing too many Roma.

The RCM's third cycle country reports summarised in this synthesis report illustrate a mismatch between the declared intentions and actual practice, often caused by a failure to implement the policies or their ineffectiveness. In some situations, government structures are actively maintaining Roma marginalisation, this presents serious causes for concern as highlighted by the case studies in this synthesis report. Moreover, in some cases, the Member States are not using the available EU funds effectively for the Roma inclusion and in some cases even misuse them for segregation or measures that deepen the Roma's social exclusion. The European Commission has failed to prevent such problems in the implementation of the cohesion policy and enforcement of the proper application of the EU law in anti-discrimination and fight against racism.

The report also confirms conclusions of the European Commission's mid-term evaluation of the EU Framework for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020 (EUFW),[1] that observed that 'partial' mainstreaming of NRIS objectives into mainstream policies was found. Furthermore, Roma integration goals have been 'limited and unequal' across Member States and the discrimination in accessing employment and housing 'remains high' while the health insurance coverage has regressed in some countries. In addition, the evaluation notes in terms of equity that in the treatment of all Roma, the EUFW addresses the different needs of vulnerable subgroups within the Roma population only to a 'limited extent'. Despite an overall positive trend in some areas, the European Roma inclusion policy (consisting of the 2011 EUFW and the 2013 Council Recommendations) 'has not yet been translated into substantial improvements to the social integration of Roma'.

There is a need for greater coordination, guidance and resources and where needed sanctions for Member States who fail to challenge Roma exclusion. Austerity and a failure to provide economic stimulus in Europe has also been counter-productive to Roma, limited economic opportunities and led to the deterioration of services consequently stoking nativism and xenophobia.

The report highlights concern as to the superficiality of Roma policy that in too many cases does not penetrate the deep structural causes of Roma exclusion. Too often serious manifestations of antigypsyism go unchallenged and or Roma exclusion is blamed on the Roma themselves through racist tropes. Where policies are addressed at the Roma there is a tendency for them to rest upon a narrow and limited social inclusion discourse that offers limited opportunities as a pathway out of poverty. The privatisation and marketisation of services together with a lack of resources and budgets cuts stemming from austerity further accentuates Roma exclusion and this coupled with paternalism denies the Roma agency and a say in the policies that govern their lives. The political class often lack the will and determination to reverse Roma exclusion and in fact is showing a growing tendency to reflect and appeal to wider societal anti-Roma sentiments. The media, including social media, also plays a major role in fuelling forms of antigypsyism, creating a public sphere where misinformation and racist tropes are rife.

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[1] EC (2018) Mid-term evaluation of the EU Framework for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020, available at: https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/a1e33b4f-17af-11e9-8d04-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

These factors contribute to and help form the 'blind spots' and areas of concern highlighted in this report.

As part of the new 'rule of law review cycle', the European Commission will promote a 'rule of law culture' by deepening its monitoring of Member States' compliance with the rule of law involving an annual rule of law report (European Commission, 2019). This report highlights major areas of concern that should be scrutinised in the rule of law cycle review.

The case studies profiled in the third cycle of RCM reports provide interesting insights into a broad range of policy areas impacting on Roma communities. The report is set out in a series of thematic sections presented below. The thematic sections were arranged so as to give insights into governmental thinking and philosophy towards the Roma and how this shapes the socio-economic and cultural situation of the Roma and impedes their enjoyment of rights, decent life chances and access to services.

Approaches and governance

Too many Roma lack sufficient access to services and a number of the monitoring reports appeal for greater targeting, but such an approach should avoid the creation of inferior or paternalist services. A major barrier to the development of such approaches is said to be a fear by central government of a backlash from the wider public who might be angered by such targeting. The effectiveness of government approaches to the Roma are also said to be undermined by a lack of resources, a problem accentuated by austerity, insufficient staff and awareness but also a lack of political will. In some cases, governments are knowingly maintaining forms of segregation. At the local level of government such inertia and hostility appear to be especially apparent. EU funding has played an important role in Roma inclusion policies but is undermined through the misuse of such funds that in extreme cases is even used to finance segregation.

Despite the alarming levels of exclusion facing the Roma we should not lose sight of the good practice in some Member States, although at present it is limited it offers hope and inspiration and needs to be scaled up. The report highlights some examples of such good practice.

Antigypsyism

Racism continues to be a serious problem that blights the life of many Roma, weak institutional protection and a lack of coherent legal frameworks have worsened the problem. Forms of institutional racism are also evident in key institutions which impacts negatively on access to services by many Roma. In some public services there is a 'culture of poverty' mindset on the part of service providers leading to discrimination and paternalism. There is a growing trend of hostility and hate speech in the media and social media that seems to have become casual and entered everyday language, becoming acceptable and commonplace. Antigypsyism is being orchestrated by opportunistic politicians not just from the radical right but also the political mainstream.

Empowerment

Roma political representation is often confined to local levels of government and segregated Roma communities. Roma civil society is weak because of a lack of capacity building, funding and hostility from potential funders like local government. In some cases, funding is attached to strict conditions that turns Roma civil society into a narrow service provider or leads to political manipulation and control.

Employment

There has been a decline in traditional Roma employment practices, racism in the labour market has also limited economic inclusion for many Roma. Self-employment, a major area of Roma economic activity, has not received sufficient business support to innovate

and develop. Demographic trends indicate that in a number of countries there will be increased demands for workers in the labour market that could benefit the Roma but many of these positions will entail good levels of education and ICT skills.

Reducing poverty

Discrimination and a lack of literacy and ICT skills coupled with austerity cutbacks has limited the access to welfare support for some Roma.

Education

Segregation in education appears to be a persistent and growing problem for too many Roma. Laws banning segregation are ineffective or not properly enforced. In some cases, the state and other institutions are active agents in maintaining segregation. The report also provides insights into transitions from school into work with poverty, a lack of skills and discrimination often impeding these transitions.

Housing

Many Roma suffer from substandard accommodation or spatial exclusion through forms of segregation, a problem accentuated by a lack of political will and wider public hostility. A lack of social housing forces some Roma to rent from unscrupulous landlords without proper legal contracts.

Health

A number of the monitoring reports highlighted a growing problem of drug use and drug related deaths in some Roma communities and a lack of targeted support to tackle this problem.

Women

Monitoring reports discussed allegations of segregated maternity services and the under-reporting of domestic violence, a problem aggravated by a lack of trust in the authorities and a lack of targeted support and meaningful collaboration with relevant agencies.

Children and youth

Reference was made to a lack of voice in decision making by young Roma. Alarm was raised about the number of Roma children taken into care, where mistrust between the authorities and Roma and lack of help to parents in order to reclaim children or ensure children remained connected to their culture was highlighted as a serious point of concern.

The elderly

Past institutional abuse and a lack of sensitivity by service providers is said to make many Roma families hesitant to entrust older family members to elder care, depriving older Roma of professional care and placing great pressure on some Roma families who are assuming primary care roles.

EU mobile Roma and asylum seekers

According to the monitoring reports institutional racism and barriers as well as extreme marginalisation impedes support for EU mobile Roma and asylum seekers, in some cases poverty leads to Roma facing repatriation. In the UK many Roma EU mobile citizens are said to be unaware of how to secure 'settled status', the right to live and reside in the UK or are mistrustful of approaching the authorities and completing this process.

Identity

Cultural trauma and dislocation caused by assimilatory policies is said to have created a 'lost generation' of Roma for whom inclusion is especially difficult to secure. Not enough is being done to protect and promote Roma identity and culture. One case study highlights the value of sports in raising self-esteem but not many Roma are able to access good sports facilities and opportunities because of the financial cost and segregation.

Data, monitoring and evaluation

A lack of disaggregated data on the Roma continues to impede the development of comprehensive planning and evaluation of National Roma Integration Strategies and development of targeted policies

INTRODUCTION

The 2011 EU Framework (EUFW) for National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) up to 2020 set ambitious goals to close the gap between Roma and non-Roma in the key policy areas of education, employment, housing and health, as well as to protect Roma against discrimination. Most Member States have developed NRIS. The Roma Civil Monitor pilot project (RCM) has played an important role in coordinating civil society monitoring on the progress and impact of NRIS.

The RCM first and second monitoring cycles focused on a number of pre-defined policy areas and agendas:

- Governance and overall policy framework, anti-discrimination, fighting antigypsyism – as preconditions for a successful implementation of NRIS – and the impact of mainstream education policy on Roma;

- The four main EUFW's policy fields, employment, housing, impact of healthcare policies on Roma and education.

The third monitoring cycle invited local NGOs involved in RCM to identify and discuss the issues they consider crucial for successful Roma inclusion. This bottom-up approach has been aimed at drawing readers' (European Commission, national policy makers, experts, media etc) attention to challenges that have not been addressed sufficiently in the current EUFW and NRISs. As the monitoring cycle reflected particular interests of civil society in certain countries the synthesis report lacks the uniformity of previous reports that assessed progress in core policy areas. Rather than giving a systematic snapshot of progress made this report presents a series of case studies that give insights into problems that have been long recognised or are ones that are new and emerging or have been neglected. The value of case studies is that they can provide a means for highlighting and extracting practical principles, new ideas and methods for shaping and accelerating progress in solving problems that highly marginalised groups of the Roma face. They can also help us illustrate, test and develop existing theories.

Focus of the Y3 RCM reports

- Problems that have not received proper attention in the current strategic cycle (*invisibility*) or problems for which policy solutions have not become sufficiently conceived, let alone pursued, including problems not sufficiently addressed by the NRIS and mainstream policies (*no result*)

- The manifestation of new forms of exclusion (*by design or accident*)

- *Innovative* good practice initiatives and interventions that are helping to resolve problems

Comparison with previous synthesis reports

This case study-centred report confirms the findings of the second *RCM Synthesis report: Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy* (2020) that focused on education, employment, health and housing and which found many Roma face systematic exclusion in a wide range of areas resulting in racism, poverty and multiple exclusion including wide ranging forms of segregation. This report though offers something different by offering some detailed insights into exclusion via case studies and is able to provide in-depth information on the manifestation and development of antigypsyism. Furthermore, the report highlights the value but also dangers of targeting and a need for a careful balance in policy frameworks. Here it reflects some of the discussion of the first *RCM Synthesis report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018) that discussed dilemmas concerning the tension between mainstream and Roma-targeted approaches but through case

studies reveals the detail and nature of such tensions and challenges. The report also provides important insights into relatively neglected subgroups like youth and the elderly and areas of social policy that have not been sufficiently discussed such as drug abuse, domestic violence and the value of sport. This report also differs from previous ones by offering a deeper discussion of issues connected to identity. The report also argues that we need a more nuanced understanding of Roma exclusion that captures the heterogeneity of these communities and necessitates inclusive forms of monitoring, research and ethnic data collection. A key request made in this report is for more binding measures on Roma policy with clearer timeframes and indicators and in this respect mirrors the views of previous RCM reports.

APPROACHES AND GOVERNANCE

- **SMART**

- **Mainstreaming/targeting**

- **Central and local government**

- **Funding/misuse**

A review of the case studies in the Y3 RCM monitoring cycle reveals a dearth of 'SMART' (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, and Timely) policy frameworks, in other words they lack specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and time-bound indicators. A number of such examples are presented in the monitoring reports. The Portuguese report provides a useful insight into governmental approaches to the Roma that has relevance to many Member States and the lack of a SMART approach: "*It is clear that the programmes often lack an integrated and comprehensive strategy, and it is necessary to focus on creating synergies between several policy areas. People are tired of single and one-off interventions, or interventions that are based on the operation of projects (with limited and short duration) and that do not solve more structural problems*."

The decision to target interventions ethnically or to use mainstream, non-ethnic targeting is a fraught one with arguments on both sides and the right choice or the combination of both approaches might depend on the country context, such as on the living conditions and needs of the Roma (e.g. existence of residential segregation or Roma settlements), design and inclusiveness of other social policy measures, culture of that country. It is important though to make mainstream policies and services accessible, inclusive, non-discriminatory and sensitive to culture, language, ethnicity and other forms of diversity, especially in social services, education and health.

A number of the RCM reports (such as Germany and Denmark) raised concerns that these countries had not developed Roma specific strategies aimed at furthering inclusion and that too many Roma were not adequately catered for by mainstream services. Whilst having strategies some countries placed their approach within a mainstream policy framework centred on a social inclusion approach. The Czech report provides such an example, summarises ongoing debates on this issue: "*Concerns remain that Roma are not benefiting proportionally from mainstream policies and therefore, some call for a more targeted approach. Others plead for not mentioning Roma explicitly as beneficiaries of mainstream policy, arguing that focusing the discourse on social inclusion as such will enable inclusion in environments otherwise hostile to Roma*." Thus, it can be seen that a social inclusion approach is based on a desire not to alienate local authorities and the public who might be more sympathetic to a social inclusion discourse as opposed to one targeted at the Roma. In contrast it is argued that a social exclusion model runs the risk on the one hand of excluding poor Roma from the benefits of the available social inclusion measures or on the other hand of classifying the Roma as 'poor' and problematising this minority. Likewise, in Romania the monitoring report argued that Roma should not be identified with or targeted only through vulnerability measures that problematise the community and strengthens prevailing stereotypes of weakness and dependency. The French report argues "*Unfortunately, colour-blindness of social action is diverted from its initial and genuine objective, which is to avoiding discrimination. Instead, colour-blindness is used to justify a monopoly of paternalist methods of the implementers of integration projects*," an approach it is claimed that creates dependency and deprives the Roma of agency. In the third cycle of monitoring reports there is strong evidence of support for targeted measures and arguments that reason carefully monitored, evaluated and flexible services are effective in Roma inclusion. It is interesting to note that the UK, formerly a strong advocate of mainstreaming, has according to the UK report now relented and announced it would devise a strategy.

It can be said though that both targeted and mainstream policies can have unwanted consequences. Targeting as noted can foster paternalism and inferior services that

maintain forms of exclusion whilst mainstreaming can hold the risk of delivering narrow social inclusion policies that do little to address the fundamental causes of the multiple exclusion Roma suffer from, in particular poverty. A lack of government commitment and resources often undermines both approaches.

In delivering Roma inclusion strategies central government clearly has a vital role to play but in a number of RCM reports serious doubts are raised as to the resolve of central government and the resources and capacity available. The Czech report describes how the central administrative unit responsible for the coordination of Roma policy (located at the Office of the Government) did not have sufficient capacity and that there had been a general trend of staff reduction over the past two years that has resulted in a fifty per cent reduction and now has only five staff with 1.5 of these posts sometimes deployed in duties not related to Roma, the report notes: "*It is, therefore, no surprise that the implementation of the NRIS is neither sufficiently coordinated with the authorities responsible for particular goals and measures, nor is the implementation itself progressing.*" These problems are said to be compounded by high staff fluctuation; in addition, only one staff member is of Roma origin. The Spanish report also attests to a lack of impetus. The Spanish report notes that at a national level there is a National Advisory Council for Roma, an advisory body on public, general and specific policies impacting on Roma. It is attached to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. However, the Spanish report notes two plenary sessions per year and two working group meetings do not provide sufficient space for participants to give input. Furthermore, there are concerns about the transparency of how members are chosen and the ministry it is attached to is said to be relatively weak in the government ministerial hierarchy.

The Irish monitoring report is concerned that progress is dependent on individual champions and the hosting government department, there is a need for clear targets, indicators, outcomes, timeframes and budget lines. In some cases, the NRIS appear to exist merely on paper. For example, the Italian report notes: "*The 'National working group on housing', established by the NRIS to address discrimination in access to housing, has never been organised, and no national plans have been planned or implemented to provide for the process of desegregation from camps that was foreseen in the Strategy.*" Governmental efforts to deliver NRIS have also been undermined by a lack of allocated resources. Frequent references in the RCM reports are made to a lack of funds, in some cases a problem accentuated by austerity measures, an attempt to balance budgets in the wake of the financial crisis. The Irish report for example notes that Traveller specific education support was cut by 86.6 per cent in 2011 as a consequence of the financial crisis, and that this funding has not been restored in the subsequent period of economic growth.

A number of the monitoring reports testify to the value of EU funds in Roma inclusion projects but in some cases, there is a serious misuse of money. The Hungarian report outlines how EU money has gone to church schools actively involved in the segregation of Roma and raises an alarm as to the misuse of funding: "*While hundreds of millions of euros from EU funds have been spent on projects aimed at the Roma in the last ten years, the situation of the Hungarian Roma in the main domain of inequalities – education, social mobility, residential segregation – has not improved, just the reverse, it has clearly deteriorated.*" The misuse of EU funds in Hungary is explored in more detail in the 'Education' section of this report.

In some countries a relatively more enlightened central government can be counted on to do more for the Roma than local governments mired in ethnic conflicts. If ethnic issues are on the national agenda in a constructive sense, then some local governments could be pragmatic problem solvers and partners with central government and Roma communities. Local government in theory should be an important agent in delivering Roma inclusion but in reality, is often resistant (See *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018)). The Czech report notes that whilst the NRIS is binding on central government the same does not apply to local government and many use that autonomy to engage in exclusionary and segregating acts. For example, it is noted that the Czech municipality of Karviná

"*amasses popularity amongst non-Roma residents based on its asocial acts. Recent policy consists of local government representatives and municipal police visiting Roma tenants in their homes to audit their rental contracts, whether they are renting from the municipality or from a private owner. Karviná's mayor has been demonstratively present during these visits*".

The Italian report notes that the discretion afforded to local authorities has meant only 11 out of 20 regions have set up consultative meetings to agree on how to implement the NRIS at local level and only two regions Emilia Romagna and Tuscany that can be said to constitute good practice in terms of intent have promoted and approved a regional law aimed at closing Roma camps (informal settlements) and seeking to transfer Roma into proper housing. In Emilia Romagna, the regional law 11/2015 on rules for the social inclusion of Roma and Sinti was adopted in full conformity with the NRIS to tackle the social exclusion and stigmatisation, promote equal opportunities for Roma and Sinti communities, recognise the cultural and social identities of Roma and Sinti and support their autonomy and empowerment process.

In Greece despite some positive actions by some local authorities, others have been highly discriminatory; according to the Greek report this has led to the obstruction of the approved relocation of Roma camps in the community of Amfissa and obstruction of the improvement of infrastructure of Roma camps in the communities of Sofades and Farsala. In some cases, it appears there is an overstated reliance on local solutions but, especially in weaker democracies or those with localist traditions, central government is weak in assessing outcomes and reluctant to intervene where there are failures and or panders to popular anti-Roma sentiments in the wider population. A lack of resolve on the part of policy makers at the local and national level is a reflection of an absence of political will, a problem accentuated by the growing influence of radical right/populist narratives and the demonisation of the Roma in the media, points that are developed in the next section on antigypsyism.

In terms of good practice, the Spanish report refers to an initiative to assist local decision making and describes how at a local level councils or advisory boards advise public administrations on Roma policy. An important example is the one that since 1998 has advised the Barcelona City Council and promoted participation to improve the well-being and quality of life of Barcelona's Roma citizens. It comprises of non-profit Roma organisations and seeks to promote actions supporting Roma culture, initiatives to combat racism, stimulate participation and provide member organisations with information on the decision-making. This structure has ensured that the Municipal Action Programme includes specific measures for Roma.

FIGHTING ANTIGYPSYISM

- **Protection**
- **Institutional racism**
- **Hate speech in the media and online**
- **Populism and demonisation**

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe (CoE) has defined antigypsyism as "*a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination*". The aforementioned definition highlights and is committed to "*the need to combat this phenomenon at every level and by every means*" (Council of Europe, 2011, p 9).

A striking feature of the RCM's third cycle are the statements asserting that antigypsyism is a serious and significant obstacle to Roma inclusion. A number of countries presented quantitative evidence as to the scale of this discrimination. The Slovenian report noted that in a 2017 public opinion poll only 44 per cent of the sample said they would employ a Roma and 48 per cent had the opinion Roma lived on social assistance and did not want to work. The Slovak report noted that a survey conducted by the Slovakian Academy of Sciences in 2019 found 80 per cent of a sample approved of statements that Roma had access to benefits they did not deserve. Furthermore, 64 per cent believed Roma steal and are lazy. The report notes that "*most respondents preferred hostile political discourse about Roma that is based on negative statements about Roma, about their criminality and attitudes to work*". As will become evident such prejudices are prominent in institutional interactions for many Roma and media/online discussion.

A number of the monitoring reports expressed concern about the efficiency and effectiveness of state institutions, mechanisms and legal frameworks created to tackle discrimination, hate crime, and racism, and to ensure access to justice and legal protection to victims. Such observations confirm the findings of the *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018) that found discrimination against Roma remains widespread and goes effectively unchallenged, due to the low levels of independence, lack of resources and the limited mandate of the official bodies responsible for combating discrimination. The Spanish report outlined how the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (CEDRE) that is responsible for promoting equality was not functioning for five years and since its reactivation in 2018 its influence has been minimal: "*It is surprising to observe that, over the course of the year, this 'reactivated' Council has not even updated its website since 2015. Meanwhile, public campaigns denouncing racism and xenophobia are non-existent and legal advice (strategic) litigation offered to victims is extremely limited at a time when racism, in its different forms, is very present, including, unfortunately in politics.*" It also describes that since 2013, 17 special prosecutors all over Spanish provinces have been charged with dealing with hate crime and discrimination. Three of the of the seventeen prosecutors have been active and engaged in ongoing dialogue with Roma associations in their areas and this work can be considered good practice but clearly the great majority have not matched this commitment.

The Portuguese report raises concerns about the awareness of some Roma of their rights and the mechanisms available to victims. Evidence that knowledge does not yet reach all citizens is demonstrated by the fact that 25.1 per cent of the complaints and denunciations submitted in 2018 to the CICDR (Committee for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination), a public body charged with dealing with complaints of racism, come from third parties (people who had knowledge of alleged discriminatory practices, but who are not the victims themselves) or indirectly (associations/NGOs and public entities) making up almost half of the total number of complaints (45.1 per cent). The

Portuguese report feels this relatively low level of direct involvement in the process of filing complaints also reflects the lack of confidence Roma have in the institutions to protect their rights.

The Romanian report claims that despite ratifying the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), there is no clear or coherent legal framework to protect minorities. According to the Council of Europe's Advisory Committee on the Framework for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), "*existing legislation regulating different aspects of national minority protection is disjointed, piecemeal, full of grey zones and open to contradictory interpretation*" (cited in RCM report from Romania). The Romanian report also underlines that the reluctance to initiate a formal complaint and follow up by Roma and the lack of awareness as to what their legal rights are undermines the legal protection framework for Roma. Such criticism is relevant to other EU Member States (See *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018)).

A number of the RCM reports have chosen to highlight institutional racism, as a major problem. The UK MacPherson report (1999), a highly influential report commissioned by the UK government and chaired by former judge Sir William Macpherson, defines institutional racism as the "*collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people*" (paragraph 6.34). The German report claims that Sinti and Roma often face discrimination in public services that prevents them exercising their social rights and proceeds to describe such ill-treatment. The discriminatory patterns include stricter examination of the documentation of the applicants, discretionary or unlawful rejection of applications, discriminatory ascription and assumptions, request of irrelevant or non-existing documents, illicit rejection of social benefits, and refusal to provide information. Most of the complaints reported with regards to public employment offices were related to ethnic grounds and racism, particularly degrading and disrespectful treatment (63 per cent), of which 26 per cent also included a disrespectful statement related to the denial of social benefits. The association of Roma Amora Foro was registered in 2017, 39 cases of discrimination out of 61 incidents, related to jobcentres and 12 related to the family benefits agency (*Familienkasse*). Many of these incidents have centred on Romanian and Bulgarian EU Mobile Roma. The German report highlights that experts assume the actual numbers of aggrieved Roma service users to be much higher. Experts argue some of those who have been highly marginalised lose sense of when they are being discriminated against and or are afraid of negative consequences if they complain. In addition, the complaint apparatus of institutions is said to be deficient.

Reference is also made to social workers in Germany, some of whom allegedly allow notions that are paternalist and involve the theory of the 'culture of poverty' in effect racist notions about Sinti and Roma to inform decision making with regard to their clients, such as whether children should be taken into care and what the distribution of resources should be. In terms of good practice, the report recognises that some public service courses have included awareness of racism in training programmes. In addition, some Sinti and Roma are employed in public services such as mediators or social workers and that their presence could potentially challenge ingrained institutional racism, but the numbers are said to be small.

The Finnish report also raised serious concerns regarding institutional racism in prisons, where it is claimed Finnish Roma are housed with foreign born prisoners ostensibly to protect them from their fellow Finnish non-Roma inmates. The report notes that this separation leads to inferior services and a lack of effective rehabilitation and education programmes inside prison and reintegration programmes outside, increasing the prospects of their reoffending. The Danish monitoring report referred to the institutional racism of police who issued warnings on social media where Roma were specifically mentioned as being dangerous. Furthermore, in terms of enforcement, the Danish report

referred to the possible ethnic profiling of Romanian nationals and of Romanian Roma in particular, when applying legislation on the prohibition of camping in public spaces and begging activities.

A high number of the RCM reports attest to the prevalence and rising incidence of hate speech towards the Roma in the media and on social media. There appears to be a rising trend of online hate speech and antigypsyism directed at the Roma. The Spanish report notes with some pertinence that "*a cursory look at existing platforms shows us that they reproduce the same phenomena, power relations, inequalities and injustices that exist in offline society*" and concludes that some of the racism has become casual and entered into everyday language. It raises an ominous warning: "*To everything described thus far, we must add a socio-political context in which ideologies that use hatred of the Other – of difference – as a structural element of their proposals, and the 'easy solution' to complex problems, are on the rise. These groups make planned, professional and methodical use of social networks to maximise the spread of their horrible messages and speeches, as these 'new media' are characterised by their communicative potential and the relatively easy and quick way in which some types of messages become viral*".

An example of the normalisation of hate speech and lack of awareness of responsible behaviour is evident in the Lithuanian report that mentions the case of a computer game company outsourcing a marketing campaign to a freelancer who in a Facebook promotional post used pictures of a Roma settlement with clearly identifiable adults and children as illustrations of live targets for a shooting activity related to the game. The Portuguese report highlights the concerns as expressed by a workshop attendee regarding such social media: "*Facebook acts as a great platform for spreading fake news, spreading hate and legitimising its reasons. Nowadays it is almost patriotic to say that we are against the Roma. There are often fake profiles on Facebook that exhibit racist speeches on Roma communities.*"

The Croatian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Romanian and Slovenian reports chose to highlight how the media creates an 'us and them' division between the Roma and the wider population that problematises the Roma and bolsters stereotypes centred on criminality and welfare dependency. The Slovenian report states: "*The general attitude towards Roma in the society is bad, and discourse on Roma in media and sometimes also by politicians is marked with talking about crime and abusing social assistance.*" The Slovenian report concludes that the prevalence of such tropes "*makes it easier for hate speech and anti-Roma rhetoric to grow, be unnoticed, unquestioned and used not only on school hallways, social media, and commentaries under media articles, but also in the parliament, or by other public officials*". Positive images of the Roma and Roma presenters, reporters and actors are rarely present in mainstream media.

The Spanish report contains a serious warning and describes the rise of online hate speech as a "*great concern requiring coordinated, sustained action from government agents and civil society if we want to save our society and its citizens from the sorts of phenomena that terrified the world and threw our civilization into question in the 1940s*". This is a message that has resonance for the whole of Europe. Several reports indicated that governments have signed up to the EU Code of Conduct on countering illegal hate speech and that nevertheless, complaints from NGOs about hate speech online receive late or no responses from social media companies such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others, despite the 24 hour deadline for responses. The Spanish report notes that in 2016 social media network and internet providers signed up to the EU Code of Conduct that addresses means by which such speech could be removed from social networks. However, despite a positive assessment of this agreement by the EU, *Rromani Pativ* a project that is part of the Roma civil society network *Khetane Platform* claims that when they use the mechanism put in place to deal with hate speech, they barely receive a response. The Code of Conduct is very dependent on what are called 'reliable informants'; hence the Spanish report calls for greater transparency and inclusiveness in the process of appointing such informants. In terms of intervention, the report describes the work of OBERAXE – the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia which is coordinating a project to identify and develop indicators on hate speech on Twitter; and

the design of common strategies that can be adopted. However, the authors of the Spanish report are disappointed that antigypsyism is not included as a classification alongside racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism in this project: "*It honestly continues to surprise us that antigypsyism as a source of hate speech is persistently forgotten, in spite of the recommendations of different European states. Sometimes it even seems there is a coordinated effort to forget it*." An example of good practice in Spain is the Roma Antidiscrimination Network that brings together Roma civil society and cyber activists to fight online racism.

A number of the RCM reports claim that the incidence of antigypsyism is prompted in part because of the rise in radical right populist politics, which seeks to galvanise and increase its electoral support by playing upon and magnifying racist tropes centred on the Roma. The Portuguese report presents the view of a workshop attendee: "*I think antigypsyism has increased since 6 October 2019, when a far-right-wing party – Chega (*Enough*) – was elected to the Assembly of the Republic and manages to ignite public opinion and is encouraging a lot of people to voice horrible things about Roma communities. It is a kind of normalisation of antigypsyism in Portuguese society.*" The UK report claims Priti Patel, a Conservative government minister, sought to take electoral advantage of the issue of Gypsies and Travellers and unauthorised encampments (see Accommodation section of the present report for more detail) by organising a public consultation in the immediate run up to the 2019 general election on a document that pledged a crackdown against Traveller unauthorised encampments.

The Bulgarian report refers to an incident that highlights the danger of antigypsyism and its potential to manifest itself in forms of violence. Following a criminal incident in 2019, in which three youths beat a shopkeeper, a serious protest took place in the city of Gabrovo. An armed, violent mob took to the streets demanding the city be cleansed of its Roma community and they attacked and destroyed Roma owned houses which led to the temporary evacuation of a large number of Roma from the town.

EMPOWERMENT

- **Representation**

- **Capacity**

- **Resources**

- **Tokenism and manipulation**

The lack of Roma political representation continues to be a serious concern. Nearly half of the RCM reports chose to highlight concerns about the level of Roma empowerment, a key concern was the poor capacity of Roma civil society caused by a lack of skills and expertise, poor funding and bureaucratic obstacles and low levels of representation in government at the local and national level, as well as low levels of input into decision making. The Czech report raises an important point: "*The need for higher participation has been stated both in NRIS and in currently conducted interviews with public stakeholders but lack of participation enhancing mechanisms persists […] The one holding more power should actively support the voice of the less powerful, which is not the case yet*." Where Roma do hold public office, it is often at a local level representing ghettoised Roma communities. The Hungarian report describes how after the 2019 local elections, 45 municipalities were governed by a Roma mayor, with the exception of one small town all of them are small segregated villages, and concludes: "*These numbers show that, except for villages with a Roma majority, the Roma are essentially not represented in the local governments of the Hungarian municipalities*."

Several reports highlighted as a main concern the lack of capacity and financial resources and or the bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining finance or huge administrative burdens that can be imposed by the bureaucratic demands of grants. In some cases, funders such as state actors seek to control Roma community voices. A dependency on a small number of Roma leaders impedes the long-term viability and sustainability of Roma civil society. In some cases, Roma civil society is only afforded a tokenistic role in state policy formulation despite the EUFW placing an emphasis on empowerment. The following selected examples provide deeper insights into these issues.

The Dutch report provides a comprehensive overview of the obstacles confronting Roma, Sinti and Traveller NGOs that are indicative of the experiences of many European Roma civil societies, including the lack of financial resources and the lack of capacity. The main source of finance are state subsidies, but it is claimed there is a lack of transparency in the administration of this funding in the Netherlands, because there are no public annual activity reports and the list of projects that are granted annually is not made public. There is no public information regarding the rest of the funds available. The entire application process is said to be bureaucratic and the lack of capacity in writing applications is affecting many NGOs. However, there is consultancy available for the NGOs via an organisation paid for by the state. This is an opportunity for the NGOs to learn and gain experience.

The Estonian report notes that the lack of Roma NGOs means that in some cases Roma become reliant on longstanding community leaders and volunteers. Their later old age or departure from activism through illness and death creates a serious vacuum in the organisation, where there is a dearth of capacity building opportunities in areas such as project writing skills that could further build on and develop the work of traditional community leaders. The French report claims that more educated and successful community members prefer to hide their identity and thus shy away from community representation. The Polish report noted that on paper there were 120 Roma NGOs when in reality, only 50 to 70 were functioning, a disparity which indicates that some NGOs are short-lived and/or have trouble becoming constituted and operational. The Spanish report describes how Roma have sought to overcome such problems by creating federations that act as umbrella organisations for NGOs and help build capacity and

technically guide weaker, developed entities that often were based on family networks and/ or lacked organisational skills.

In the RCM reports there is little evidence of capacity building for local Roma NGOs enabling them to organise more effective community action and enter into partnerships with municipal government. This is a serious flaw in the capabilities of Roma civil society and undermines an important tenet of inclusive community development and policy making, namely that it should be centred on dynamic partnerships with the grassroots. The Czech report noted that a continuous concern for local NGOs was securing funding. Community Led Local Development initiatives have 'high thresholds', centred mostly on municipalities and established stakeholders. As a result, in order to access funding from regional authorities, NGOs must enrol as service providers in the so-called Regional Basic Network of Social Services. It is claimed that the process of registering services in this network is not transparent and relies on outdated strategic plans that do not reflect the need or reality of the current situation. Funding though, is also dependent on the relationship between local authorities and NGOs, given the hostility of many local authorities towards the Roma decisions made regarding services and funding are not always based on actual need and merit.

In terms of NGOs delivering services, the French monitoring report reported that 'pro-Roma' NGOs such as the associations of *gens du voyage* are dominated by non-Roma with a paternalistic approach and offer the community limited forms of agency and a genuine say in the management and direction of these associations. Concerns are expressed in the Austrian report about civil society accessing and managing the EU funds. It was noted that the ESF include complex and highly unfeasible administrative procedures for smaller Roma NGOs, which put an immense and unnecessary burden on their staff and board members and even force them in some cases, to take out prohibitive loans to ensure the liquidity of operations whilst waiting for funding.

The case of Hungary reveals some serious concerns with reference to state interference and manipulation in Roma advocacy and empowerment, whilst not being alone in the existence of such a problem Hungary could be said to be more intense in the exhibition of such a characteristic. The Hungarian report notes that the 1993 Minorities Act created a National Roma Self-Government and a network of local Roma Self-Governments, which have largely an advisory role. A failure to develop capacity building and the close alliance of the national leadership of the National Roma Self-Government to the ruling party together with corruption scandals have severely limited their effectiveness and the trust that Roma communities place in these entities.

Many of the RCM reports indicate governmental ignorance, negligence and even antipathy towards Roma civil society, being reluctant to engage or enter into genuine dialogue with it; this is not just a problem directed at Roma civil society, but it is an experience shared by a broad range of civil society actors. In Hungary, a negative attitude towards civil society seems especially intense, as indicated by the 2014 investigation and audit into a consortium of NGOs receiving support from the Norwegian and EEA Funds. The allegation from the government was that the fund's money was used to support political organisations indirectly, or NGOs closely linked to them. The allegations were not corroborated by the findings of the investigation and no further action was taken. The Hungarian government in 2017 started to list NGOs that received foreign funding and as part of the so-called 'Stop Soros' legislative package; in 2018 NGOs were to be punished if they allegedly helped organise 'illegal migration'. These measures in part prompted the European Commission to initiate infringement proceedings against Hungary. It should be noted that many of the civil society organisations negatively impacted by this hostile atmosphere are NGOs actively supporting Roma rights and desegregation.

In terms of good practice, the Portuguese report presents an interesting example with reference to the NRIS. The Roma Associations Support Programme (PAAC) was created in 2017 to strengthen the involvement of civil society in the NRIS implementation, financially supporting projects aimed at encouraging the Roma participation, fight against

discrimination, investing in empowerment of Roma women, and valuing Roma history and culture.

EMPLOYMENT

- **Trends**
- **Waged labour**
- **Entrepreneurs**

As is evident from the RCM reports economic exclusion presents a serious challenge to many Roma communities compounded by structural decline in areas of traditional employment for Roma, a high incidence of casual employment and racism in the labour market and in public service agencies responsible for welfare and employment (for the latter, see the earlier discussion on institutional racism). It should also be noted that self-employment, which is believed to be high within Roma communities is treated less favourably by legislation regulating social security, pensions, unemployment and sick leave, again adding to the precarity of Roma economic practices.

There are some trends, though that might offer some relief. The Croatian report indicates that as some of the population has left Croatia and relocated to other EU countries, a labour shortage has emerged, consequently the employment prospects for the Roma have improved. The Romanian report provides deeper insights into demographic trends such as migration and population decline and notes that the Romanian economy will need more than half a million extra workers in the labour market by 2023 that cannot be filled by present labour resources. However, much of the increased demand for labour will be needed in professional services and other higher-level education related levels of work where good literacy, ICT and admin skills are required. Correspondingly there will be a decline in unskilled/manual areas of employment. Obviously, many Roma will continue to be at a great disadvantage and unable to benefit from demographic trends if higher levels of educational inclusion are not achieved. These observations may well be applicable to the Roma in a large number of EU Member States. In addition, the growing demand for a more skilled labour force could bolster direct and indirect discrimination by for example requiring unnecessary qualifications as set out in the Romania case study presented below.

The Romanian report provides insights into the problems some Roma workers can experience due to structural change and their low levels of education. Apparently new restrictions mean that garbage collectors will need to have at least a mid-level school education. The Romanian report argues: "*Given that many Roma people work in the field of garbage collection, and the statistical data show that only a small percentage of the Roma have mid-level school education completed with a baccalaureate, therefore, it can be reasonably argued that, although the restriction does not refer directly to the Roma, in practice it affects this community, more than any other group or community. Hence, the act represents indirect discrimination on the basis of ethnicity*." A similar incident of indirect discrimination in Romania is felt to be legislative changes in vocational training where a potential trainee must have finished at least eight grades of education in order to gain access to a course, again this will exclude many Roma given the high rate of dropping out of school early.

With reference to waged labour an important form of employment in Hungary according to the monitoring report, is public works; of 100,000 Roma employed more than 40 per cent are public works employees. The authors of the monitoring report believe this reflects a lack of opportunity in the open labour market and dependency on local authorities who manage the public works. The public works programmes have been criticised for their low financial remuneration and lack of skills development; both are factors that keep Roma in poverty. The Hungarian report notes interviews conducted by the ODIHR in 2018 that indicated that the public works programme is also subject to political manipulation and sometimes misused to force Roma and other disadvantaged groups to vote for the ruling Fidesz Party for fear of losing the basic income derived from public works.

In terms of good practice, the Lithuanian report refers to consultations offered to Roma by career coaches. The programme has close ties to civil society and is coordinated by the Ministry of Social Security and Labour. During 2018, 569 Roma used this service and 83 were successfully employed.

A high incidence of racism in the waged employment market has made self-employment a sector that attracts high levels of Roma especially in activities such as the market retail sector, the Spanish report reveals the precarity of such economic activity with those engaged in such work describing themselves as the 'poor of the retail trade' who in the face of competition are compelled to lower their prices and thus profit margins. These Roma market vendors complain the authorities do not help them and merely raise the annual fees for trading. The report argues that there is a lack of targeted support to help such Roma entrepreneurs innovate and adapt and states*: "We must take this opportunity to point out that this 'absence' from public policies contrasts with all of the efforts and resources that are being used to 'normalise' the employment situation of Roma people, through the design and implementation of initiatives, that may well be appropriate, but that frequently fail to take into account the idiosyncrasy of the Roma people, their long and deeply-rooted tradition of self-employment and of family business, as a strategy to make up for the fact that the so-called welfare state never reached the majority of the Roma population. Creating inclusion policies without a strong axis addressing street vending in no way responds to the needs of Roma nor to an analysis of the situation conducted with even a minimum of due rigour*." Despite the serious concerns raised by the Spanish report, it does refer to an example of good practice. The 'Mercaemrende Joven'* initiative, a joint project by the *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* and Action against Hunger generates employment among the Roma through the professionalisation of street trading by training them in marketing, ICT and administration. The Lithuanian report voices some similar concerns to the Spanish report and notes that such is the level of discrimination in the waged labour market that business support for Roma entrepreneurial activity could be invaluable.

REDUCING POVERTY

- **Welfare**

- **Austerity**

The report on Cyprus notes that austerity has led to cutbacks in welfare support that has negatively impacted on some Roma. Cuts in welfare support have prompted greater cross-border movement between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish controlled area in North Cyprus. A Cypriot Roma describes the dilemma of some Roma "*We have many issues to solve. There are some children who are not attending school, some young Roma cannot find work, our state cut the social benefits, some have no electricity and water in their house, they don't have hospital cards, do not know the general health system*".

According to the UK report from 2011, the welfare reforms introduced by the UK government involved a radical change in the organisation and delivery of the benefits system. These changes have been rolled out in a staged, 'test and learn' approach in order to monitor their impact, and the government has emphasised that they are intended to make the benefits system 'fairer for all'. Despite this, there is substantial evidence that many of the changes have exacerbated inequalities and have had a disproportionate and negative impact on those with the greatest need. Cutbacks have had a major impact on welfare support in the UK and this according to the RCM been compounded by administrative changes to benefits like Universal Credit. The UK report states that the "*Universal Credit (UC) was the first major UK service to become 'digital by default'. Research on digital exclusion among Gypsy and Traveller communities in the United Kingdom to demonstrate the depth and breadth of this issue shows that many had never used the internet and only roughly a third had a household internet connection. This is compounded by comparatively low level of literacy. There is evidence that welfare reforms have left many Gypsy, Roma and Traveller families facing increasing accommodation insecurity. Cuts to housing benefit have meant that some people have chosen to leave bricks and mortar accommodation and return to the road because of the effects this has had on them.*" The UK report also describes how in 2015, the government announced a two-child limit; a policy aimed at reducing public spending on working-age families, this is said to have had a disproportionate impact also on Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities. As of 6 April 2017, low-income families having a third child lost entitlement to additional financial support through child tax credit and universal credit, equivalent to £2,780 per child per year. Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities continue to be excluded from equalities impact assessments for welfare reforms, and the detrimental effects on these communities are often overlooked in policy planning and rollout.

The 'Antigypsyism' section of the report details how in some cases institutional racism on the part of social services has impeded the access of some Roma to entitled benefits.

EDUCATION

- **Segregation**

- **Cutbacks**

- **Transitions from school to work and higher education**

The Y3 RCM reports reveal that for Roma rights' campaigners, education remains a key area of interest, with the notion being expressed that improved educational inclusion could be instrumental in improving the life chances of many Roma. However, they highlight major concerns that have been voiced in previous reports and over many years. The *RCM Synthesis Report: Assessing the progress in four key policy areas* (2020) found Roma education was hindered by insufficient funding, poor implementation efforts, limited scope and improper design. The report found access to early childhood education and care (ECEC) and services was growing, but poor transportation infrastructure and cost impedes progress. The report noted how the experiences of discrimination and other manifestations of racism against Roma students and families in education influence their motivations and aspirations and segregation in education is worsening in several Member States. The RCM's third cycle's reports indicate that educational exclusion remains a serious problem for many Roma communities with forms of segregation based on in-school separation such as directing students to academically streamed classes or 'special classes' or students being wrongly assessed and sent to special schools. Roma are also educationally segregated through socio-economic exclusion, Roma ghettoes produce all Roma schools. In addition, 'white flight' the withdrawal of non-Roma children by parents from schools with large numbers of Roma accentuates the problem.

The Bulgarian report draws attention to the 2016 EU MIDIS II survey, which indicates 60 per cent of Roma in that country are educated just with their fellow Roma or in predominantly Roma classes. Although Article 99 of the Pre-School and School Education Act (in effect since 2016) bans segregated classes, the Ministry of Education and Science and its regional branches have not, according to the monitoring report, taken action to enforce it and there is no data as to what degree the anti-segregation law is being respected. On a positive note the Bulgarian report highlights an effective desegregation initiative promoted by the Roma organisation *Amalipe* – where the Ministry of Education and Science has introduced a National Programme for Desegregation that requires children to be enrolled in schools with a small concentration of children from vulnerable groups. Unfortunately, though only six municipalities applied within the programme possibly because of concerns about the impact on local elections.

The Romanian report notes that in 2014 the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) estimated that 26 per cent of Roma students were segregated in Romania in all/mainly Roma classes. In a more recent report FRA (2018) estimated 29 per cent were in all/mostly Roma classes. School segregation was banned in Romania in 2016 and was supposed to be supported by a rigorous mechanism of monitoring, the initiative was hampered though by the fact that the Desegregation Commission, charged with reporting and other oversight duties, was only set up in 2019.

The Hungarian report states that indicators measuring the inclusivity and effectiveness of education for the Roma have deteriorated since 2010 and the segregation index has significantly risen. According to the monitoring report, the white flight of non-Roma pupils into newly established church schools (every estimated sixth child being taught in church schools) leaves the Roma pupils in state schools segregated. Moreover, some segregated schools for Roma have been established. The monitoring report presents two important case studies centred on schools in the towns of Nyíregyháza and Nyíradony, both cases raise serious questions about the role of the authorities in actively maintaining segregation and misuse of ESF money including corruption. According to the Hungarian report, an anti-segregation lawsuit has been launched regarding a school located in the Huszár settlement in the town of Nyíregyháza, (the Sója Miklós Greek Catholic Kindergarten and Primary School), as a test case. The school was formerly

closed due to segregation, then re-opened in 2011 by the Greek Catholic church. The verdict of the country's highest judicial authority (Curia) in a review procedure in 2015 practically endorsed the practice of segregation in education outsourced to the church. The European Commission initiated an infringement proceeding against Hungary as a result. Similarly, in Nyíradony where the Roma and non-Roma used to be educated together, after handling one of the schools to the to the Greek Catholic Church this mixing was reversed: "*In a few years the situation changed radically: most of the children living in the Roma settlement were excluded from the church school and, parallel to this, non-Roma children completely disappeared from the only state-run school. Thus, full ethnic segregation was implemented in Nyíradony.*"

The RCM reports from Romania, Poland, Latvia and Sweden highlighted the problem young Roma have in making a transition from school to work. The Romanian report notes a large proportion of Roma are young, more affected by unemployment, poverty and discrimination when it comes to accessing the labour market. A quarter of the young people in employment do not have the status of employee (they work without legal contract). This is due, in part, to the fact that there are high levels of early school leaving and the adult education and training system in Romania performs relatively poorly compared to the EU-28 average. In 2016, the percentage of adults participating in lifelong learning was 1.2 per cent compared to 10.8 percent, the average for the EU.

The Polish report outlines how the governmental Roma Programmes in Poland remain ineffective when it comes to significantly increasing the number of those who successfully complete their education, whether vocational or higher, and enter the job market; there are no Roma specific tools or mechanisms to support successful transition to the labour market and or monitoring of progression. It is felt such data could be useful in challenging anti-Roma stereotypes.

The Latvian report refers to recent research that found that discrimination against Roma in labour relations is linked to the very strong stereotypes of Roma in Latvian society. It is claimed Roma are perceived as unreliable employees by employers, a factor that impedes school to work transitions. Data also indicated a major reason for leaving school early are low income levels. Roma parents are said to be unable to afford to purchase everything their children need at school and prepare them for school, another important factor is said to be demoralisation and a lack of self-belief. Data from the Latvian State Employment Agency reveals that in the period 2015-2019, the vast majority (70 per cent) of Roma unemployed youth were involved in measures to increase labour competitiveness. However, only 21 Roma unemployed youth have attended vocational training programmes, accounting for only 5 per cent of the total.

The Swedish report outlines how the schooling, educational opportunities and transition to work of young Roma has been hampered by the fact that many of the Roma parents (referred to as the lost generation) are functionally illiterate and unfamiliar with the education system due to previous generations being excluded from formal education. This problem is exacerbated by poor communication and outreach to Roma families by municipal services (see the section on identity for further discussion of the 'lost generation').

Across Europe, Roma are very poorly represented in higher education with only an estimated 1 per cent participating in higher education (Morley et al, 2020). The Irish report notes in terms of good practice the explicit targeting of Traveller participation in the current National Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education, and that while the results, albeit small in scale, achieved thus far are welcome. However, considerably more progress is needed. The Irish report declares: "*Much of this is only possible if higher education access is grounded in direct and targeted action at first and second levels and also incorporates a lifelong learning dimension which explicitly targets and creates opportunities for mature student women and men, previously denied education opportunities.*" Another such example of good practice can be found in Portugal, the monitoring report describes the work of '*Opre'* an initiative aimed at young higher education students from Roma communities, with the aim of fighting early school leaving through the award of 30 university scholarships and a set of training, mentoring and

accompanying measures for these young scholarship holders and their families It is funded by the High Commissioner for Migration).

HOUSING

- **Informal settlements and camps**

- **Caravan sites and stopping places**

- **Eviction**

The housing and accommodation situation of Roma seriously lags behind the situation of the general population. Austerity policies in housing provision, reduction in public spending for welfare and social housing, lowering restrictions on private housing development and encouraging the growth of private ownership and private rental sector have all contributed to the lack of access to adequate housing across the EU also in more recent decades. Moreover, the problem of residential segregation of Roma remains among the main shortcomings of the Roma inclusion policies.

A number of the RCM country reports chose to provide insights into the issue of accommodation, in particular how many Roma suffer from a shortage of adequate, affordable housing, including social housing, and how what accommodation is available to them is likely to be sub-standard and spatially segregated. Roma are vulnerable to homelessness and eviction. Spatial, environmental and socio-economic marginalisation and discrimination means many Roma enjoy limited access to utilities such as electricity, clean water or sewage (See *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018)). The listed problems connected to accommodation are connected to institutional racism, indifference and public hostility.

The Romanian report notes 64,000 families (over 200,000 people) live in 'informal settlements' defined as residential formations lacking basic infrastructure or adequate housing conditions. Many of these families are from the Roma community. A welcome good practice initiative, at least in its conception, has been an amendment to the Spatial Planning and Urban Planning law in 2019 which has made more coherent the definition and identification of informal settlements and the specific responsibilities of local and national government. The aforementioned law has established commissions at county level to inform mayors about the legislation and provide methodological support for decisions to improve accommodation, primarily through relocation to adequate land or social housing, and the measure will be supported by funds supervised by the Ministry of European Funds, in the forthcoming funding period. The Romanian report noted though that in late 2019 the initiative seemed to have stalled as politicians appeared to be mindful of the 2020 local and national elections and were hesitant to take action in this sphere being an area of policy that enjoys little support or sympathy from the wider public.

With reference to informal settlements the Lithuanian report outlines how Roma families living in informal type settlements have been negatively impacted by strategically unprepared relocation, resulting in numerous evictions. Even where there might be grounds for a legal challenge of evictions, and legal right to alternative accommodation like social housing, Roma have been reluctant to take up such recourse due a lack of trust and fear of the authorities. The accommodation situation of the Roma in Lithuania is said to be further aggravated by the shortage of secure affordable accommodation and discrimination in the property market that forces Roma to rent flats from private landlords without official contracts as such landlords wish to avoid paying taxes on the rent, this leaves families vulnerable to poor living conditions with no legal recourse to ill-treatment.

In Italy, Roma who fled war and conflict in the Balkans in the 1990s, and Roma who later fled poverty and discrimination in countries like Romania, have been located in camps for decades, where the facilities and infrastructure are severely lacking. These Roma have been placed by the Italian authorities in 'nomad' type camps and classified as such, even though these EU-mobile Roma, migrants and asylum seekers had occupied conventional housing in their former homelands. The authorities did so, based on the assumption that

migration and nomadism are ethnically conditioned cultural choices. The Italian report highlights that beyond more inclusive regions addressing housing exclusion mechanisms more adequately (see the cases of Emilia Romagna and Tuscany discussed in the section 'Approaches and governance'), the region of Piedmont approved in November 2019 a bill entitled 'Rules on the regulation of nomadism and the fight against abusiveness'. The proposal was introduced by the far-right *Lega* Party who claimed it was designed to protect nomadism. The Italian report argues: "*In practice, the bill seeks to abolish permanent Roma camps, without providing adequate inclusion paths, including accommodation alternatives. It dictates that Roma will be able to stay in formal camps for no more than three months, a measure that will instead force nomadism on an already vulnerable and often displaced population of Roma, many of whom are only as 'nomadic' as of when their last forced eviction occurred*." The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) considers this initiative to be discriminatory and a clear infringement of human rights.

With reference to Roma/Travellers who have a nomadic tradition and prefer to live in caravans, the monitoring reports for the UK, Ireland, Belgium and France emphasise the shortage of adequate provision for them, which impacts negatively on inclusion and well-being. The UK report explicitly acknowledges how accommodation shortages induces multiple forms of exclusion "*the lack of safe and secure accommodation has a direct impact on outcomes in terms of health, education and employment opportunities. Unless this issue is addressed then Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities will continue to experience poorer outcomes compared to other communities*". In the UK, the monitoring report notes that there is a shortage of 3,000 pitches (spaces for families to locate caravans) at permanent residential sites or stopping places, a problem chiefly caused by a weak policy framework based on localism where there is insufficient compulsion on local authorities to deliver sites, a problem compounded by methodologically weak assessments of need (for further discussion see section 'Data, assessment and monitoring'). Aside from believing a statutory duty on councils to provide sites, backed up by effective funding, targets and monitoring might deliver more sites, the UK report mentions an initiative entitled 'Statements of Common Ground', which can be classified as good practice promoting partnership and transparency. The example presented involves a memorandum of cooperation and liaison between the local authority, Chesterfield Borough Council, and a Traveller NGO, Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, which sets out agreed arrangements for on-going cooperation and liaison on Local Plan provision for Gypsy and Traveller sites

The Irish report notes that Travellers, according to census data, constituted 9 per cent of the homeless population despite representing just one per cent of the total population. The figure though does not include what are referred to as the 'hidden homeless': Travellers living in un-serviced halting sites, in caravans on the side of the road, or doubling up through parking in the gardens of extended family members; or Travellers/Roma living in overcrowded accommodation. The shortage of Traveller-specific accommodation is principally a consequence of the persistent failure of local authorities to use their allotted funding for Traveller accommodation, largely because of opposition to proposed Traveller-specific planning applications, by members of the public and elected local and national representatives. The report outlines how figures obtained in 2018 indicate a 48 per cent underspend by local authorities of their ring-fenced funding within their Traveller Accommodation Programme (TAPs). The Irish monitoring report refers to a statement by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) that noted it was 'shocked' at the amount of available money that was returned unspent, 'while many Travellers continue to live in squalor and deprivation'. ECRI concluding that without the imposition of dissuasive sanctions, on local authorities, there was no accountability for delivery under this budget programme. In June 2019, the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission announced its intention to issue notice to each of the thirty-one local authorities to undertake an equality review of their provision under the TAPs, due to their failure to draw down and/or spend their ring-fenced capital budget for the provision of Traveller accommodation.

The French report drew attention to the spatial segregation of official caravan sites. Despite a law stipulating these sites should be close to services, the authorities have chosen to locate them far away from urban areas as they believe the majority population does not wish to be located near to such sites, an action that accentuates exclusion. The Belgium report also refers to a shortage of sites and the tensions and hardship this can entail. However, the report acknowledges that an important development, that can be considered good practice in terms of intent, is that in three regions caravans are now recognised as a type of habitat, but the potential of this recognition to improve living conditions and standards is limited by the fact that technical and qualitative criteria have not been adapted yet to apply to caravans/mobile homes.

The RCM reports outlined above that discuss nomadic lifestyles all refer to the stress and negative impact on many Traveller/Roma families caused by forced eviction, a consequence of a shortage of authorised sites.

HEALTH

- **Addiction**

- **Targeted health measures**

Many of the previous RCM reports have noted that many Roma have poor access to health care in part due to discrimination, mistrust of the health service and lack of awareness resulting in substandard and/or segregated health care and access to vaccinations.

The RCM reports on Finland, Hungary, Lithuania and Sweden chose to highlight the problem of drug addiction and drug dealing within Roma communities. A lack of ethnic monitoring means it is difficult to give precise insights into the scale of the problem, but the Lithuanian report refers to data by the Vilnius District Senior Police Headquarters where over 500 drug related investigations were undertaken in the Kirtmai settlement in 2018 alone. Thirty-one deaths from overdose have been recorded. The Finnish report notes that several Roma associations have expressed their worries on this matter in particular the number of drug related deaths that were estimated to total 40 in the past two years. The Hungarian monitoring report refers to the research highlighting concerns within the Roma community about the growing number of Roma children engaging in drug abuse.

The Lithuanian report notes the problem of drugs was not addressed in the NRIS, and the effect it has on the Roma community both health- and discrimination-wise has not been measured or analysed thoroughly. An additional problem is that the media and political figures have resorted to stereotype and demonising the Roma that distracts from an understanding of the fundamental causes of this problem: "*At the moment, the tackling of the problem of substance abuse and drug problems concerning Roma are mostly punitive. While this might appear to be working in the short term, other measures are needed to ensure wellbeing of family members (especially minors) of the individuals involved*." The Finnish report also feels the media represents this issue without accurately elaborating on background information and thus stigmatizes the Roma. The Hungarian report states that the NRIS fails to mention the spread of designer drugs and notes that currently only three rehabilitation institutions operate in Hungary where youngsters can be admitted on a voluntary basis. It calls for an increase in the number of special centres where children can participate in obligatory drug rehabilitation with qualified professionals. It would appear there is a lack of detailed understanding of the nature of this problem caused by a dearth of research and an emphasis on negative reporting and sanctions, whilst preventative measures centred on guidance and counselling are not adequate.

The Swedish report provides valuable insights into these trends by emphasising that a chain of unemployment and depression makes Roma vulnerable to drug abuse: "*Limited opportunities to engage in society on equal terms has led many into depression and self-medication through substance abuse, with the latter also being a risk factor for criminality. Prevalence of related social issues are higher within the Roma community compared to majority society. In all group discussions and interviews this crisis and chain of cause and effect unemployment-depression-addiction-crime is highlighted and many deals with this in their own families including drug related deaths*."

A lack of impetus, by policymakers, to develop and drive targeted health strategies, is also noted as a key barrier. The Irish report raises concerns regarding a lack of prioritisation in regard to the development and implementation of a targeted Traveller health strategy, as well as the stalling of key statutory drivers for Traveller health, despite mounting evidence attesting to the significant and widening health inequality gap between Travellers and the majority.

WOMEN

- **Health**
- **Domestic violence**
- **Trafficking**
- **Empowerment**

Roma women are a highly vulnerable group within the Roma community and can be said to carry a double or triple burden of disadvantages, as well as facing intersectional discrimination in society facing patriarchal oppression within their community, experiencing poorer health and less access to health care, experiencing poverty through a gender pay gap and attaining lower levels of education.

The Bulgarian report contained a detailed case study on the situation of Roma women. An insight into the barriers Roma women in Bulgaria face is provided by the complaint initiated by the European Roma Rights Centre and taken to the European Committee of Social Rights under the provisions of the European Social Charter. The substance of the complaint centred on two issues: access to health insurance and its impact on Roma women; and segregation in maternity wards of Roma women in public hospitals. The Committee concluded that Bulgaria violated the Charter regarding the first issue, but found no violation regarding the second issue, claiming that the evidence, collected testimony from Roma women, is not sufficient to support the serious allegation of systemic discrimination. (For an updated review of this issue see ERRC, 2020.)

The incidence of what is termed child marriage (according to the definition of UNICEF, "*any formal marriage or informal union between a child under the age of 18 and an adult or another child*") and early motherhood appears to have decreased among the Roma in Bulgaria; research by the *Amalipe* Centre in Roma neighbourhoods found the average age of Roma women starting cohabitation was now 17 years and five months. In addition, the monitoring report notes that that the number of underage girls who gave birth below the age of 16 is declining, in 2013, 790 girls gave birth and in 2017 the number was 269. Despite the improvement the figures indicate much important work needs to be done, given that child marriage is a serious violation of human rights, as it greatly affects girls' rights to sexual freedom, to freedom from violence, to education and health.

Bulgaria is considered one of the primary source countries of human trafficking in the EU, and despite significant efforts, it does not fully meet the minimum standards for combating the phenomenon. Progress is hindered by corruption in law enforcement and the judiciary. According to independent reports, the victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation are predominantly socio-economically disadvantaged young women or girls, some as young as 13 years old, from ethnic (Roma or Turkish) minorities. Another indicator of the vulnerable position of Roma women is the fact they are even less likely to report domestic violence than non-Roma women do: according to the Bulgarian monitoring report, the latency rate could be as high as 90 per cent in the case of Roma women, while this rate is estimated to be 78 per cent in the case of non-Roma women. The gap is due to poverty, social exclusion, a lack of social services in the neighbourhoods where they live and or trust in those services as well as a lack of family support. The issue of combatting domestic violence in general has been undermined, as the monitoring report claims, by the decision of the Bulgarian government not to ratify the Council of Europe's Convention on preventing and combatting violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention).

The plight of Roma women in Bulgaria is said to be compounded by a lack of representation and say in decision-making processes. The Austrian report echoes this concern whilst noting the value of the Vienna based Association VIVARO, which promotes the networking of Roma women, and Romano Centro, which aims to promote Roma

women's empowerment throughout all areas of life; it argues that the resources allocated to such work are insufficient and are coupled with a failure by institutions and even Roma civil society to recognise the importance of gender mainstreaming in Roma inclusion policies, of specific measures targeting Roma women, and of broader outreach to Roma women by mainstream institutions.

The monitoring report from Cyprus claims that Roma women who live in the areas controlled by the officially recognised Republic of Cyprus in isolated communities, are hindered, among other matters, to access reproductive health services. Due to family and everyday realities, as well as due to not fluently speaking the school official language Roma women who have school-aged children face obstacles in participating in parents' associations, which is important for integration and social life.

According to the Swedish report, the NRIS identifies women as a priority target group; special measures are planned to improve Roma women's health and labour market opportunities. Still, there may be a blind spot, namely elder care (see this issue discussed below, in the section on 'The elderly'): although municipalities have an obligation to provide senior residents with elder care services, however, Roma families usually do not trust or find these services culturally appropriate. Thus, the unpaid and demanding work of caring for the elderly is typically performed by female members of Roma families, which is a significant barrier to education and employment for many Roma women and girls.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

- **Disempowerment**

- **Being placed in care**

Roma children and youth present a highly vulnerable group. To define these terms, we can refer to one of the principal EU policies for youth the Youth in Action programme targets young people between 13 and 30, those aged below that are clearly children (European Commission, 2011). In 2018, the FRA identified a worrying trend in the lack of transition of many Roma young people from education to employment, with many children leaving school often before upper secondary education and almost two thirds (63 per cent) of young Roma aged 16-24 are neither at employment nor in education nor training (NEET).

The Croatian report describes the problems of Roma youth: "*Young Roma are facing many problems besides discrimination such as early marriages, the expectations of patriarchal society, lack of motivation and support for education, they do not participate in decision-making processes that are going to have an effect on them, their voice is not heard. Without active participation, the needs of young Roma are not specifically addressed. Some activities and measures even if they are focused on young Roma they are not led, created and owned by young Roma and many of these actions are temporary without real sustainability*." The report outlines how a section of Roma youth experience low self-esteem as a consequence of marginalisation and poverty. It is reported those who achieved academic success in Croatia are struggling in work because of discrimination. Even if young Roma are recognised by the NRIS, there are no specific measures to target the needs of young Roma. With reference to Latvia the monitoring report outlines how in the areas of youth and civic society there are no national programmes specifically targeted at the Roma; although Roma and Roma youth are not specific target groups, they are included in the group at risk of social exclusion in national strategies, programmes and projects implemented by the government institutions. Exclusion from general decision-making processes in society, a lack of empowerment and opportunity are common problems facing Roma youth across Europe. The following case studies provide some insights into the multiple problems facing young Roma with specific reference to care settings.

An example of good practice related to Roma youth can be found in the Latvian report, where it describes the workshop *Sāre Khetene 2018*. The workshop which was staged with ministerial support, focused on capacity building for Roma youth and was attended by 15 Roma young people and made a number of important recommendations including the need to exchange the experiences of Roma youth through social networks and the need to organize a youth needs survey and support initiatives. The Croatian report notes that the Government Office for Human and Minority Rights organised trainings for young Roma to monitor the implementation of NRIS locally.

A common point of concern in the RCM reports was the lack of disaggregated data by ethnicity on the Roma, which impedes the ability to fully understand the scale and nature of Roma youth exclusion and participation in initiatives like the Youth Guarantee Scheme. In addition, complaints are made about the lack of well-resourced Roma youth initiatives to raise skills, self-esteem and empowerment.

A number of the RCM reports, most notably Croatia, Germany, Hungary and Sweden make reference to Roma children being threatened with being taken into care and or being placed in care; a common theme of concern is that institutions charged with taking Roma into care lack understanding of and sympathy for Roma families. The Swedish report provides detailed insights and claims misunderstanding and a lack of cultural awareness and distrust leaves Roma families at a disadvantage when trying to convey their views to officials during the assessment process where decisions are taken as to whether to take children into care. According to the report the problems of communication are not eased by the fact that even when assisted by Roma mediators the

authorities are dismissive of this support. Problems are further compounded by a strong collective memory on the part of the Roma of past abuse, a memory that resonates in the present. The Swedish report notes: "*Roma women in particular live with the stress of a latent fear of having their children taken away based on external judgements and regulations that they feel they have no control over or insight into. Lack of trust, understanding and communication by social services of the relevant procedures forces women to keep a low profile and not report for example domestic abuse but rather stay in destructive situations that could put her and her children in danger*." A lack of cultural understanding by social services and mistrust of such agencies by the Roma means that being taken into care becomes even more traumatic and in some cases is exacerbated by being placed in non-Roma foster care subjecting the child to an alien cultural environment.

The Hungarian report notes that Roma children are heavily over-represented in the care system; a survey carried out in Nógrád county found that the proportion of Roma children in such institutions is nearly 80 per cent. According to the survey, in 50 per cent of these cases the vulnerability of the Roma children is attributable to financial reasons, which leads to their removal from the family in many cases despite the fact that the Act on Child Protection prohibits this. Roma families whose children are taken into the care system receive little if any help to change the conditions that were used to justify the removal of the child, an example being the development of parenting skills. In part this is a consequence of a poorly funded care system with a high turnover of poorly trained staff. The Croatian report raises concerns about the lack of structural support given to non-Roma foster parents in raising Roma children and helping them tackle antigypsyism and maintaining their identity.

In terms of good practice concerning the Roma children the Swedish report outlines how in recent decades more Roma children attend pre-school, freeing female family members for work and education opportunities. The German report details how Sinti and Roma are becoming mediators and educational counsellors and are used to support Roma children in school.

THE ELDERLY

- **Elder care**

The *RCM Synthesis report: Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy* (2020) states that in many countries the life expectancy of the Roma is much shorter than the majority population and they are also more likely to become chronically sick at a much younger age – this alone (not counting discrimination, different family socialisation, etc) makes the elder care challenge concerning the Roma a real challenge in many Member States, especially where the scope for flexibility, cultural awareness and good community outreach is limited. The underdevelopment of long-term care services in some countries including professional home-care services and lack of adequate support for home carers from the family (e.g. recognising homecare as tenure for the purpose of social security and pensions) also play a negative role and affect disproportionately the Roma.

The Swedish report contains an in-depth case study on the treatment of Roma who are elderly: "*In reality, very few elderly Roma people have access to an elder care that meets their needs to a sufficient extent so that they are able to benefit from them. Because of historic abuse elderly Roma and their families are reluctant to claim their rights in this area for fear of leaving their loved ones in the hands of majority society representatives.*" The fear created by this historic institutional abuse sometimes means elders do not receive trained professional care and places greater pressure on women in Roma families charged with a care role, impeding their possibilities to enter the workforce or access training and education or find themselves overloaded with child and elder care. Also, the authorities have made little effort to improve dialogue and misunderstanding or ensuring Roma families receive information about the support they are entitled to. Staff in elder care are said to lack awareness and training of Roma cultural needs. Difficult life experiences such as poverty and marginalisation often mean that the heath profile of many elderly Roma is poor, and they constitute one of the groups most in need of effective support and elder care.

EU-MOBILE ROMA AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

- **Freedom of movement conditionality**

- **Roma asylum seekers**

- **UK Settled Status**

The term EU-mobile Roma refers to mobile EU citizens of Roma ethnicity exercising their right to free movement. The Roma mobility needs to be seen in a wider context of inequalities within the EU. Intra-EU mobility has primarily economic roots: namely higher wages and better opportunities of subsistence in Western and Northern European countries compared to East and South East European countries. This is not specific to Roma. However, they are in a more vulnerable situation due to their racial/ethnic differences, racial stereotypes and prejudice that comes with it as well as worse credentials in terms of integration (low education, lack of resources etc.) The securitisation of EU-mobile Roma as an economic and cultural risk through speech acts in media and political discourse together with poor access to services and entitlements raises serious questions about the degree EU-mobile Roma are able to enjoy their rights as European citizens. The RCM reports highlight a number of serious problems facing EU-mobile Roma that centre on a lack of awareness of rights and forms of institutional racism that impact negatively on already vulnerable and marginalised people.

In addition, the Belgian report notes that although discriminations and persecutions against Roma are now widely acknowledged, obtaining asylum remains nearly impossible for them. Recently, the systematisation of asylum refusals for EU Roma has been facilitated by the entry of several Eastern European countries into the EU, as well as by the adoption of the 'list of safe countries', for which asylum procedures are accelerated and come with limited possibilities of appeal. Problems with being able to integrate because of a lack of support and resources has led to a growing issue of Roma living in shanty communities (informal settlements).

The German report discusses the institutional problems many EU-mobile Roma experience in accessing social and welfare support at agencies such as the Employment Agency and jobcentres due to uncertainty or managerial pressure whereby more stringent rules are applied to Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, which negatively impact on a large number of Roma. The problems of EU-mobile Roma in Germany are also reported to be aggravated by the division of the employment services and poor coordination with the social services, as a consequence existing rights to labour market integration can hardly be exercised. Only destitute employable persons receive both financial and integration services from jobcentres. Persons who are not able to work and have no connection to the labour market are cared for by social services. However, EU citizens looking for work, and this applies to many with a Roma background, cannot be assigned to these categories. They are (partly) destitute and employable but excluded from the jobcentre's area of responsibility and are therefore assigned to social services, creating a vacuum in support for some highly vulnerable Roma.

Roma asylum seekers in Germany are also reported to be experiencing significant institutional barriers to inclusion. Many of these asylum seekers are from Balkan countries. Many are 'tolerated' (*Duldung*), which means allocated specific status for asylum seekers that includes enormous restrictions on the right to education and to work. This status is granted to asylum seekers whose asylum application was denied but who cannot (yet) be deported. According to official data, 10,382 people from Serbia and 8,001 from Kosovo have been living in Germany for at least five years, and several thousand of them for at least eight years. Human rights organisations report that a large proportion are Roma.

The Danish monitoring report also provides detailed insights into EU-mobile Roma in particular from Romania who are homeless and living in destitution, a problem compounded by the lack of support given to migrant job seekers and the fact that living

on the streets makes it impossible to hold down a regular job. The Danish report provides a powerful insight into the experiences of such Roma: "*I would like to get a job back home, to go to work and then come back to my own bed. I wouldn't have to be so stressed and run around all the time, like I do here, hiding from the police. You can't even sleep a lot because they give you stress, you are always thinking 'They will come now, let's get up!'*" Among these homeless migrants are said to be Roma children and it is reported that there is no clear legal procedure on how to support these children. EU-mobile Roma in the Danish report attested to experiencing discrimination, hate-speech and violence in their everyday life.

The French report notes that a common point of perception about the EU-mobile Roma is that they are extremely excluded Romanian migrants living in precarity in slums; sometimes even the EU-mobile Roma themselves can internalise these external perceptions and conceptions of their status as 'shameful' and divisions are then created in the broader Roma community with *gens du voyage* stressing their French nationality so as to distance themselves from the mainstream perception of 'Roma', referred to above. The French report refers to a series of racist attacks against EU-mobile Roma in the Paris area at the end of March 2019 that were triggered by fake news that spread on social media, accusing 'Romanians in a white truck' of being child rapists. In one attack in the suburb of Bobigny, some 50 people armed with sticks and knives set upon EU-mobile Roma people living in a nearby slum, setting fire to their parked vans. (Agence France-Presse, 2019). The French report concludes that the ensuing organised violence could not have happened without the constant dehumanisation of the Roma in the media and political discourse. In Italy, many EU-mobile Roma have been pushed into so-called 'nomad camps' despite many having sedentary lifestyles; the conditions in such camps are reported to be deplorable (see Accommodation section for fuller discussion).

The UK report notes that as a consequence of the country's leaving the EU, the European citizens living in the UK need to apply for settled status, in other words the right to reside and work in the country. A barrier for highly excluded groups like the Roma is that the process of securing settled status should be completed online, a lack of digital literacy and comprehension of English the sole language of operation for this process creates a barrier for some Roma, exacerbated by a lack of support and mistrust of what is considered to be a hostile institutional system. As a result of these barriers "*Roma migrants in the UK now find themselves in a vice – squeezed out of their countries of origin and squeezed out of their new home in the UK*". The Roma Support Group that assists Roma mobile families believes the numbers who have not applied so far are large.

IDENTITY

- **Cultural trauma and dislocation**

- **Language**

- **Sport**

The Dutch monitoring report highlights the value of cultural recognition and agency for the Roma. A Roma interviewee states: "*We noticed that there is a need for our voice to be heard and our concerns to be listened to. There is a need for a media outlet in the Netherlands, where we can listen to our music, our language, where we can connect with one another and discuss topics that are important for us. We need to balance the negative image that there is now about us in society. Social media is very important to combat the discrimination and antigypsyism, but a media outlet can also have big impact and challenge prejudice*." However, assimilatory policies operated in some cases over decades coupled with the decline of some traditional Roma trades, together with intense forms of antigypsyism have impacted negatively on the self-esteem and cultural identity and outlook of Roma communities. It should be noted that, at present the cultural and identity rights of the Roma are not included in the EUFW. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity proclaims that the defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights, in particular for minorities.

The Swedish report refers to a 'lost generation' who experienced profound dislocation as a consequence of not being allowed to settle and living constantly on the move and then from the 1980s, being sedentarised into marginal living spaces, usually substandard housing: "*This generation still have skills more attuned to historically well adapted survival strategies but not the formal or informal experiences or networks required to advance on today's labour market or education system. This critical segment of Roma society has not been addressed with any adequate measures from the state to make amends for earlier exclusion from education or proper strategies to connect to existing job opportunities*." This traumatic transition led to the decline of traditional crafts and resulted in welfare dependency, even when settled access could not be gained to decent education as Roma children were classified as special needs and the low-level education, they received did not equip them for labour market integration. This so-called lost generation are said to be stranded between the old ways of life and modern-day society, stuck in a form of limbo and experiencing cultural trauma and profound exclusion. This case study gives profound insights into the cultural inflexibility of mainstream society.

The Dutch report highlights a similar problem where Roma, Sinti and Travellers were spread out and distributed across the country by the authorities. This has fragmented community networks, identity, culture and language. The Romanian report also refers to Roma being classified as a 'vulnerable' social group and homogenised with their cultural, identity and self-esteem needs being neglected. An important component of identity is language and the Finnish report notes that the number of Romani speakers is decreasing and states existing efforts to revitalise the language have not had significant success with the Roma not being sufficiently involved in discussions and measures to revive the language.

Identity, in addition to being protected needs, as is the case with all identities, to adapt and innovate in light of societal changes and preferably do so inclusively. It is important to note that the Slovenian report highlights that the NRIS in Slovenia neglects the multiple discrimination experienced by Roma LGBTQ persons, including from within their own communities. Roma communities, as with wider society, reflect the range of societal views on LGBTQ issues and it should therefore not be a surprise that the Slovenian report notes forms of homophobia within Roma communities, the report appeals for efforts to be made to develop support and understanding from within and outside the Roma community.

The Slovak monitoring report focuses on sport and argues that it can be an important tool to raise self-esteem, develop self-discipline and valuable life skills, and even to create positive role models who can motivate young Roma and challenge prejudices. However, the report found the actual financial cost of sports club membership was prohibitive to poor Roma families and there are cases where forms of segregation hindered access. In some cases, Roma communities are spatially excluded being far away from sports facilities or within the ghetto substandard facilities exist or there are no facilities at all. In other cases, there is an overt discrimination against Roma children being banned from using pools or authorities segregating the days Roma and non-Roma children can use playgrounds. The Slovak report expresses serious concern at the lack of reference to Roma inclusion in sport in EU member state NRISs.

DATA, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

- **Disaggregated data**

- **Targeted monitoring and mapping**

The Race Equality Directive is a core component of the EU law, providing racial and ethnic minorities with protection by anti-discrimination legislation across the Member States. The focus has turned though to implementation and monitoring and consequently the need has arisen for data on (in)equalities based on racial and ethnic origin. Such data is essential to measure the level of implementation and monitor the impact of policies, but there are serious shortcomings as to data regarding the situation of racial and ethnic minorities (Farkas, 2017), shortcomings that are highlighted in the RCM reports.

Numerous references are made to the problems caused by a lack of disaggregated data by ethnicity on the Roma, confirming the findings of the *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018). A number of countries fail to collect such data arguing that it would be discriminatory to do so but as the Italian monitoring report argues these countries are failing to take note of the European Committee of Social Rights announcement that there is a duty on national authorities to collect data on groups who might be subject to discrimination. In addition, the ECRI has advocated the collection of ethnic data in a coherent and comprehensive manner. The Slovenian report notes such data would facilitate comprehensive planning and the development of targeted policies. The Slovak monitoring report recognises such data enables the effective evaluation of NRIS outcomes and large funded projects and is a useful source of assistance in securing EU funds. The Polish report details how the lack of such data impedes the gathering of useful insights in the key area of work, it notes there is no official gathering of data on Roma employment. However, it is argued that monitoring of successful paths into employment by Roma could help us better understand the trajectories some follow into inclusion and would probably highlight within the Roma community the value of educational achievement. The Austrian report argues that disaggregated data on the basis of ethnicity and gender would provide valuable understanding of the experiences of Roma subgroups like women who might be susceptible to multiple forms of exclusion and facilitate gender targeted interventions.

A model of good practice could be found in Croatia where in the absence of clear data, the Croatian Office for Human Rights and Rights of National Minorities conducted a mapping exercise of Roma settlements and a large-scale survey of a representative sample of the Roma population in cooperation with Roma civil society. Such mapping exercises also provide an opportunity to gather more qualitative data but should be a complement to rather than substitute for quantitative data with an ethnic categorisation. Similar mappings have been conducted also in other countries, such as Romania and Slovakia as described in *RCM Synthesis Report: Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation* (2018).

The UK monitoring report notes that local authorities are required to assess the level of need for Gypsy and Traveller caravan pitches/sites through Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAA) and make provision accordingly. However, such assessments are contracted out to independent research and data gathering firms and one such firm that is in high demand by local authorities has consistently argued that only 10 per cent of those who self-ascribe as Gypsies and Travellers need site provision. A figure strongly contested by Gypsy and Traveller civil society who allege that at one planning hearing the aforementioned research firm acknowledged that the 10 per cent figure might be too low and could now be approaching 25 percent. It is a cause of concern though that many GTAA have been prepared on the basis of the 10 per cent figure and this will lead to serious under provision.

The Irish report notes that in tandem with efforts to ensure that state agencies collect disaggregated ethnic data, there is a need for a parallel awareness-raising across these agencies to ensure that Travellers and Roma, as well as statutory bodies,

understand, both why disaggregated data is necessary, and the links between robust data collection and enhanced planning, decision-making and resource allocation.

CONCLUSION

The presented case studies reveal there is a need for greater coordination, guidance and resources and where needed sanctions for Member States who fail to challenge Roma exclusion. An important contextual note to the case studies is that austerity and a failure to provide economic stimulus in Europe has also been counter-productive to the Roma, limiting economic opportunities, leading to the deterioration of services and stoking nativism and xenophobia (Ryder, et al, 2020).

An important lesson that can be drawn from the Y3 RCM reports is that paternalism and limited resources, a problem accentuated by austerity and the marketisation of services, has created weak policy frameworks in Member States for improving Roma inclusion. Too often policy seems to be based on a social integration discourse where the emphasis is on personal development and skills acquisition, as important as these are, but neglects major structural change and the way we manage and distribute resources within our society. A bolder vision of social inclusion could be premised on what Levitas (1998) describes as a redistributive and egalitarian discourse, a policy framework more centred on social justice and state intervention. Too often policy lacks the strength of hard law (obligation) and meaningful commitments to social justice. The RCM case studies presented in this report suggest more dynamic and interventionist policy responses are required. As is highlighted in the NGOs' country reports a lack of political will is a major impediment to inclusion as reflected in a failure to properly implement existing measures or even by actively maintaining segregation, discrimination and institutional racism. This failure is bolstered by a lack of clear targets, timeframes, monitoring and intervention, in other words policies are not 'SMART' (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-bound). These are longstanding problems but the failure to rectify these policy flaws is now of deeply critical concern as revealed by the sense of urgency and desperation presented in assorted case studies in this report.

The case studies presented in this synthesis report indicate that the decision to target interventions ethnically or to use mainstream, non-ethnic targeting is a fraught one, with arguments for both sides and the right choice might depend on the country context. In some cases, targeting can cause tensions, especially when the wider public, and in particular other marginalised groups, feel they are being let down by the state. A feeling of disappointment that appears to be growing as state services and support deteriorate. Care is needed with a targeted approach, in particular to avoid the creation of inferior or segregated/ghettoised services (Messing and Bereményi, 2017). It has been argued that Roma inequality exists in part because of actual Roma specific policies that fail to address and in some cases, even reinforce a view of the Roma as an 'exceptional category', van Baar and Vermeersch (2017, 122) claim some policies *categorise Roma as either 'risky' or 'at risk' and may therefore, in some ways, rather contribute to their marginalisation than resolve it*". It is argued such measures run the risk of essentialisation and reproduces inequality. A close relationship should exist between mainstream and targeted support so that knowledge arising from, for example, a local or national pilot project is then fed back into the daily operations of mainstream service providers and becomes part of their activities (Cemlyn and Ryder, 2017). This can lead to progressive change within mainstream methods and approaches as the pilot facilitates new directions or becomes part of established services. The RCM reports indicate that both targeting and mainstreaming approaches too often suffer from a lack of resources, coordination and paternalism. Inclusive forms of community development, that is bottom-up and gives voice and agency to the Roma, could hold the key to averting the dangers that can materialise when targeted action becomes paternalistic and assimilatory.

However, this synthesis report demonstrates that in too many cases Roma civil society is marginalised through poor funding and support and ignored in decision making processes. Poor policy development and frameworks are aggravated by not strengthening the voice of Roma communities through greater political representation and capacity building of Roma civil society reducing the agency of Roma and ability to shape effective and inclusive policies and services. The case studies reveal that despite all the rhetoric

regarding Roma empowerment and the avowed EU policy of Community Led Local Development, Roma disempowerment continues to be a major problem that has not been properly addressed.

The case studies presented in this report reveal the root of many problems facing the Roma is antigypsyism – too little is being done to challenge the cultural, institutional and political foundations of racism towards the Roma. This neglect and lack of resolve can be classified as a long standing and unresolved problem with significant consequences. The RCM reports reveal that too often political leaders prompted by antigypsyism are playing the 'race card' against the Roma, in other words 'othering' and scapegoating the Roma for political ends. The monitoring reports reveal a longstanding concern about the media and its demonisation of Roma communities, a relative blind spot is the growing role of social media in scapegoating the Roma, a problem the RCM reports have dramatically highlighted. The RCM reports provide important insights into the economic, cultural and spatial consequences of antigypsyism that constrains and minimises Roma life chances.

Poverty remains a long standing and unresolved problem for many Roma. Poor access to schooling and support undermines the transition of Roma from school to work, leading to unskilled, casual work and unemployment. Racism in the labour market means large numbers of Roma are compelled to become self-employed but as is evident from the case studies presented, such Roma rarely receive effective business support. Roma poverty is also clearly accentuated, as revealed in the case studies, by paternalism, institutional racism, overt bureaucracy and a lack of resources. A common and deeply ingrained trope that impedes Roma inclusion, as noted in the case studies, is that Roma are prone to criminality and indolence. Such common misconceptions fail to understand and sympathise with the precarity of life for many Roma and the huge daily struggle many Roma face to get by and survive. Roma women suffer from a 'double burden' being even more disadvantaged in the labour market and in the use of services by forms of patriarchy and antigypsyism that leave Roma women feeling isolated and marginalised. Likewise, the lack of support for many EU-mobile Roma and the institutional racism that confronts them, as highlighted in the case studies presented in this report, adds to the precarity of these Roma. The RCM reports indicate little urgency in terms of action to address these problems.

In terms of policy blind spots, the case studies in this report indicate that care for the elderly, children in care, drug abuse and LGBTQ Roma present issues that have to date not received sufficient attention. The bottom up nature of the data gathering for the Y3 RCM reports and the case studies contained within, highlight the importance of giving voice to Roma rights' champions and involving them in problem identification and the resolution of such problems. Too often our understanding of Roma exclusion is fragmentary, a lack of disaggregated data by ethnicity on the Roma, means not only do we not fully understand the cause and effect of Roma exclusion, but we do not recognise and understand how successful paths to inclusion can be achieved. We need more effective data gathering, monitoring and research centred on inclusive partnerships with the Roma. We also need to develop a more complex understanding of who the Roma are avoiding homogenisation and generalisation and gaining greater insights into Roma subgroups like women, LGBTQ, EU-mobile Roma and children and the development of intersectional frames to understand and tackle the complex forms of exclusion from which some Roma suffer. Roma identity may be deemed as something of a blind spot having received scant attention and debate by policy makers. Some Roma have been traumatised by forms of assimilation and rapid change, a point that emphasises the value of dialogue and partnership in managing change and this point is especially pertinent to dealing with the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic.

The RCM reports contains many deeply concerning cases of neglect, discrimination and exclusion towards the Roma. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that some EU Member States at the national or local level are pioneering forms of good practice. Throughout the report we have sought to highlight that good practice which needs to be more widely promoted, understood and acknowledged. The examples of good practice presented in this report feature awareness raising, direct employment of Roma in

delivering services and forms of partnership and coproduction. An important dynamic in good practice has been allowing the voice of Roma to be heard and thus giving Roma a genuine say in service and policy delivery and design. Another feature of good practice has been the development of specifically designed services for the Roma that provide culturally tailored support for example in business support and or targeted outreach to encourage Roma to access mainstream services. Some of the good practices are attributable to the personal qualities of office holders who have used their positions to actively assist the Roma whilst others in similar posts have done little. A key question is how such pioneering and sense of inclusive public service can become more widespread. Some of the good practices are only captured in the framing and design of policies. However, serious issues remain in policy implementation and delivery of services. This indicates that several organisations have a mismatch between the declared aspirations and the willingness of those charged to deliver subsequent policy actions.

POSTSCRIPT: COVID-19

At the time of finalising this report, the Covid-19, a pandemic coronavirus, became a health emergency that has killed large numbers of people across the world. The pandemic has brutally highlighted the fragility and precarity of life for many at the margins, including the Roma. Covid-19 has exacerbated the Roma marginalisation highlighted in this report, lockdowns left many Roma especially those dependent on informal and casual work without an income, bank accounts or access to savings and with little or no emergency welfare support coming from the state. A poor health profile and high levels of diabetes, respiratory problems and other such debilitating heath conditions together with overcrowded slum living conditions left many Roma vulnerable to the virus. Moral panics and hysteria were orchestrated against the Roma with claims that they were principle carriers of the virus. One such example was in Bulgaria, where, politicians and some media referred to Roma people as a threat to public health and requested special measures targeting them on this basis. Local authorities set up police checkpoints around Roma settlements to enforce quarantine measures and, in one place, erected a fence around a Roma settlement to better control movements (CoE, 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic created the scene for unleashing a strengthened wave of anti-Roma feelings, leading to hate speech and the police descending on Roma communities and using force excessively, as happened in Romania. Such actions were redolent of earlier European anti-Roma racist measures, during the time of Roma enslavement, in Romania enslaved nomadic Romani people were forbidden from entering the city of Bucharest during outbreaks of the plague and fears that Roma would contaminate the 'Romanian race' with typhus led to anti-Roma measures in the 1940s *(*Matache and Bhabha, 2020). The Covid-19 pandemic is expected to trigger a major economic downturn, the Roma are likely to be severely affected by this slump. We conclude this report by stating that the need for a new EU level policy has never been greater and needs to be a priority for the new European Commission

RECOMMENDATIONS

Approaches and governance

1. Whether there are mainstreaming, or targeted approaches, stronger guarantees, safeguards and resources are needed from Member States to maximise the chances of Roma inclusion.

2. The EC should prepare the post-2020 EU policy for Roma inclusion – ideally an EU Roma inclusion and equality strategy – that would be more robust in terms of the diagnosis, concrete objectives, normative criteria for interventions to be adopted by the Member States, as well as requirements for inclusiveness of the policymaking process. The new policy should include issues that have hitherto been neglected, some of which are highlighted in this report and should develop a more intersectional understanding and approach to Roma exclusion.

3. The EC should also apply a stricter conditionality for the EU funding and infringement action where Member States actively maintain Roma inequality.

4. The Member States should develop their national Roma inclusion strategies in line with the new EU policy and ensure its implementation, monitoring, evaluation and revision with involvement of the civil society, local governments and independent experts. The Member States should also ensure stable, predictable funding for materialisation of their national strategies, linked to the funding of local development programmes.

5. The Member States should develop mechanisms for enforcement of the implementation of their national Roma inclusion strategies on the local and regional levels.

6. Clearer timeframes, targets and indicators to assess policies at all levels (EU, Member States, regions and municipalities) are needed.

7. The European Commission needs to robustly investigate the misuse of EU funding and or forms of corruption, in particular the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, the European Parliament Committee on Regional Development (REGI), the Court of Auditors and the European Public Prosecutor's Office, as should national monitoring bodies.

8. Roma Equality will need to be an important consideration in the 'rule of law review cycle' by the European Commission.

Antigypsyism

9. The European Commission and Member States need to make the implementation of the EU legal frameworks more robust to protect the Roma including the enforcement of legislation, more prosecution of offenders and more effective victim support.

10. Member States need to ensure staff employed in social services and other public services receive more awareness raising in anti-discrimination, anti-Racism and Roma and guidance and training on working with them. This should include greater training of enforcement and prosecution agencies as to what constitutes hate speech towards the Roma and the effect it has on Roma

11. Member States should improve access to effective free legal aid to the victims of discrimination and hate crime.

12. Member States should provide more effective education and public awareness about the Roma through inclusive educational curricula and learning materials and the promotion of Roma culture.

13. Stronger action and recognition of antigypsyism is needed by social media providers like Facebook and a review by the European Commission of its social media code of conduct, in particular as to how 'reliable informants' are defined and chosen and ensure the process is more open and transparent.

14. The media needs to develop stronger ethical codes to stop the promotion of stereotypical images and provide space for Roma voices, positive images and counter-narratives. Member States need to ensure strong codes are in operation to guarantee fair and responsible reporting and media coverage.

Empowerment

15. Member States' and the European Commission's mission need to pay more attention to the growing 'nothing about us without us' agenda of Roma communities and civil society by giving the Roma agency and a meaningful say in the policies that impact on them.

16. Member States and the European Commission need to encourage and support grassroots community development through capacity building and creating dynamic partnerships with municipal government

17. Member States and the European Commission need to ensure Roma are more fully involved in framing local development plans and NRIS.

18. Member States need to increase Roma representation at local and national level, especially in terms of the participation of Roma youth and women. The European Commission needs to give more guidance and encouragement to this process.

Employment

19. More support is needed for Roma entrepreneurs to develop their businesses through consultancy and access to micro-finance.

20. Member States need to provide more support, traineeship and scholarships for Roma to enter into vocational training.

21. Member States should ensure public works programmes offer proper skills development and financial remuneration and are free of political manipulation.

22. The Roma need to be a prominent point of discussion in the development and application of the European Pillar of Social Rights, which aims to improve equal opportunities and jobs for all and, provide fair working conditions and social protection and inclusion within the EU (European Commission, 2020).

Reducing poverty

23. Greater reference is needed to redistributive forms of social investment, based on the logic that it is more cost effective to ensure marginalisation does not occur in the first place rather than using resources to tackle and mitigate the impact of poverty and exclusion. Austerity and welfare cuts need to be reversed.

Education

24. Member States should be committed to the creation of ethnically heterogeneous inclusive learning environments where segregation is outlawed. More robust monitoring of patterns and practices of school segregation are needed with independent oversight and in many Member States legislation to outlaw segregation must be strengthened. Desegregation should be a condition for access to public resources, particularly the EU funds. Violation of the legal prohibition of segregation should be sanctioned. No school provider (state, church, municipality) can be allowed to enact or perpetuate segregated education.

25. Support is needed from Member States for educational providers to form effective links with Roma parents and civil society.

26. Efforts to urgently improve the digital inclusion of Roma are needed by Member States.

27. Member States need to provide more support and scholarships for Roma to enter into higher education.

Housing

28. Member States need to ensure more social housing and or accommodation that is of a decent standard and not spatially segregated.

29. Member States need to do more to enable the maintenance of nomadic lifestyles without forcing Roma communities to choose mobility against their will.

30. Member States need to make more efforts to transfer homeless Roma/Travellers to appropriate accommodation and to cease evictions especially where no alternative accommodation is provided.

Health

31. Member States need to make greater efforts to end institutional racism, with special attention to maternity and obstetrical/gynaecological services, in health care and ensure that good healthcare is delivered, preferably through free universal services.

32. Member States need to provide more targeted measures to understand and tackle Roma addiction and drug use.

Women

33. Member States should provide more targeted measures and efforts to ensure Roma women can access mainstream services and receive support when victims of domestic violence.

34. EU-supported in-depth analyses are needed on the issue of trafficking for sexual exploitation, often involving marginalised Roma women and children.

Children and youth

35. Member States should provide more targeted programmes to tackle Roma youth unemployment.

36. More targeted efforts are needed in the EU Youth Guarantee Scheme and forthcoming Child Guarantee Scheme.

37. Member States need to ensure more sensitive policies for Roma children in care with more effort made to help Roma parents be in a position to reclaim children and ensure the children do not experience cultural trauma by being placed in an alien environment.

The elderly

38. Member States need to make elder care more attentive and understanding of the care needs of Roma elders.

EU-mobile Roma and asylum seekers

39. Institutional barriers to inclusion of these groups need to be reviewed and addressed. The European Commission should include EU-mobile Roma as a particular target group that needs to be addressed in the EU Roma inclusion strategy and NRISs (or similar framework targeted at EU-mobile Roma) and supported by hosting Member States through mainstream policies as well as targeted measures.

Identity

40. More knowledge should be channelled in policy making (e.g. through civil society participation) about the heterogeneity of the Roma and subgroups like LGBTQ.

41. Greater recognition is needed of the value of sport to inclusion; governments, the EU and sports associations and sportspeople need to actively promote greater Roma inclusion in sport.

Data, monitoring and evaluation

42. Member States should collect disaggregated data by ethnicity and gender on the Roma in all sectoral fields.

43. Member States should establish or improve monitoring tools to enable the assessment of policies and impact assessment

44. The European Commission needs to continue to support national/European monitoring of the impact of policy on Roma as currently conducted through the Central European University Roma Civil Monitor but with greater resources and lessons learned to enable more extensive monitoring and capacity building.

45. The European Commission and Member States should promote and support Roma community mapping with qualitative data as a useful supplement to quantitative data and monitoring. This should include encouraging and promoting participatory action research and investigations that give in-depth and qualitative insights into the perceptions and aspirations of the Roma.

46. Member States and the European Commission together with Roma civil society need to be more proactive in promoting and understanding identified good practice.

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ANNEX: OVERVIEW OF Y3 RCM COUNTRY REPORTS' THEMES

Cluster 1: Member States with the largest Roma communities and facing the most acute challenges													
	Approaches, governance	Antigypsyism	Empowerment	Employment and Reducing Poverty	Education	Housing	Health	Women	Youth	The elderly	EU-mobile Roma, migrants	Identity	Data, monitoring and evaluation
Bulgaria		Hate Speech			Segregation			Violence, equality					
Czech Republic	Integrated approach, local government		Civil society										
Hungary	Public Services		Power relations		Segregation, misuse of EU funds		Drug use						Visibility
Romania				Low income	Segregation	Informal settlements							Ethnic & social labelling
Slovakia	Targeting											Sport	Monitoring and evaluation

Cluster 2: Member States with significant Roma communities												
	Approaches, governance	Antigypsyism	Empowerment	Employment and Reducing Poverty	Education	Housing	Health	Women	Youth	The elderly	EU-mobile Roma, migrants	Identity	Data, monitoring and evaluation
France		Antigypsyism and social exclusion	Civil society									Affirmation of identity	
Germany		Antigypsyism in public administration and social work											
Greece	Local government											Culture	
Italy	Regional and national law	Counter narrative, media bias											Lack of data
Spain		Online antigypsyism	Roma participation	Market trading									
UK				Welfare		Site delivery					Impact of Brexit		

Cluster 3: Member States with mid-size Roma communities

	Approaches, governance	Antigypsyism	Empowerment	Employment and Reducing Poverty	Education	Housing	Health	Women	Youth	The elderly	EU-mobile Roma, migrants	Identity	Data, monitoring and evaluation
Austria	ESF							Empowerment					
Belgium						Caravans as housing, homelessness					Asylum		
Croatia									Youth participation, children adoption				
Ireland					Targeting	Homelessness	Targeting						Lack of data
Netherlands			Civil Society participation						Youth participation			Diversity	
Poland	Participation and leadership	Intra-EU migration			Transitions from education to jobs								
Portugal	Access to justice												Monitoring of policy
Sweden									Foster care	Elder care			

Cluster 4: Member States with smaller Roma communities												
	Approaches, governance	Antigypsyism	Empowerment	Employment and Reducing Poverty	Education	Housing	Health	Women	Youth	The elderly	EU-mobile Roma, migrants	Identity	Data, monitoring and evaluation
Cyprus							Drug abuse	Experiences of discrimination			Roma mobility		
Denmark											Situation of EU mobile Roma		Lack of data
Estonia			NGO development and empowerment										
Finland		Roma experiences in prison					Drug abuse					Language	
Latvia			Participation and Self Organization						Experienced problems				
Lithuania		Online hate speech		Entrepreneurship		Housing problems	Drug abuse						
Luxembourg	Need for a NRIS												
Slovenia		Hate speech							Lack of Support				Lack of data

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