No Crystal Ball: The Case for Fair Treatment of Roma

By “Coach Vance” Trefethen

***Resolved: The European Union should substantially reform its immigration policy.***

Case Summary: You may be familiar with a romantic image of the “Gypsy,” but the reality is far different. Gypsies, or “Roma,” as they are more properly called, are the descendants of a group that migrated from India many centuries ago and settled in Eastern Europe. They continue to migrate and maintain an ethnic identity separate from the mainstream cultures of modern Europe. Within the European Union, they are the largest “stateless” ethnic group: there are more Roma than there are Danish people, for example. Targeted along with Jews and other groups by the Nazis during the Holocaust, they are still today widely subjected to hatred and discrimination. They are ascribed with a reputation for begging, thievery, ignorance, dirtiness, criminality, and seeking to sponge off public welfare benefits without working. Nonetheless, Roma who are born in EU countries and are citizens of those countries are entitled to all the rights, including movement and migration, to which any other EU citizen is entitled. EU countries have a habit of ignoring these rights and conducting mass deportations of Roma in violation of EU law and human rights obligations, and this plan sets mandatory standards EU nations must follow and sanctions if they don’t.

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No Crystal Ball: The Case for Fair Treatment of Roma

When people think of “Gypsies,” they usually think of either a carnival fortune teller or a big fat wedding. But the fictionalized image distracts us from the reality of who these people really are. In fact, they don’t even call themselves “Gypsies.” The “Roma,” as they’re often called, are the biggest stateless ethnic group in Europe, and their ongoing mistreatment cries out for us to affirm that: The European Union should substantially reform its immigration policy. In today’s debate, we’re not going to claim to wipe racism and suffering off the map of Europe for the Roma. But we will claim a comparative advantage that things will be significantly better for them with an Affirmative ballot. First, let’s start with …

OBSERVATION 1. DEFINITIONS

Substantial

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considerable in quantity **:**significantly great

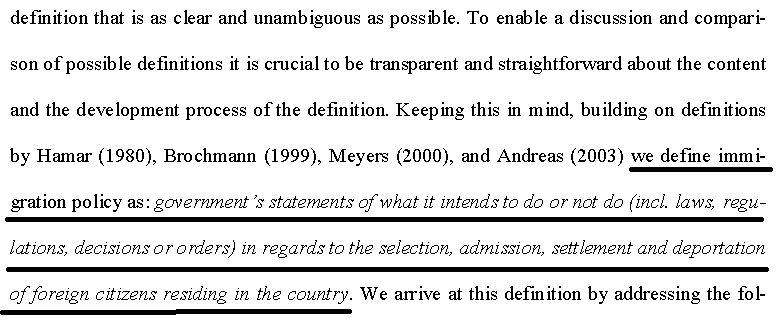
Reform

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary copyright 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reform>

to put or change into an improved form or condition

Immigration policy

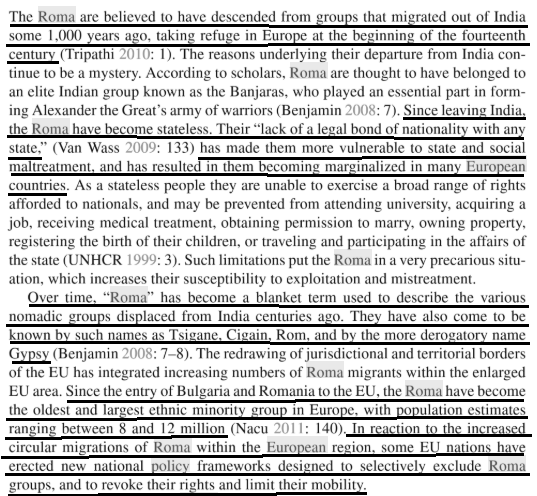
Prof. Marc Helbling, Liv Bjerre, Friederike Römer and Malisa Zobel 2014 (Helbling - professor in political sociology at the Department of Political Science at the University of Bamberg. Bjerre – PhD student, WZD Berlin Social Science Center. Romer - doctoral researcher at the Berlin Social Science Center. Zobel - research assistant at Berlin Social Science Center) April 2014 Conceptualizing and Measuring Immigration Policies. A Comparative Perspective <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2423075>



OBSERVATION 2. INHERENCY, the structure of the Status Quo.

FACT 1. The Roma

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (no month provided in the published article) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



FACT 2. Immigration policy persecution

Deportations and illegalization of Roma migration are a growing trend in European policy

Prof. Huub van Baar 2017 (Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the University of Giessen, Germany) June 2017 Contained mobility and the racialization of poverty in Europe: the Roma at the development–security nexus Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys>

If we compare the illegal, yet officially sentenced deportation of Roma from Belgium in 1999, firstly, with the post-2007 illegal, though tolerated and still ongoing deportation of Roma from France and, secondly, with the fully legalized expulsion of Roma from Germany of the present decade, we can observe a non-linear, disturbing trend in which the ‘legal production of illegality’ (De Genova, [2002](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)) has been strikingly normalized and incorporated in the present-day nexus of security and development regarding Europe’s Roma.

FACT 3. Non-binding standards

National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) to improve the treatment of Roma are non-binding, so they’re not effective

VIOLETA NAYDENOVA and MARTINA MATARAZZO 2019 (Naydenova – Senior Policy Analyst with the Open Society Foundations; MA in politics and society from the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands. Matarazzo – MSc in global development; independent consultant to the Open Society Foundations. ) Post-2020 EU Roma Strategy: The way forward 30 May 2019 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post_2020_eu_roma_strategy_-_the_way_forward.pdf> (brackets added)

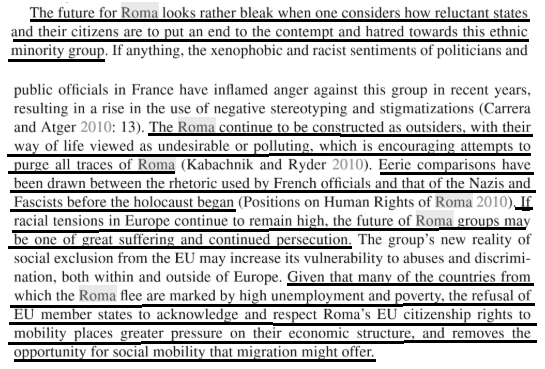
The first major challenge which hinders the effectiveness of the Framework is its non-binding nature - an argument that has been frequently raised by CSOs [Civil Society Organizations]. As a soft-policy instrument, the Framework leaves it up to member states to decide whether and how to design their NRIS [National Roma Integration Strategies], depending on the current political agenda and priorities. As a result, governments have not prioritised the allocation of sufficient funding or included robust monitoring, and they have not designed, implemented and monitored NRIS in cooperation with Roma CSOs [Civil Society Organizations]. Moreover, this flexibility gave national authorities the freedom to decide the extent to which they will fulfil the Roma Integration goals set by the Framework in the four priority areas. Only 15 member states developed and adopted NRIS, while the other 12 only have measures on Roma inclusion.

OBSERVATION 3. HARMS

HARM 1. Racism

A. European immigration policies toward the Roma are dangerously reminiscent of the Nazi Holocaust

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (month not provided in the original article) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



B. Anti-Roma racism denies them the same rights to move within the EU as other EU citizens have

Can Yildiz & Dr. Nicholas De Genova 2017 (Yildiz - Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography at King's College London. De Genova – PhD; professor at Univ. of Chicago) “Un/Free mobility: Roma migrants in the European Union” June 2017 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335819>

The channelling of hostility toward ‘migration’ (in general) against EU-citizen ‘migrants’, and those originating from (postsocialist) ‘Eastern European’ EU member states in particular, into a politically focused antagonism toward Britain’s membership in the EU was the defining political signature of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), and became the hallmark of the pro-Brexit campaign. Not only did this involve an insidious elision of working-class ‘Eastern European’ migrants with the more specific abjection of (often homeless) Roma migrants, it has actually entailed a very calculated and manifold degradation of the EU citizenship of both British and non-British alike. EU nationals who understood their juridical status not as that of ‘migrants’ but rather as that of EU-ropean citizens enacting their rights to ‘mobility’ are now exposed to the uncertainty and precarity of migranthood: they do not know how long they may be permitted to stay and work or what their entitlements will be. Analogously, British EU citizens who have hitherto been able to travel, work, and reside across the EU will come under new restrictions, as yet unknown. In effect, all have been newly ‘migrant’-ised (Bhambra, [2016](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335819)). Without flattening the substantial differences and inequalities among these variegated shades of migranthood, Brexit has forced a wide cross-section of British residents to contemplate how it feels to be a (European) problem. These recent developments again remind us that anti-Roma racism, far from a residual artefact of times gone by or merely an involuted ‘local’ peculiarity of the eastern European countries, is a potent and viral fermenting agent in the toxic cocktail of anti-immigrant nativism and racism throughout Europe today.

HARM 2. Poverty

Migration restrictions and assimilation policies trap Roma in poverty

Prof. Huub van Baar 2017 (Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the University of Giessen, Germany) June 2017 Contained mobility and the racialization of poverty in Europe: the Roma at the development–security nexus Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture June 2017 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys>

The official philosophy of Roma-related development projects starts from the premise that ‘they’ can gradually become like ‘us’ and, thus, that ‘they’ are primarily on the same socioeconomic ladder as ‘we’ are; ‘they’ simply require the support of development projects in order to climb higher. Nonetheless, the ways in which the biopolitics of development intersects with the intra-European geopolitical conditions of contained mobility have resulted in a situation in which, for the poorest among the Roma, it has become increasingly more difficult to escape poverty and societal isolation.

OBSERVATION 4. We need the following PLAN implemented by European Union member governments, the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, the European Commission and any other necessary agencies:

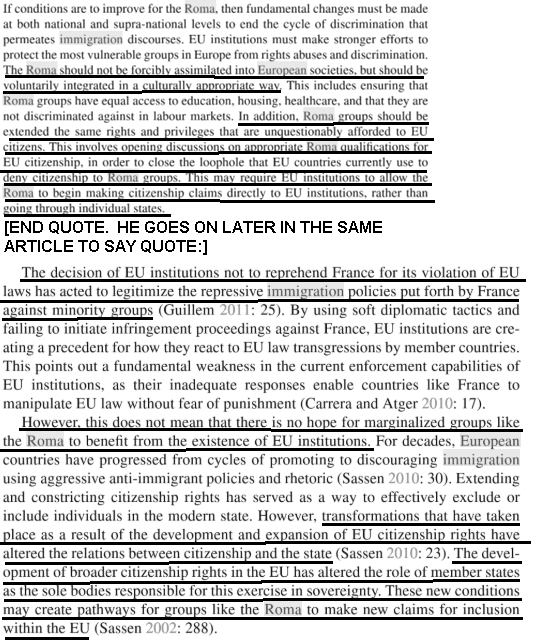
1. End forced assimilation of Roma immigrants.  
2. Create a direct EU citizenship application process.  
3. EU oversight of mandatory targets and binding standards for National Roma Integration Strategies and mandatory measurement on the European Pillar of Social Rights.  
4. All EU member states are required to treat Roma with EU citizenship equally to those of any other EU citizens with regard to immigration policy.   
5. Funding from cutting EU farm subsidies and existing Roma integration program budgets.  
6. Timeline: Plan takes effect 30 days after an affirmative ballot.   
7. Enforcement through suspension of EU funding and/or invocation of Article 7 sanctions against any EU member state not in compliance.  
8. All Affirmative speeches may clarify

OBSERVATION 5. ADVANTAGES. We achieve better treatment for the Roma in 2 ways.

ADVANTAGE 1. Better treatment through citizenship and assimilation reform

Allowing Roma to apply directly to the EU for citizenship and stopping forced assimilation are key to protecting Roma rights

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (no month given in the original publication) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



ADVANTAGE 2. Better treatment through mandatory standards

Mandatory targets will add value to Roma programs and promote accountability and better treatment

VIOLETA NAYDENOVA and MARTINA MATARAZZO 2019 (Naydenova – Senior Policy Analyst with the Open Society Foundations; MA in politics and society from the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands. Matarazzo – MSc in global development; independent consultant to the Open Society Foundations. ) Post-2020 EU Roma Strategy: The way forward 30 May 2019 (brackets added) <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post_2020_eu_roma_strategy_-_the_way_forward.pdf>

Governments must add Roma inclusion as one of their priorities in the respective National Reform Programmes, ensuring that CSRs [Country Specific Recommendations] are reflected in the NRIS and include clear targets, adequate implementation timeframes and sufficient budget allocation. 6. Roma integration should be included as an indicator in the social scoreboard of the European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR), as this will ensure that the EU budget is spent more efficiently on programmes with proven EU added value. This will allow for more consistent long-term follow-up on the implementation of Roma policies.  
**[END QUOTE. THEY GO ON TO SAY LATER IN THE SAME ARTICLE QUOTE:]**

The next EU Roma Framework needs to change. It should no longer be a soft policy instrument, but needs to be a binding strategy or initiative with concrete measurable objectives (e.g. using the model of the Western Balkans declaration to be signed approved on 5th July, 2019 in Poznan). The EC should consider using more assertive language, making adoption of the NRIS mandatory and centralising ownership of its implementation in order to hold member states accountable. In particular the EC could track governments’ responsibilities to ensure that they are reflected either in the CSRs [Country-Specific Recommendations] or used to pursue infringement procedures if appropriate.

2A Evidence: Roma

AFF PHILOSOPHY / OPENING QUOTES

Roma are no better off now than during Nazi Germany

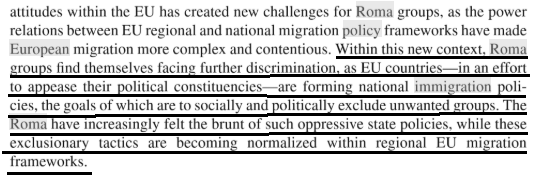
Sandrine Gil 2016 (graduate from Sciences Po Paris, France’s leading political studies university. She holds a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in public affairs; previously worked at the French Ministry of Defense within the Bilateral Cooperation Cell of the Air Force Headquarters) The State of Roma Integration in Europe: A Look into Human Rights Violations, Rejection, and New Initiatives Oct 2016 <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/the-state-of-roma-integration-in-europe-a-look-into-human-rights-violations-rejection-and-new-initiatives/>

Seventy years after the fall of Nazi Germany, one could argue that the situation of European Roma has not drastically changed.

DEFINITIONS / TOPICALITY

Movement of Roma in the EU is part of “immigration policies”

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (no month given in the original publication) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



Definition of “anti-gypsyism”

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2018. (an official agency of the EU government) “A persisting concern: anti-Gypsyism as a barrier to Roma inclusion “ April 2018 <https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-anti-gypsyism-barrier-roma-inclusion_en.pdf>

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe defines anti-Gypsyism 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”.

Who is included in the term “Roma”?

Sandrine Gil 2016 (graduate from Sciences Po Paris, France’s leading political studies university. She holds a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in public affairs; previously worked at the French Ministry of Defense within the Bilateral Cooperation Cell of the Air Force Headquarters) The State of Roma Integration in Europe: A Look into Human Rights Violations, Rejection, and New Initiatives Oct 2016 <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/the-state-of-roma-integration-in-europe-a-look-into-human-rights-violations-rejection-and-new-initiatives/>

According to the Council of Europe Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues in its latest version of May 18, 2012, “The term “Roma” used at the Council of Europe refers to Roma, Sinti, Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and the Eastern groups (Dom and Lom), and covers the wide diversity of the groups concerned, including persons who identify themselves as Gypsies.”

Policies of assimilation and elimination for the Roma are racist and wrong

Sebijan Fejzula 2019. (Junior Researcher at the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra) “The Anti-Roma Europe: Modern ways of disciplining the Roma body in urban spaces” July/Sept 2019 <https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2179-89662019000302097&script=sci_arttext>

The colonial past and its connection to the present under the form of coloniality is still a longstanding producer of racialization and dehumanization. This occurs when dehumanization achieves ideological normality, while at the same time, the practice of dehumanizing people produces racial categories on the other side of the abyssal line ([Santos, 2007](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2179-89662019000302097&script=sci_arttext#B007)). Such articulations and invisibility not only provide forms of exclusion but indeed led to the conceptualization of Antigypsyism under the category of “social problems of the Roma” that need to be solved through “their integration and assimilation” or elimination.

INHERENCY

Current EU policies aren’t benefitting the Roma

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” [https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020\_eu\_roma\_in\_diversity.pdf (brackets](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf%20(brackets) added)

Migration and intra-EU mobility has been one of the underlying causes for the conception of the EUFW [European Union Framework] more than ten years ago. However, in general, migrant and EU-mobile Roma have not benefitted from any action devised within the NRIS [National Roma Integration Strategies]. While hard evidence is extremely difficult to obtain, more knowledge on migration and mobility patterns – such as seasonal, circular or long-term – can help to formulate smart instruments that foster social and economic development both in sending and in receiving countries and municipalities. Critical voices, however, warn of a new migration model that identifies “dangerous groups” under a securitisation perspective or establishes a multi-layered workforce regime that supports precarious and unprotected sub-standard employment.

A/T “Policies in place” - EU hasn’t applied its mobility and migration openness policies to Roma

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf>

Intra-EU mobility and migration has been at the centre of the EUFW [European Union Framework] since its conception phase. Nevertheless, surprisingly little has it been reflected in the NRISs [National Roma Integration Strategies] and related actions. Innovative responses to EU mobility and migration from third countries could ensure both rights of mobile or migrant Roma, while fostering positive change – political and economic development – in both sending and receiving communities.

National policies aren’t enough: We need comprehensive EU policy on Roma inclusion

European Commission 2018 (executive branch of the EU government; responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, and it implements the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council of the EU ) 4 Dec 2018 “COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL” Report on the evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0785&from=EN>

According to 60 % of the respondents national, regional and local authorities need EU-support to improve the situation of Roma. Stakeholders see a stronger role for the EU than for national authorities in monitoring and enforcing European non-discrimination and anti-racism legislation and in making the development and implementation of ambitious Roma inclusion policies a condition for access to funding. National authorities are expected to play a bigger role in measures fighting antigypsyism (such as community building between Roma and non-Roma, non-discrimination and Roma inclusion training for public officials, or making Roma history and culture part of school curricula) and in increasing Roma participation (political participation, national fora of cooperation, capacity building, involvement in policy development and monitoring).

Roma issues will fail without involvement of the EU framework, but Status Quo efforts are not enough

European Commission 2018 (executive branch of the EU government; responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, and it implements the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council of the EU ) 4 Dec 2018 “COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL” Report on the evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0785&from=EN>

The evaluation finds that without the EU framework, Roma issues would receive less attention in the EU policy agenda. In some countries NRIS may cease to exist; in others they may be weakened further reducing political commitment to Roma inclusion. The ending of the framework would result in less and looser monitoring and reporting. Some current national policies and targeted structures would stop or become less operational and more symbolic. More time is needed to consolidate working structures, ensure sustainability and the long-term impact of policies, according to the evaluation. It is essential that NRIS guided by a common framework are continued and improved. While the initial phase has achieved some tangible, albeit insufficient results, the evaluation submits that the overall process be strengthened and become better focused, with an emphasis on improved political commitment, the introduction of specific measurable targets and rigorous monitoring, and more effective implementation supported by sufficient funding and participatory governance systems.

Restrictions and deportations of Roma are considered normal in SQ EU policy mindset

Prof. Huub van Baar 2017 (Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the University of Giessen, Germany) Contained mobility and the racialization of poverty in Europe: the Roma at the development–security nexus Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture (brackets in original) June 2017 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys>

The formation of conditions of deportability (De Genova, [2002](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)) and evictability (van Baar, [2017a](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)) – the lived experiences and predicaments under which the forcible removal of persons from the state, or from a sheltering place more generally, can materialize in the first place – have become vital to the political economy of international migration management and its intersections with the development–security nexus. While practices of deportation have led to the forced mobility of Roma and to their contained circulation at European level, those of racialized ghettoization due to eviction and enduring segregation have resulted in situations that come close to their forced immobility and restricted ‘production of locality’ (Appadurai, [1996](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)). The fact that many European citizens have begun considering these rigid, often illegal measures as ‘normal’ (FRA, [2009](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)) demonstrates the ‘successfulness’ of securitization and the depoliticization of how socioeconomic and migrant mobilities of Roma are approached. Their displacement tends to be considered to be apolitical and technocratic in nature, and as a ‘reasonable’ prerequisite for enforcing social and public order (van Baar, [2014](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2017.1335826?src=recsys)).

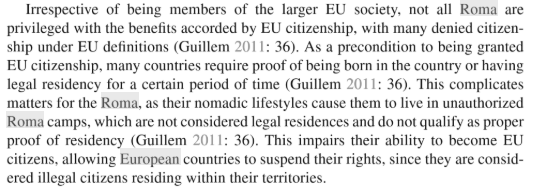
EU Commission admits: SQ efforts aren’t enough – we could do better

European Commission 2018 (executive branch of the EU government; responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, and it implements the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council of the EU ) 4 Dec 2018 “COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL” Report on the evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0785&from=EN>

Roma exclusion and discrimination has existed for centuries. Overcoming it requires long-term commitments and a comprehensive approach. Structural changes need time and real impact may not be seen for at least a generation. The evaluation of the EU framework for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020 has shown that the EU framework is the beginning of a process that, despite many limitations and taking into account the massive task involved, has shown positive results and an initial change in trends. However the evaluation also suggests that further steps could be taken to come closer to achieve the objectives.

Current EU laws deny citizenship to Roma, leading to denial of other rights

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (no month given in the original publication) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



HARMS / SIGNIFICANCE

Officially sanctioned discrimination against Roma results in bad housing and living conditions across many EU countries

VIOLETA NAYDENOVA and MARTINA MATARAZZO 2019 (Naydenova – Senior Policy Analyst with the Open Society Foundations; MA in politics and society from the University of Maastricht in the Netherlands. Matarazzo – MSc in global development; independent consultant to the Open Society Foundations. ) Post-2020 EU Roma Strategy: The way forward 30 May 2019 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post_2020_eu_roma_strategy_-_the_way_forward.pdf>

Similarly, census data in Hungary suggest that 3% of the total Roma population inhabits 1,380 segregated settlements, and hundreds of such dwellings are situated in remote areas lacking basic infrastructure and public transport connections. Similarly, Slovakian municipalities buy cheap houses in remote areas for Roma residents, so as to “export” them from urban centres. In addition, forced evictions are still occurring in many member states: indeed, the monitoring reports confirm that in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, France, Ireland, Italy, Romania and Slovakia, local authorities still favour demolitions and mass evictions, without providing adequate alternative accommodation for those evicted and regardless of domestic and international law.

Deportations of Roma = Second coming of Nazi racism

Dr Vicki Squire 2011. (Reader in International Security at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick) Challenging the Limits of European Union Citizenship: Roma Struggles over (im)mobility (no month given in the original publication) <https://oro.open.ac.uk/30908/2/Roma_Struggles.pdf>

During the summer of 2010, hundreds of Roma settlements in France - often referred to as ‘unauthorised camps’ - were dismantled. In addition, hundreds of Roma EU citizens were ‘voluntarily deported’ from France to Romania and Bulgaria between March and September 2010 (otherwise understood as being forcibly removed). These relocations and deportations became the focus of an intense row between France and the European Commission during this period, when the EU Justice Commissioner, Viviane Reding, appeared to suggest a parallel between the actions of France and those of the Nazi regime. She said: “I personally have been appalled by a situation which gave the impression that people are being removed from a Member State of the European Union just because they belong to a certain ethnic minority. This is a situation I had thought Europe would not have to witness again after the Second World War.”1

Racial bias leads to unjust migration policies in EU countries like France and Italy

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf>

It was in the late 2000s, when restrictions on the free movement of workers of the 2004 and particularly the 2007 enlargement from Bulgaria and Romania after EU accession were lifted in 2014, the issue of Roma migrants came to public attention. Some of the EU-15 Member States applied questionable practices, namely France through collective expulsions (Balch et al., 2014) or Italy through setting up camps (Maestri, 2019; Manca & Vergnano, 2019; Picker & Vivaldi, 2019). Analysing the ambiguity of “freedom of movement” as per Directive 2004/38/CE, critical scholars detect a sub-standard employment segment of racially-coded inferiority dedicated to often dangerous and unhealthy occupations (Vogel, 2019). Other authors insist in the wider context in which Roma migration is framed as a racialised issue in public debate as external ascription which ultimately leads to a public-private compact of fear in which “Racialised rhetoric and spatialised material borders maintain the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Based on that, Romani people are fashioned as ‘criminals’, ‘illegals’, ‘invaders’ and ‘nomads’ who are taking ‘our’ resources and threaten ‘our’ security.” (Kóczé, 2018).

French government admits: Roma illegally deported from France

Human Rights Watch 2020. (international human rights advocacy non-profit) “European Union – Events of 2019” (contextually dated: describes events as of the end of 2019 after the year was over; no month given in the article) <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/european-union>

In April, after a five-year investigation, the French ombudsman [reported](https://www.defenseurdesdroits.fr/fr/actualites/2019/04/ordres-discriminatoires-apres-de-longues-investigations-le-defenseur-des-droits) discriminatory and illegal orders at a specific police station in Paris, that targeted “black people and north Africans” in the surrounding area for identity checks and “homeless and Roma people” for systematic expulsion. French authorities gave no formal response.

Roma migration is restricted by racially biased rules in the EU, resulting in rights denied, economic discrimination, and segregation

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf>

A specific stream of research situates the current policy for migration and intra-EU mobility - as well as the public policy discourse around it - within a description of the emerging European model of neoliberal governance of the economy and the territory, in which controlled free movement and selective law enforcement create a “toxic symbiosis by which ‘migrant’ workers, including mobile EU citizens, are systematically stripped of employment ‘rights’ and social welfare entitlements” (Yıldız & De Genova, 2018). New patterns of micro-spatial inequalities generate pockets of the “Global South” in the midst of booming metropolitan areas in Western Europe (Kóczé, 2018). The response is a securitisation of both the public framing as well as the response by public authorities (Van Baar, Ivasiuc, & Kreide, 2019). For Roma themselves, this creates a series of traps in which both economic marginalisation and ethnically-coded exclusion are petrified: “While practices of deportation and deportability have led to their [the migrant and mobile Roma populations] forced mobility and contained circulation at the European level, practices of racialised ghettoisation due to eviction and durable segregation have resulted in situations that come close to forced immobility.” (van Baar, 2018). Under this perspective, Roma face racialised institutional action when service providers in the bureaucratic social fields introduce new modalities of vigilance and restrictions to deny income assistance, benefit entitlement and legal aid, and law enforcement is practiced based on ethnic profiling and collective surveillance (Magazzini & Piemontese, 2019).

Forced deportations, collective expulsions of Roma are occurring in the EU

**[Collective expulsion = kicking out the whole group of people rather than individuals guilty of a crime.]**

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf> (brackets added)

Collective expulsions of entire groups of Roma migrants have been reported as well. These are prohibited under the European Convention on Human Rights. However, Roma from the Western Balkans have at times been granted refugee status in EU MSs [member states] on grounds of widespread discrimination in their countries of origin. Forced repatriation is denounced to destroy fragile roots of societal inclusion (Baclija, Brezovsek, & Hacek, 2008). This is specifically the case for Roma children who are being uprooted from their livelihoods and deported to countries they barely know. Effective reintegration of Roma returnees has been promoted by a number of bilateral and multilateral agencies (Morrica & Stavrou, 2019). In contrast, forced return of Roma families has been criticised as a racialised practice of establishing a multi-layered system of citizenship governed by “securitising” social issues (Ciulinaru, 2018; Collyer, Hinger, & Schweitzer, 2020; Filippou, n.d.; Müller & Mattli, 2016; van Baar, 2018).

Example: Roma in France are deported, while Italians in Belgium are not (even though they’re in the same legal status)

Prof. [Jean-Michel Lafleur](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/?term=Lafleur%20JM%5BAuthor%5D&cauthor=true&cauthor_uid=29899582) and Dr. [Elsa Mescoli](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/?term=Mescoli%20E%5BAuthor%5D&cauthor=true&cauthor_uid=29899582) 2018 (Lafleur Research Professor at the University of Liège. Mescoli - post-doctoral researcher and Lecturer assistant at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Liège, Belgium ) SOCIOLOGY June 2018 “Creating Undocumented EU Migrants through Welfare: A Conceptualization of Undeserving and Precarious Citizenship” <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5985588/>

In the European Union, European citizens residing in another Member State than their state of nationality experience various levels of deportability. As the number of EU migrants who see their residence permits removed on the basis of the 2004 Citizenship Directive increases, these differences become more obvious. Between 2009 and 2010, France expelled around 20,000 Romanian and Bulgarian citizens belonging to the Roma minority back to their countries of origin. This large-scale campaign – which entailed the physical removal of EU citizens from French soil and the forcible destruction of allegedly illegal camps – created a major outcry in different parts of Europe. It was also roundly condemned by then Commission Vice President Viviane Reding, who compared the actions of the French authorities with the treatment of minorities during the Second World War ([Parker and López Catalán, 2014](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5985588/#bibr34-0038038518764615)). The experience of Roma EU migrants strongly differs from that of undocumented Italian migrants in Belgium, which we discuss in detail below. For the latter, deportation – understood as the physical removal from the territory of foreigners who do not hold a residence permit – is a purely theoretical possibility, as Italian migrants have never been deported on the grounds that they have used welfare benefits in Belgium.

Roma migrants face deadly consequences by exclusion from health care access

José-Manuel Fresno, Deyan Kolev and Stefan Meyer 2020 (Fresno - Director of Fresno, a firm specialised in strategic consultancy for institutions and organisations involved in social policies and human rights. Kolev – Corporate Development Director at Informa. Meyer - MPH; MA Governance & Development) Jan 2020 “Considering the Diversity of the Roma population in a post-2020 EU-initiative for Roma equality and inclusion” <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/post2020_eu_roma_in_diversity.pdf>

Access to health care for Roma migrants is a key concern in the literature (de la Parra, Rodriguez., & Derecho, 2009; EC, 2014; EPHA, 2016; Fésüs, Östlin, McKee, & Ádány, 2012; McFadden et al., 2018). No reliable statistic data is available, but evidence from field reporting (Roma Civil Monitor, 2019) indicates that Roma face difficulties in both the target dimension of universal health coverage as established in SDG 3.8, namely the access to health care services and catastrophic health care spending (EPHA, 2019). Whilst children, as per the CRC, have the right to full access to health care services, the exclusion of their parents represents an informal barrier. Language barriers create an important impediment to accessing the services they need (McFadden et al., 2018). Insufficient evidence is available on the effects of sanitary exclusion, but, when researched thoroughly, blocking access to universal health care is “deadly” for immigrants, dangerous for the mainstream population, and inefficient for the care system (EPHA, 2018; Fésüs et al., 2012; Juanmarti Mestres, Lopez Casasnovas, & Vall Castelló, 2018; Sándor et al., 2017).

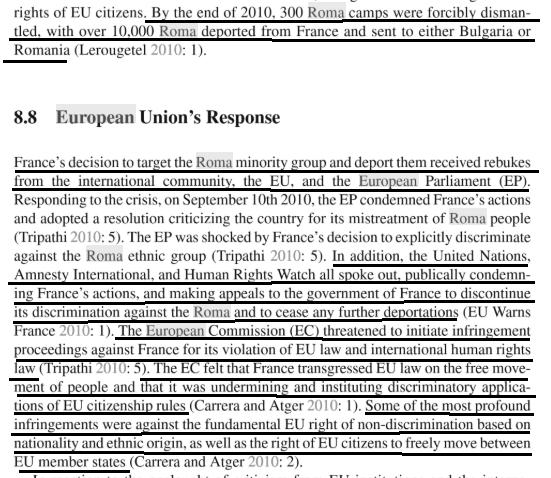
Racist migration policies directed at Roma

Danielle Vicktor Leggio 2019 (School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester, England) Feb 2019 “‘Modern-Day Fagins’, ‘Gaudy Mansions’ and ‘Increasing Numbers’: Narratives on Roma Migrants in the Build-Up to the British EU Referendum” <https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5>

 At the national and local levels, this tendency can be observed in the simultaneous implementation of unprecedented measures such as ethnic profiling, expulsions of EU citizens from another member state (van Baar [2014](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR28)) or of containment in dedicated Roma settlements (Clough Marinaro and Daniele [2011](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR9); Nacu [2012](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR19)) and of targeted social support interventions in the fields of employment, education and access to services (Timmer [2010](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR26); Cools et al. [2017](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR10)). The implementation of these measures, as they acted upon stereotypical images of the Roma rather than rejecting them, has further entrenched stigmatisation, whether the Roma were presented as criminals (Maestri [2017](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR14)) or as victims of their own culture (Leggio [2017](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-11373-5_5#CR12)).

Example: France’s deportation of Roma violated EU migration laws and human rights standards

Michal Milecki 2014 (JD Candidate at Univ. of Western Ontario, Canada) Chapter 8 of the book “Territoriality and Migration in the E.U. Neighbourhood: Spilling over the Wall” (month not provided in publication) <https://books.google.com/books?id=jhDHBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA120&lpg=PA120&dq=european+immigration+policy+roma&source=bl&ots=Np8jNAZ9UB&sig=ACfU3U2Sw9v3TcSmHL3iXeS3b7CDS_ZnLg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi22vSy_77qAhXLhHIEHWZ5Bfo4ChDoATAJegQIChAB#v=onepage&q=european%20immigration%20policy%20roma&f=false>



SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

How Article 7 disciplines a member country in the EU

European Parliament 2019. “ESTABLISHING A EU MECHANISM ON DEMOCRACY, THE RULE OF LAW AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS” (article is undated but references an event already occurring in the past on 19 Nov 2019) <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-area-of-justice-and-fundamental-rights/file-eu-mechanism-on-democracy-the-rule-of-law-and-fundamental-rights> (brackets added)

Under Article 2 TEU [Treaty of the European Union], the EU is founded on the shared values of democracy, the rule of law and respect for fundamental rights (DRF). Article 7 TEU establishes two mechanisms (preventive and sanctions) to enforce EU values in cases of systemic violations and to sanction Member States departing from them. The sanctions mechanism empowers the Council to suspend certain membership rights of a Member State, including voting rights in the Council in cases of a 'serious and persistent breach' of EU values (Article 7(2) TFEU).

Article 7 can strip voting rights from an offending member nation

BBC News 2018. “What sanctions can the EU impose on Hungary?” 12 Sept 2018 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-45485994>

Under the sanctions mechanism enshrined in Article 7, only the council or the commission can trigger the process. The council then has to decide unanimously that "a serious and persistent breach of EU values has taken place". It has to also get the agreement of two-thirds of the parliament to this. Once that has been done, the council has the power to suspend some of the country's membership rights - such as voting rights in the council itself.

Article 7 is the “nuclear option” – but it should be used when it’s needed

[Maria Fletcher](https://theconversation.com/profiles/maria-fletcher-144150) 2017 (Senior Lecturer (Law), University of Glasgow) 28 July 2017 “**Article 7 sanctions: a legal expert explains the EU’s ‘nuclear option’”** <https://theconversation.com/article-7-sanctions-a-legal-expert-explains-the-eus-nuclear-option-81724>

Article 7 is considered by many to be the nuclear option for the EU, which is probably why it has never been triggered. Even if the significant hurdles for activating the procedures could be surmounted, it is thought that the the political fall-out would be incredibly toxic. For that reason, triggering Article 7 has long been regarded as politically unfeasible. EU law scholars have persistently pointed out, however, that this is little more than a politically convenient excuse for inaction. That excuse is not only intellectually dishonest, it undermines the letter and the spirit of the treaties and the EU’s commitment to upholding the [rule of law](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/46345/LAW_2017_10.pdf?sequence=1). Many people agree that it’s high time to end Article 7’s days as a political gesture. It is a tool in the EU’s box and should actually be used when it is needed.

EU can revoke funding as a sanction against an offending country

Joseph Bebel 2017. (*Editorial Assistant at the European Institute*) Aug 2017 <https://www.europeaninstitute.org/index.php/ei-blog/307-august-2017/2234-article-7-the-european-union-s-nuclear-option-8-11>

Other enforcement options open to the EU include diplomatic sanctions or revoking funding. In 2000, the EU first [considered](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/554167/EPRS_BRI(2015)554167_EN.pdf) sanctioning the far-right Austrian Freedom Party government of Jorg Haider in an effort to “diplomatically isolate” the nation. While official EU sanctions were never imposed, a number of the other 14 member states employed bilateral diplomatic sanctions that eventually pushed the government to comply with EU values. Revocation of EU funding has yet to be linked to preservation of the rule of law. However, European leaders have [backed](http://www.euronews.com/2017/03/24/view-poland-liberal-democracy-kaczynski) making all future funds “conditional on recipient countries’ adherence to the rule of law.”

EU pressure over Roma rights works. Example: Czech Republic. Tore down a segregation wall to avoid being kept out of the EU

Dr. Neil Cruickshank 2010 (PhD; professor of political science at Algoma Univ., Canada) NEW PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP: ROMA AND MINORITY RIGHTS <http://aei.pitt.edu/52648/1/CRUICKSHANK.pdf> (ellipses in original) (article is undated but references material published in Oct 2010)

A year earlier in 1998 the EU was confronted with a clear-cut case of racism in a potential candidate country, the Czech Republic. In Usti nad Labem and Plzen the town council approved the building of a ‘separation wall,‘ which would have in effect ghettoized the Roma population. This controversial project drew criticism from national Roma associations, international human rights groups and, the EU, which suggested the Czech Republic‘s membership bid would be harmed if this segregation were permitted to continue (BBC 21 Nov 1999). As the BBC reported in 1999, “the gypsies of Usti Nad Labem believe what can help them now is the Czech Republic's eagerness for membership of the European Union….As the accession talks continue, the diplomatic pressure is growing on Prague to improve its record on human rights” (BBC 26 Feb 1999). With central government‘s prompting (and financial assistance) the wall separating the Roma from the non-Roma was eventually torn down and, five years later, the Czech Republic joined the EU.

A/T “More study needed” – Study already started. It says we don’t need to wait, but should take action while the study is underway

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2018. (an official agency of the EU government) “A persisting concern: anti-Gypsyism as a barrier to Roma inclusion “ April 2018 <https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-anti-gypsyism-barrier-roma-inclusion_en.pdf>

On 25 October 2017, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on fundamental rights aspects in Roma integration in the EU. The resolution calls on the EU, the European Commission and the Member States to take bold action against anti-Gypsyism, as well as on the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights to prepare a study on anti-Gypsyism and focus on anti-Gypsyism in its work on Roma.

Equality of rights within the EU means freedom of movement for all its citizens

Dr Vicki Squire 2011. (Reader in International Security at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick) Challenging the Limits of European Union Citizenship: Roma Struggles over (im)mobility <https://oro.open.ac.uk/30908/2/Roma_Struggles.pdf> (brackets added) (month not given in the original publication)

Citizenship in the European Union is largely defined in terms of free movement, precisely because many of the rights associated with citizenship of the European Union are triggered when a citizen of a Member State moves to another Member State within the EU (Guild 2004). For example, the right to vote in a Member State other than ones own is a right which is irrelevant other than when a person moves from one MS [member state] to another. Similarly, a large body of social rights and fundamental freedoms that are associated with EU citizenship only become a matter for debate and enforcement at the EU level if a citizen of one MS moves to another. Indeed, the right of free movement (linked to the right of residence) is often seen as a defining right of EU citizenship. Although discussed in a more informal sense from 1974, the concept of European citizenship was only formally introduced with the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. This was important in extending the right of free movement and residence within the EU beyond a merely economic right, and is described as creating a European citizenship “over and above” national citizenship.

We owe Roma the same EU citizenship rights as all other EU citizens (although it’s not being upheld in practice)

Dr Vicki Squire 2011. (Reader in International Security at the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick) Challenging the Limits of European Union Citizenship: Roma Struggles over (im)mobility <https://oro.open.ac.uk/30908/2/Roma_Struggles.pdf> (brackets added) (month not given in the original publication)

EU citizenship in this regard is also articulated more as a derivative form of citizenship rather than as an alternative to national citizenship in any radical sense. The principles behind the derivative definition of EU citizenship are that citizens of an EU MS are automatically granted the rights of EU citizenship and that they do not face discrimination based on their national citizenship status. In other words, EU citizens within any given member state are granted the same rights under EU law as national citizens of that member state, with such rights being triggered when an EU national moves from one member state to another. The non-discriminatory character of EU citizenship in practice is highly questionable, particularly when it comes to the politics of the Roma, as we will see further through the course of this article.

Details on the “NRIS” strategies and what they do

Sandrine Gil 2016 (graduate from Sciences Po Paris, France’s leading political studies university. She holds a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in public affairs; previously worked at the French Ministry of Defense within the Bilateral Cooperation Cell of the Air Force Headquarters) The State of Roma Integration in Europe: A Look into Human Rights Violations, Rejection, and New Initiatives Oct 2016 <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/the-state-of-roma-integration-in-europe-a-look-into-human-rights-violations-rejection-and-new-initiatives/>

The EU has long stressed the necessity for better integration of Roma populations in its member states, which the Union has called its “joint responsibility” with the member states to improve the integration of what represents, with twelve million people, the largest European ethnic minority. In 2011, the European Commission adopted communication pushing for the development of national Roma integration strategies, which detailed the concrete policies and measures to be taken. By 2012, each EU member state had to produce a national Roma integration strategy, which included a set of integrated policy measures to ensure the effective integration of Roma populations. The Commission has since been releasing assessment reports, evaluating the progress of member states on their own set of goals and is pushing for further efforts to achieve Roma inclusion as part of the Europe 2020 process.

Massive unused Roma program funding available

Sandrine Gil 2016 (graduate from Sciences Po Paris, France’s leading political studies university. She holds a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in public affairs; previously worked at the French Ministry of Defense within the Bilateral Cooperation Cell of the Air Force Headquarters) The State of Roma Integration in Europe: A Look into Human Rights Violations, Rejection, and New Initiatives Oct 2016 <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/the-state-of-roma-integration-in-europe-a-look-into-human-rights-violations-rejection-and-new-initiatives/>

Given the public lack of sympathy toward the situation of the Roma – with as many as 77% of people thinking, in 2014, that Roma people do not wish to integrate into French society and live mainly off of burglary and trafficking – it would be understandable if governments did not make Roma inclusion their priority. However, the EU is massively funding the integration of Roma people, though the funds are not being used entirely. For instance, only 31% of the funds allocated to the integration of Roma until 2009 were used by the beneficiary countries.

Funding: EU spends $65 billion/year on farm subsidies. Most of it goes to the connected and powerful few

NEW YORK TIMES 2019. (journalists Selam Gebrekidan, Matt Apuzzo and Benjamin Novak) “The Money Farmers: How Oligarchs and Populists Milk the E.U. for Millions” 3 Nov 2019 <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/03/world/europe/eu-farm-subsidy-hungary.html>

Every year, the 28-country bloc pays out $65 billion in farm subsidies intended to support farmers around the Continent and keep rural communities alive. But across Hungary and much of Central and Eastern Europe, the bulk goes to a connected and powerful few. The prime minister of the Czech Republic collected tens of millions of dollars in subsidies just last year. Subsidies have underwritten Mafia-style land grabs in Slovakia and Bulgaria. Europe’s farm program, a system that was instrumental in forming the European Union, is now being exploited by the same antidemocratic forces that threaten the bloc from within. This is because governments in Central and Eastern Europe, several led by populists, have wide latitude in how the subsidies, funded by taxpayers across Europe, are distributed — even as the entire system is shrouded in secrecy.

Funding: EU spends $65 billion/year on farm subsidies, and it goes to corrupt politicians

NEW YORK TIMES 2019. (journalists Selam Gebrekidan, Matt Apuzzo and Benjamin Novak) “The Money Farmers: How Oligarchs and Populists Milk the E.U. for Millions” 3 Nov 2019 <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/03/world/europe/eu-farm-subsidy-hungary.html>

The European Union spends $65 billion a year subsidizing agriculture. But a chunk of that money emboldens strongmen, enriches politicians and finances corrupt dealing.

How the European Pillar of Social Rights works

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2020. (agency of the EU) 6 Mar 2020 European Pillar of Social Rights <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/topic/european-pillar-of-social-rights>

The EU institutions jointly proclaimed the European Pillar of Social Rights in November 2017. The initiative sets out 20 principles aimed at ‘delivering new and effective rights for citizens’. The Social Pillar’s key principles are structured around three categories: equal opportunities and access to the labour market; fair working conditions; and social protection and inclusion. The Pillar serves as the EU’s compass for achieving better living and working conditions.

European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR) has positive benefits

Prof. Olivier De Schutter 2018 (Professor at UCLouvain and SciencesPo; Member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Former member of the Scientific Committee of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency) THE EUROPEAN PILLAR OF SOCIAL RIGHTS AND THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER IN THE EU LEGAL ORDER 14 Nov 2018 <https://rm.coe.int/study-on-the-european-pillar-of-social-rights-and-the-role-of-the-esc-/1680903132>

The "constitutional" significance of the EPSR, however -- its impacts on the relationships between the EU and its Member States --, lies elsewhere. On the one hand, the EPSR -- and the "convergence process" in the field of social rights it is meant to encourage -- could lead to identify the need for new legislative initiatives of the European Union. On the other hand, the EPSR could encourage the EU Member States to take action, in their own field of competences, implementing the commitments of the EPSR, thus contributing to a convergence in the fulfilment of fundamental social rights. The EPSR is therefore a promising initiative. It shall be an important tool to ensure that social objectives counter-balance objectives of an essentially macro-economic nature in the new social and economic governance tools of the EU.

EPSR makes progress at implementing human rights

Prof. Olivier De Schutter 2018 (Professor at UCLouvain and SciencesPo; Member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Former member of the Scientific Committee of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency) THE EUROPEAN PILLAR OF SOCIAL RIGHTS AND THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL CHARTER IN THE EU LEGAL ORDER 14 Nov 2018 <https://rm.coe.int/study-on-the-european-pillar-of-social-rights-and-the-role-of-the-esc-/1680903132>

The EPSR is neither a legislative instrument, nor is it a binding catalogue of rights. It is, rather, a set of principles that shall lead to measures of implementation at EU and Member State levels, in the form of legislative and policy initiatives; and it is already ensuring that social rights are taken more systematically into consideration in the social and economic governance of the EU. As such, thanks to the flexible nature of the implementation measures that could be considered, the EPSR provides a unique opportunity to improve the synergies with the European Social Charter, and to make progress towards overcoming the deficits identified in part I of the study.

A/T “Roma can’t / won’t assimilate or succeed” – They did in Spain when the government treated them right

Sandrine Gil 2016 (graduate from Sciences Po Paris, France’s leading political studies university. She holds a bachelor’s in political science and a master’s in public affairs; previously worked at the French Ministry of Defense within the Bilateral Cooperation Cell of the Air Force Headquarters) The State of Roma Integration in Europe: A Look into Human Rights Violations, Rejection, and New Initiatives Oct 2016 <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/the-state-of-roma-integration-in-europe-a-look-into-human-rights-violations-rejection-and-new-initiatives/>

In Europe, Spain appears to be a model for Roma integration and is widely presented as such by EU officials. For the past three decades, the Spanish government has focused its efforts on four areas in order to improve the integration of Roma people within its borders: education, housing, employment, and health care. With an estimated community of 750,000 people, Spain has the second largest Roma community in the EU, second only to Romania and tied with Bulgaria. Although it is almost twice the size of the Roma community in France, the Spanish Roma display better integration and perform better on various inclusion indicators, such as education, employment, and access to medical care.

DISAD RESPONSES

A/T “Stirring up ethnic nationalism/separatism” – Not necessarily a bad thing. Lots of good examples.

Dr. Neil Cruickshank 2010 (PhD; professor of political science at Algoma Univ., Canada) NEW PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP: ROMA AND MINORITY RIGHTS <http://aei.pitt.edu/52648/1/CRUICKSHANK.pdf> (article is undated but references material published in Oct 2010)

Ethnic nationalism garnered much attention during the break-up of Yugoslavia, as the wars clearly demonstrated that religion, ethnicity and culture, if used to promote hate, can become caustic. However, notions of ethnic nationalism were also applied (and used heuristically) to the separation of Czechoslovakia (1993) and to the devolution programme (1999) in the United Kingdom, which saw power reassigned from Westminster to new legislatures in Scotland and Wales. While negative connotations abound, ethnic or cultural nationalism should not exclusively be thought of as a destructive or dangerous. In many ways nationalism is a precursor to effective ethnic mobilization, especially amongst socioeconomically and/or socio-politically weak constituencies that historically have lacked a static identity.

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