Roma heteroidentification in the National Roma Integration Strategies of the European Union countries

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ABSTRACT

As part of the EU's social policy, the National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) have been in force until 2020. It was a pending task to systematically observe how these strategies define the Roma population and what element of the definition is prioritised. This is useful in understanding the limits of a unitary policy within the European Union concerning the Roma and also to analyse the orientation of said policies in each country. In this sense, we have previously defined what the Roma heteroidentification components are and we have selected the terms and lexemes that are associated with them. By using content analysis techniques, we have pinpointed the components in the NRIS and we have conducted a statistical analysis with the obtained data. The majority of EU countries define the Roma in their strategies as an ethnocultural, disadvantaged and discriminated group and, to a lesser extent, as foreigners or nomads. This heteroidentification is established based on the geopolitical bloc (East and West) to which the country belongs and the department in charge of the NRIS (mainly social departments or specific departments for minorities).

KEYWORDS

Identity, Roma, EU, ethnocultural, disadvantaged, integration

Introduction: state integration strategies of the Roma promoted by the European Union

As part of its social policy, the European Union has prioritised the Roma within its objectives for some time. This has led the European Commission to urge its Member States to design a National Roma Integration Strategy (NRIS), placing employment, education, housing and health policies as key goals. These strategies were approved between 2011 and 2013 and have been in force until 2020 with unequal success according to the European Commission's reports[i]. An in-depth analysis on the development of these strategies and the impact to improve the level of integration of the Roma population is still pending. The aim of this article is to systematically observe how these strategies define the Roma and what elements are prioritised in the definitions, which was also a pending task for fieldwork on Roma studies. This has been relevant in the current context in which the European Union has finalised its Framework for National Roma Integrations Strategies (2012–2020) and is defining a new Framework to be developed from 2020. We understand that the type of definition of ethnicity will decisively affect policy orientation towards the Roma. In order to do so, we have identified different elements that can be part of Roma heteroidentification (understood as the identity that others attribute to the Roma, see Vallés, 2019: 108). We have analysed them based on a glossary of terms, and they have been pinpointed in each country's strategy. This allows us to classify the different countries and categorise Roma heteroidentification in each strategy.

The EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2011)[ii] is the culmination of a process that began in the post-Soviet era and the signs of expansion of the EU to the east, and in the context of the free movement of people. Thus, the EU has been promoting governance in relation to the Roma since the mid-90s, as attention is needed due to situations of marginalisation and discrimination (Damonti and Arza, 2014; Sayan, 2019: 763; Van Baar, 2011: 16). From that time there have been several meetings, conferences, recommendations, committees, etc. since the approval of the NRIS (see Anderson et al., 2018: 9; Guy, 2009) covering the European institutions' willingness to address 'the Roma issue' from an integration perspective, despite the fact that many Member States do not officially recognise the minority as proclaimed by the European Council in 1993 (Cortés, 2018; also see Messing, 2014: 811).

However, it is necessary to understand that enlargement to the east has been a catalytic process, taking into account that the presence of the Roma in many candidate countries was relatively high and their situation was no better than that of those residing in UE15 (Boscoboinik, 2006). In 2004, when the enlargement took place, the European Commission declared that the situation of the Roma and Travellers was one of the 'most pressing political, social, and human rights issues facing Europe' (Chiesa and Rossi, 2013. In addition, it is important to remember that the dissolution of eastern empires after the First World War following the principle of self-determination and disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia lead to states ethnically defined by

majority groups and, as a result, ethnic identity gained greater significance than in the West (Brubaker, 1997).

Definition difficulties

The literature has shown us that a largely accepted definition of the Roma or Roma identity is difficult to find (Anderson et al., 2018: 6; Doubek and Levínská, 2015: 612; Janka et al., 2018), a denomination that the Roma organisations themselves have adopted since 1971. The definition that the European Commission provided in 1993 (cited in Cortés, 2018: 5) also has some problems, as they are classified as a 'non-territorial minority', but the territorial ascription is emphasised as they are referred to as a 'true European minority', but they are then later not classed as national or linguistic minorities (despite having their own language or group of languages, not shared with others). Later, the European Commission itself has referred to the Roma as an ethnic minority (Cortés, 2018: 7).

At times, some Roma organisations, such as *Unión Romaní Internacional* have claimed that the Roma are a nation (Acton and Klímová, 2001: 216–217; cited in Cortés, 2018: 8), yet this clashes with the territorial ingredient, which is almost indispensable in the world of nations built mainly from the first half of the 20th century (Hobsbawm, 1992: 142–152). For this reason, from a Roma activism perspective, it is preferred to talk about a transnational minority (Gheorghe, 1997: 158; cited in Chiesa and Rossi, 2013). However, this cultural homogenisation process that characterises the construction of States has made the aspirations of the Roma even more difficult. as it places them completely out of context.

Many consider that the Roma category is a euphemism for 'Gypsy', although the use of 'Gypsy' or 'Roma' could be contextual both for the Roma and for the non-Roma (Anderson et al., 2018: 11; Doubek and Levínská, 2015: 616–617). Without a doubt, 'Roma' sought to escape the historical accumulation of negative connotations linked to 'Gypsy', but some claim that 'the effect of the combined politicisation and Europeanisation of Roma identity since 1990 has been to institutionalise, as Roma, the stereotypical legacy of the Gypsy label' (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 14). Nonetheless, many have taken on this 'new' Roma identity as who they really want to be, in contrast to the old Gypsy identity that the majority of non-Gypsies imposed through negative stereotypes (McGarry, 2014; Webb, 2019: 1205; Yuval-Davis et al., 2017: 1051).

In terms of how Roma identity is defined, as is the case with any other collective identity, we must differentiate between self-definition and heterodefinition, in line with the distinction that Jenkins (2008: 5, 109) made between internal and external aspects of identification, between group identification and categorisation. However, both elements have a dialectic relationship and are essential for each other (and for the final output, collective identity). It is normal for them to come into conflict with each other and even the collective definition may not coincide with that

made by the group itself and others. In the case of the Roma, this has led to distancing strategies in relation to the mainly accepted categorisation, mostly originating from negative connotations constructed primarily by the majority of non-Roma (Doubek and Levínská, 2015: 618–619; McGarry, 2014: 770; Tremlett, 2013).

According to constructivist authors like Surdu and Kovats (2015: 7–8)[iii], in the case of the Roma, their identity mainly arises from a (logically) external categorisation, understood 'from above' by politicians and academics and, secondly, made as their own 'by people subjected to public labelling and policy interventions', although the latter is precisely discussed by these actors and by another sector of Roma scholars (see Mirga, 2018: 48) who highlight the relevance of the historical and present process of self-definition of the Roma, as with other ethnic groups or nations. On the other hand, this external ethnic categorisation, in general, with the intention of being politically correct, competes with, and is complemented by, at the same time with other labels, the majority of which are derogatory 'which are produced, sustained and consumed by the majority [of the population]: ... nomads, migrants, underclass, poor, backwards, parasitic, marginal, anachronistic, criminal' are just some of them (McGarry, 2014: 760) and they explain why there are many cases of distancing or avoidance. These labels, according to McGarry, 'maintain the symbolic and physical boundaries between Roma and the majority and maintain a relationship which is based on control, oppression and exclusion' (2014: 761).

However, Roma identity, as is the case with every ethnic group, has a difficult objectification because it does not include a homogeneous population group and the 'objective' features (physical appearance, language, religion, traditions, lifestyle, etc.) are not common to all included in the category (Chiesa and Rossi, 2013: 157; Messing, 2014: 812–813). Even from a subjective perspective, when international Gypsy organisations began to adopt the use of the term 'Roma' in the 70s, the Sinti from Germany, for example, reacted by highlighting their own denomination (Acton, 2018), although the majority of countries started using 'Roma' (Mirga, 2018: 116). In addition, small differences between the Roma and non-Roma acquire a range of interethnic boundaries (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 7; Tremlett, 2013: 1708). In any case, and without challenging the entirety of this last argument (as all collective identities of an ethnic or territorial nature are constructions), the truth is that most modern nations, or even a large part of recognised ethnic groups, are affected by a similar internal diversity and, thus, it would not make sense to speak of the French because of the racial, cultural, linguistic or socio-economic diversity of that nation/state, and the same applies to blacks or Native Americans. However, while, for example, the French have a passport to identify themselves as such, there is no official document that allows Roma to identify themselves as Roma.

Components of Roma heteroidentification

As indicated, social identity is the result of self-identification and heteroidentification (McGarry, 2014: 768). Our empirical study focuses on the definition that others make about the Roma, but not the population in general – what McGarry calls social representation of the Roma (2014: 760) – but from a political perspective (legal and political representations; McGarry, 2014: 765) and, in particular, each one of the governments of the EU Member States in the NRIS texts. We have followed an inductive process to create a conceptual framework, generally inspired by Grounded Theory (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007) and, in particular, by the conceptual framework that Ngai et al. (2015) developed to study social networks. Thus, members of the research team had read the strategies before looking for key terms defining the Roma[iv]. The result was a list of key terms. In a second step, we organised the terms in a conceptual map, and finally we summarised them into five components: disadvantaged, discriminated, nomad, ethnocultural and foreigner.[v] Once the components were identified, we reviewed Romani studies literature[vi] to identify how they have been considered by different authors working on identity and ethnicity.
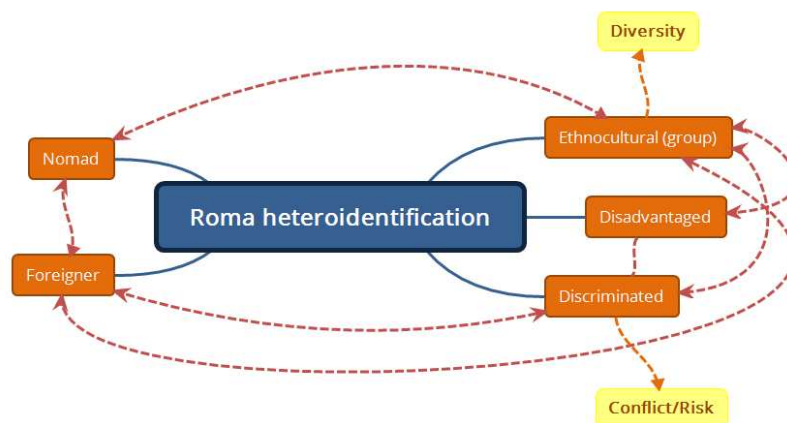
Figure 1. Diagram of Roma heteroidentification.

Ethnocultural: One of the obvious references to identify the Roma is what identifies them as an ethnocultural group, as it is part of the 'racialised' label, regardless of whether the category involves ethnic homogeneity or not. Many EU countries, especially Eastern European countries, have recognised the Roma as an ethnic or national minority, but this is rather related to 'the spread of inter-ethnic conflict, potential secessionist claims and the rise of nationalism in Eastern Europe since the 1990s than it does about any desire to include Roma' (McGarry, 2014: 766). When a country defines its citizens from an ethnic point of view (as opposed to a civic point of view; see Brubaker, 1999), which can be useful to recognise cultural rights and make certain situations visible, it can also lead to rejection of 'acceptance into the national group for people who are ethnically different'. Thus, this can make intergroup relationships difficult (Kende et al., 2018: 2;

McGarry, 2017), while emphasising differences and not giving commonalities any importance (Garner, 2019: 525). Cultural aspects are important in this sense, as well as language (Matras, 2013: 26–32), Romany, despite the fact that not everyone ethnically belonging to the Roma population speaks this language nowadays. Lexicon related to race is also included in this component.

Disadvantaged: In official EU documents and in those of Member States, the majority of cases consider the Roma as a disadvantaged group. Data or general perceptions that define this as majority (Janka et al., 2018: 4, 11; Manzoni, 2017: 1605; Messing, 2014: 821; Messing and Bereményi, 2017: 2; Mirga, 2018: 122) are generalised to the entire group. This results in the fact that the Roma 'need special treatment for achieving life opportunities comparable with that of the non-Roma' (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 6; also see Boscoboinik, 2006: 295), and this is why integration and inclusion policies are created. One of the problems in this category is precisely the confusion between what is ethnic and what is social, so that this representation of the Roma 'contributes to a perception of cultural characteristics of the group itself being responsible for its members' poverty and social exclusion' (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 8; also see Chiesa and Rossi, 2013: 156; Cortés, 2018), to the point that it has been observed that some Roma avoid self-identifying themselves as such due to the possible repercussions that it could have in relation to labour market expectations (Janka et al., 2018: 11). Erroneous heterodentifications are made in surveys because certain 'non-integrated' profiles are associated to the Roma without being so, and 'integrated' profiles are not associated with Roma despite being so (Damonti and Arza, 2014; Messing, 2014: 813). The Roma and the Gypsy/Traveller culture ends up being perceived as a 'subculture of poverty' (Chiesa and Rossi, 2013).

Discriminated: Although we pointed out that the unitary treatment of the Roma is questionable, maybe a common and continuous experience of discrimination, exclusion and stigmatisation is an element that joins all the labels as Roma, Gypsies or Travellers (Chiesa and Rossi, 2013). In fact, many NRIS include anti-discrimination policies. As claimed by Sardelić (2014: 204), anti-gypsyism is a particular way of discrimination that uses a 'constructed cultural difference to legitimise [a] hierarchical positioning in society'. Some authors claim that hostility towards the Roma has increased over the years, partly due to their problematised presentation and insisting on identifying them as different, but also due to the bunkered reaction of many European governments regarding an increase in unwanted migration flows. Roma discrimination is not a thing of the past and there are many examples in politics, the media and daily life (Sayan, 2019; Schafft and Ferkovics, 2018: 2013). Representations that the majority of the EU population make of the Roma link them to criminal, unsociable and unhygienic activities, etc. to justify their further rejection. This is what Van Baar understands as reasonable anti-gypsyism, which means that rejection is justified because 'the Roma frequently exhibit undesirable behaviour' (2014: 28–29;

also see McGarry, 2017). Society as a whole is responsible for this discrimination, but generalised support towards these 'reasoned' arguments is used by certain governments to create official discriminatory actions, as seen with the Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian or Hungarian education system; French or Italian expulsions by executives of different political orientations; the illegal ethnic classifications of the Swedish or Dutch police to exercise control over the Roma, etc. (Cviklova, 2015; Doubek and Levínská, 2015: 603; Kende et al., 2018: 5; McGarry, 2014: 761–762; Sayan, 2019; Van Baar, 2014: 29–30).

Nomad: In some countries, the Roma are totally or partially associated to a nomad lifestyle and when this happens, it is customary to take it into account in inclusive policies. Obviously, not all groups that the EU locates under the umbrella of the Roma are nomads[vii]. In fact, as long as context has allowed such, the majority of Roma are, or have been, mainly sedentary. Nonetheless, social representations in this sense continue to exist, as well as the more generic 'provisional habitat' as a feature of unsociable behaviour which can also be linked to other inappropriate behaviours (Garner, 2019: 515; Manzoni, 2017; Van Baar, 2014: 31). If they are nomads, they live in camps, then on the margins of society, therefore not part of it (McGarry, 2014: 761). This kind of stigmatisation can be seen through public policies, as Garner (2019) has shown for the case of England or Manzoni (2017) in Italy. It is also necessary to specify that there is a wide range of ways to be a nomad, some of which are perhaps closer to being sedentary. Some move after a few years, others move according to the seasons, others move for certain events, etc (Chiesa and Rossi, 2013). Whatever the case may be, the nomad lifestyle ends up being 'racialised', as the EU shows by including travellers of Irish heritage within the Roma. In another sense, the English society itself has considered them Roma for centuries, despite them being 'white' (Garner, 2019: 512). Racialisation of nomadism is so deep that it still continues even when they settle (Yuval-Davis et al., 2017: 1049). Therefore, ethnicity is intertwined with other components of Roma heteroidentity.

Foreigner: This component, especially in Western Europe, together with being an ethnic group, is mainly built by aligning the Roma to people originating from Eastern Europe, whose flow increased from the 1990s (Matras, 2013: 22–24). On the other hand, in general, the diaspora from North-Western India is also assumed, although, as Acton (2018) suggests, revisionist historiography by authors such as Marsh (2008) would locate 'the key elements of the consolidation of the Romani ethnic identity (and language) in eleventh-century Anatolia' (obviously, this would not be the case of travellers from the British Isles where there is rather a fusion of groups due to their 'lifestyle'; see Matras, 2013: 5–6). In any case, we are talking about an exoticisation that highlights the foreigner category for the Roma, despite the fact that certain publications by European institutions refer to them as a European minority, while also affirming their Asian origin (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 13; Surdu, 2016: 94). In countries where an ethnic

definition of the nation dominates (especially in Central and Eastern European countries), the threat from abroad is more clearly perceived and there is greater hostility towards groups perceived as such. This does not happen where a civic definition dominates, which is much more flexible regarding the inclusion of foreigners (Kende et al., 2018: 4). However, although the majority of the Roma are citizens of the country in which they live, there is an estrangement that is very similar to that of unwanted foreigners, even in countries where a civic definition of citizenship dominates. A key element in this sense is that the absence of a state with which to associate Roma ethnicity makes protection that other minorities receive abroad difficult (Schafft and Ferkovics, 2018: 2012).

Methodology

In line with content analysis techniques, the English versions of the NRIS of 27 of the 28 Member States of the EU have been studied[viii]. The method we have followed is the same that was used for the case of gender sensitivity in health care (Briones et al., 2012). The idea is to prepare a fundamentally dichotomous questionnaire (Yes/No) through which textual documents are 'questioned', in this case the NRIS of each State, which will be the units of analysis.

An initial selection of subcomponents and terms is carried out for each dimension mentioned in the previous section. The glossary of terms according to the final component is applied to all strategies using Atlas.ti.7.5.16 to locate the words linked to each component:

Table 1. Outline of terms or lexemes for each component found in the NRIS.				
Component	*Subcomponent*	*Terms*	*Specific terms*	*Antonymous field*
Ethnocultural	Ethnic	Ethn- Multiethnic Tribe-		
	Roma	Rom- Gyps-	Ashkali Khanjari Butschu Lovar- Caló Machavaya Čergaši Manouches Churari Sinti Gurbet Bajaši Kalder- etc.	
	Race	Racial- Blood Skin Genetic- Gen		Hate Racis- Xenophob- Holocaust Genocide Slavery
	Origins	Indigenous Origin- Descendent Roots		
	Culture	Cultur- Histor- Folklore Tradition- Heritage Intercultur-		
		Language	Biling ual- Dialect Linguist- - Multilingual- Langu Plurilingualism age	

		Religio-		Moslem-		
	Identity	Identit-				
Diversity		Differen- Distinct-	Intercultural- Minorit-			Majority Assimilation
Conflict/risk		Abuse Against Combating Crim- Drug- Fear	Jeopardised Misdemeanours Radicalization Trafficking Violat- Violence			Surviv-
Discriminated	Prejudice	Prejudice Stereotyp-	Stigma-			Antidiscriminat- Nondiscrimination Desegregation Destigmatisation
	Segregation	Ghetto- Displace-	Segregation			
	(Behavioural level)	Discriminat- Intimidation Intolerance	Persecution Rejection Unwillingness			
	(Subject level)	Marginal- Unadapted	Victims			
Foreigner	Foreign	Foreign-	Outsider	Several countries & nationalities: Bulgar-, Roman-, Turk-	Barrier- Border- / Expulsion Illegal	Countries National- Native
	Migrant	Immigr- Migr-	Newcomers			
	Refugee	Refuge-				
Nomad	Means	Caravan- Camp-	Encampment			Sedentarisation
	(Lifestyle-)	Nomad- Non-sedentary	Roma travellers Traveller-			
Disadvantaged	Poverty	Poor- Poverty	Scarcity	(*palliative field*: Beneficiaries Charitable Funding Grants Protecting Protection)		Equal- Horizontal Inclusi- Integrat- Reintegrating
	Inequality	Gap	Inequalit-			
	Without social rights	Homelessness	Unemploy-			
	(Behavioural level)	Depriv- Detracts Excluded	Exclusion Exploit-			
	(Subject level)	Depend- Deterioration Disadvantag-	Precarious Underdeveloped Vulnerab-			

This is completed by thoroughly reading the paragraphs where these terms are used in order to confirm that the component is present through one of the associated words. Following the criteria of expert judgement (Däubler et al., 2012), the consensus of the eight members of the research team was sought in order to determine the affirmative response for each item. The idea was to identify if each component is present in each of the strategies. In order to do so, the dichotomous questionnaire is used; different items have been prepared for each component (see list in Table 2).

The first item of each component (see Table 2) is what would fundamentally determine its presence or absence, although in some cases additional items have been incorporated to include different nuances, such as Asian origin in the foreign/national component, or manifestations of anti-gypsyism in the 'discriminated' component.

A descriptive statistical analysis is carried out with the obtained data, which includes measures of association between variables (Phi, Lambda and Eta) and a multivariate factorial analysis (or according to principal components).

Despite the EU Framework, formal and content heterogeneity is remarkable, which is why it is difficult to approach it through standard approaches of content analysis. Many of the NRIS begin their documents with contextual introductions where the bulk of the definitions of the Roma people are located. However, in other cases, heteroidentity is located in other fragments, which is why we have decided to not limit the analysis to only the introductions, as, in fact, the aforementioned heterogeneity is why some have very limited forewords (or do not have one at all) and with little content in which the concept of the Roma people can be identified.

The NRIS do not follow a standard template, so every country has decided how to organise its contents and the level of detail. This level of heterogeneity could be considered a weakness for the proposed analysis, which implies relativising the conclusions drawn for the analysis. Another source of diversity is related to the fact that each State has designated different departments (normally, either a department of the broad area of social affairs, or a specific one of minorities). There have been unequal levels of supervision and/or involvement, unequal interest depending on the ideological positions of the government, or the attention given to the Roma people, etc. An obvious result of all this, for example, is the number of pages in each document, ranging from 2,430 words by Cyprus and 68,463 by Croatia. In any case and to some extent, the final volume has also been influenced by other issues such as the numbers of Roma population in each country or if the countries consider they need particular policies for the Roma or not.

On the other hand, other explanations such as the "geopolitical bloc" are used, which separate countries from the West (mainly countries making up the EU in the 20th century before enlargement to the east) and the East (countries that joined in the 21st century and from having planned economies until 1990); and the "type of department in charge of the NRIS" (whose categories are "social, "minority affairs", "internal/migration" and "other"). We began the analysis with the hypothesis that these two variables could determine the results by connecting them with different traditions that are based on the ethnic-civic dichotomy that has been formulated in the theory of nationalism (Brubaker: 1999; Català-Oltra, 2014: 191), and that a type of ethnocultural concept about the nation is appointed to the countries of Eastern Europe, while Western European countries are appointed to a political-civic type.

Results

Item	Frequency	Valid percent
Table 2. Affirmative answer to the different items related to the components of Roma identity in the NRIS of EU countries.		
1.1. Strategy aimed at the foreign Roma population (regardless of whether there is also one for the Roma population of the State)	**16**	**59.3%**
1.2. It explicitly refers to the population of external historical origin	9	33.3%
1.2.1. It explicitly mentions Asian origin	4	14.8%
1.3. The Roma are referred to as part of the country's history and culture	5	18.5%
1.3.1. It explicitly establishes that the Roma are part of the definition of nation/state	3	11.1%
2.1. The Roma are defined as an ethnocultural group	**22**	**81.5%**
2.2 The Roma population is envisaged as a recognised cultural group with their own rights	17	63.0%
2.3. It explicitly mentions that they speak a different language to the ones that are used and recognised by the State	18	66.7%
3.1. The Roma population is envisaged as Travellers (regardless of whether they are sedentary)	**12**	**44.4%**
4.1. The Roma population is envisaged as an economically disadvantaged group	**25**	**92.6%**
5.1. The discrimination of the Roma population is expressly recognised	**23**	**85.2%**
5.2. Manifestations of anti-gypsyism are explicitly recognised	19	70.4%
Base= 27 EU countries Note: the first items of each component are in bold, which mainly define the absence or presence of each one of them. 1= foreigner; 2= ethnocultural; 3= nomad; 4= disadvantaged; and 5= discriminated.		

If we focus on the first item of each component, which shows the absence or presence of an NRIS, the Roma population considered to be disadvantaged is the most widespread component within the strategies from EU countries (25 countries, 92.6%). This is closely followed by considering the Roma population to be discriminated against (23 countries, 85.2%) and as an ethnocultural group (22 countries, 81.5%). This means that, ultimately, there is a triple generalisation in the majority of countries (74.1%) that considers the Roma as an ethnocultural, disadvantaged and discriminated group. However, although the majority of countries focus all or part of their NRIS on foreign Roma, the percentage (59.3%) is significantly lower. In the case of the 'nomad'

component, the relative figures are even lower (44.4%) and account for the low weight of this lifestyle among the Roma in most EU countries.

Regarding other items, relative to the 'discriminated' component, a large majority of NRIS (70.4%) also explicitly mention manifestations of anti-gypsyism. The 'ethnocultural' component, taking one step further, considers the Roma as a recognised cultural group with their own rights and is affirmed by 63% of the countries in their strategies. A total of 66.7% of the NRIS explicitly mention that the Roma speak a different language to that used and recognised by the State. Finally, in the most detailed nuances of the 'foreigner' component, one third of the countries explicitly make reference in their NRIS to the external historical origin of the Roma (especially Western European countries), about half of them (14.8% of the total) specifically indicate Asian origin; 18.5% refer to the Roma as part of the history and culture of the country (Spain, Sweden, Italy, Latvia and the Czech Republic); and, furthermore, in 11.5% of the States, the NRIS explicitly mentions that the Roma are part of the definition of nation/state (Sweden, Latvia and Hungary; in the case of Sweden and Latvia, it suggests more the hypothetical will to include than the presence of a very visible reality).[ix]

A large part of these results is determined by variables that classify these countries, for example, the geopolitical bloc (east and west):

Table 3. Affirmative answer to the different items related to the components of Roma identity according to geopolitical bloc (%).				
Item	*% East*	*% West*	*Phi*	*Signific. level*
1.1. ...Aimed at foreign Roma population	**27.3%**	**81.3%**	**0.540**	**0.005**
1.2. ...Population of external historical origin	**9.1%**	**50.0%**	**0.430**	**0.027**
1.2.1. ...Asian origin	9.1%	18.8%	0.134	0.488
1.3. ...Part of the country's history and culture	18.2%	18.8%	0.007	0.970
1.3.1. ...Part of the definition of nation/state	18.2%	6.7%	-0.178	0.364
2.1. ...Ethnocultural group	90.9%	75.0%	-0.201	0.296
2.2. ...Recognised culture with their own rights	**90.9%**	**43.8%**	**-0.489**	**0.013**
2.3. ...They speak a different language to that used and recognised by the State	81.8%	56.2%	-0.267	0.166
3.1. ...Travellers	**9.1%**	**68.8%**	**-0.590**	**0.002**
4.1. ...Economically disadvantaged group	100.0%	87.5%	-0.235	0.223
5.1. Their discrimination is expressly recognised...	81.8%	87.5%	0.079	0.683
5.2. ...Manifestations of anti-gypsyism	72.7%	68.8%	-0.043	0.824

The component 'foreigner' is mainly visible in western countries, both in terms of historical origin (50% versus 9.1% in the East), and the group at which the NRIS is aimed (81.3% versus 27.3%).

Both cases show an association between the variables and statistically significant differences. The component 'nomad' is also more frequent in Western European countries (68.8% versus 9.1% in the East). Nonetheless, the 'ethnocultural' component is present in more Eastern countries, especially if we consider they are recognised through their rights as an ethnocultural group. The components 'disadvantaged' and 'discriminated' do not show significant differences and they are visible in both geopolitical blocs.

In line with this association between some of the components and the geopolitical bloc variable, we have transposed the data matrix to make countries function as variables and to be able to carry out a factor analysis that allows countries to be grouped. The rotated factor matrix in Table 4 offers results in line with highlighting this association between the geopolitical bloc and components of Roma identity.

Table 4. The rotated factor matrix of data transposed to make countries function as variables.

	Component			
	1. West	2. East	3. Inclusivity	4. Portugal
Germany	.727	.397	.219	
Spain	.801	.367		-.238
Sweden	.281	.384	-.784	
Croatia	.872	.220	.247	.203
Romania		.977		
Estonia	.666	.448		-.222
United Kingdom	.863	.313	-.274	.218
Cyprus	.596		.687	
Netherlands	.798		-.245	.349
Poland		.977		
Italy	.892			
Lithuania	.236	.837		
France	.896			
Austria	.851	.384	-.227	
Luxembourg	.901			
Czech Republic		.781	-.224	-.486
Denmark	.639	.374	.554	
Finland		.681		.406
Bulgaria	.409	.389	.492	-.362
Ireland	.863	.313	-.274	.218
Hungary		.977		
Greece	.890		.274	
Latvia	.792	.362		-.430
Slovakia		.977		
Slovenia		.977		
Portugal	.314			.870
Belgium	.869			.331

Note: Extraction method: Analysis of main components. Rotation method: Varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation. The rotation has converged into 19 iterations.

The first two factors, which explain the higher percentage of the variance, largely distribute the countries according to the East/West classification. If we observe the highest values for each of these countries, Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Holland, Italy, France, Austria, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, Greece and Belgium would have a greater part of its variance explained in Factor 1 (which we have called 'West'), except for Croatia, Estonia and Latvia. However,

Romania, Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia are mainly included in Factor 2 ('East'), except for Finland.

Factor 1/West mainly includes countries that refer to the population as native and foreign, while Factor 2/East only refers to them as native. The population considered as 'foreigner' in the West precisely comes from the East, in particular Romania and Bulgaria. In general, F1/West takes into account both sedentary and travelling population, while F2/East only considers the sedentary population. Finally, 'ethnocultural' seems to be more present in F2/East, which mainly corresponds to the ethnic dimensions in the dichotomy between civic and ethnic nationalism (Català-Oltra, 2014).

Factors 3 and 4 define exceptional behaviours that, on the one hand, Cyprus and Sweden show, and, on the other hand, Portugal. We have called Factor 3 'inclusivity' because the two countries which refer to it pose an opposition in terms of exclusion and inclusion (Cyprus and Sweden, respectively)[x]. Portugal, included in Factor 4, is closer to the western model, but does not refer to the component 'foreigner', as it only considers native population (external historical and Asian origin). Bulgaria, which is the country with the highest percentage of Roma population according to EU data[xi], and cannot be included in only one factor, is the most heterodox case.

However, as observed from what has been analysed, the components of Roma identity are related to the geopolitical bloc:

Table 5. Relation between factors 1 and 2, and the geopolitical bloc.				
Item	*% East*	*% West*	*Phi Eta*	*Signific. level*
Dominant presence in Factor 1/West	36.4%	81.2%	0.457	0.018
Factor 1/West according to geopolitical bloc (Eta)			0.537	
Dominant presence in Factor 2/east	63.6%	6.2%	-0.618	0.001
Factor 2/East according to geopolitical bloc (Eta)			0.712	

Especially in the case of Factor 2, the association between the variables is very high, whether we consider the set of values (nominal by interval, Eta statistic) or if we reduce it to a dichotomous variable (dichotomous by dichotomous, Phi statistic). This happens because the East factor is more consistent, there are fewer countries that evade the geopolitical logic (in reality, only Finland), while there are three exceptions for the West factor, although they do not question the association with the respective geopolitical bloc.

Another variable that is associated with the geopolitical bloc is the type of department in charge of the strategy (see Table 6):

Table 6. Type of department in charge of the NRIS according to geopolitical bloc.

		Social	Ethnic (minorities)	Internal/immigration	Other	Total
			Type of department in charge			
Geopolitical bloc	East	0	8	2	1	11
		0.0%	72.7%	18.2%	9.1%	100.0%
	West	11	0	3	2	16
		68.8%	0.0%	18.8%	12.5%	100.0%
Total		11	8	5	3	27
		40.7%	29.6%	18.5%	11.1%	100.0%

Symmetric Lambda= 0.593 (significance level/s.l.= 0.001); Lambda with dependent 'geopolitical bloc' = 0.727 (s.l.= 0.001); Lambda with dependent 'type of department in charge' =0.500 (s.l.= 0.001).

Although some countries (East and West) have appointed the strategy to other departments, the majority of them are divided into two areas: a group of generic 'social affairs' and a specific department for 'ethnic minorities'. In this sense, only western countries promote and manage NRIS from social affairs departments, and only eastern countries do so from departments related to ethnic minorities.

Table 7. Relation between factors 1 and 2, and department in charge of NRIS.

Item	% social	% ethnic minority	Phi/Eta	Signific. level
Dominant presence in Factor 1/West	81.8%	50.0%	-0.338	0.141
Factor 1/West according to area in charge of NRIS (Eta)			0.443	
Dominant presence in Factor 2/East	9.1%	50.0%	0.459	0.046
Factor 2/East according to area in charge of NRIS (Eta)			0.647	
Note: only the cases that fall within the 'social' or 'ethnic minorities' categories are considered in the variable 'department in charge of NRIS'.				

Again, Factor 2/East is the one that is the most strongly associated with the independent variable. The category that is clearly more present in one factor or another is the 'social' area (mostly

aligned with Factor 1/West and with little presence in F2), as the department of 'ethnic minorities' ends up including all the eastern exceptions of Factor 1.

In any case, the data point to a triple association between the geopolitical bloc, department in charge of the NRIS and the Roma identity components (the latter through factors combining all the components).

Conclusions

It has been proven that a majority of the countries include several of the components of Roma heteroidentity that is constructed from a political and legal perspective, according to McGarry's terminology (2014: 765). Practically three-quarters of EU countries include each of the three main components: ethnocultural group, disadvantaged and discriminated. It would be difficult to prove that there is an intentional confusion among these three components, but what is true is that their combined presence in the majority of NRIS texts could cause the ideas to be associated as reported by authors such as Surdu and Kovats (2015) or McGarry (2014). This interrelation leads to a vicious circle that reinforces a state of affairs in which there is an inflation of diagnoses, but a deficit in addressing the structural causes (Garner, 2019: 525; McGarry, 2014: 762; Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 13–14).

In addition, we have been able to verify that the presence or absence of these components of Roma heteroidentity is related to the geopolitical bloc in which the country and the department in charge of the NRIS is located, so that, in a manner similar to that with the political-civic/ethnocultural dichotomy of nationalism, it is more common for Western European countries to design NRIS from social affairs departments (which, a priori, are governed by universal principles), consider both native and foreign population when referring to the Roma and also take into account both the sedentary and nomadic populations. Nonetheless, Eastern countries promote strategies mainly from specific departments of ethnic minorities, which normally consider only the native and sedentary population, and they take the 'ethnocultural' component into consideration in a greater proportion than western countries. The way in which the Roma are defined in the NRIS can have significant ramifications relative to the orientation and aim of the integration policies. For instance, a strong emphasis on the socioeconomic component, leaving the ethnocultural or discrimination components behind, could lead to forgetting anti-discrimination or anti-racism strategies and also promote assimilation-type acculturation processes. However, definitions that highlight the definition of the Roma minority as a foreign population may be consistent with attempts to limit their rights in comparison to the native population (nativism). We believe that these categories, and to a larger or lesser extent in each country, are therefore potentially relevant to analyse the orientation of integration policies (or inclusion policies) of the Roma population in

Europe. Thus, the variety of ways to define the Roma in each country reveals the difficult task of developing a unitary policy in the EU.

Funding

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[i] See EC (2017), *Midterm review of the EU Framework for NRIS* (https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/brochure_-_midterm_review_2017.pdf (accessed on 27/12/2019).

[ii] Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – An EU Framework for NRIS up to 2020, April 2011. https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-countries_en (accessed on 16/1/2020).

[iii] For some time, and more intensely after Surdu's work (2019, 2016; Surdu and Kovats, 2015), which has taken witness of the 'Dutch School' (Lucassen et al., 1998; Willems, 1997 -cited in Acton, 2018 and Chiesa and Rossi, 2013), constructivism is laying the foundations for a new paradigm in studying Roma identity (Acton, 2018). This has been basically built from outside the group and as a result of the integration policies, as well as academic, administrative and NGO activities, and the assumption by Roma organisations that are beneficiaries of the policies (McGarry, 2014: 756; Surdu, 2016: 51; Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 5). In this sense, even anti-discriminatory initiatives developed by NGOs and customisation of integration policies lead to reinforcing collective distinctiveness and an opposition against non-Roma (Surdu and Kovats, 2015: 13–14). A social policy based on universality principles should supposedly not take into account ethnic origin, but these authors claim that this type of ethnically conditioned policies are being carried out within the EU framework (Acton, 2018; Cortés, 2018). The vigour of these works has caused a reaction among other members of academia (see Acton, 2018; Cortés, 2018; Marushiakova and Popov, 2017: 197–198; Mirga, 2018), who, among others, highlight the fact that the Roma are being considered as something 'imaginary' and the same operation has not been carried out for other ethnic groups or nations. They claim the ability of the Roma themselves to determine who they are from an experience of distinctiveness and place the Roma/non-Roma axis of opposition in domination processes built for centuries, with Roma clearly defined as an ethnic category according to some of these authors.

[iv] The signatories of this article are members of a team also including Jesús Esteve, Francisco Francés, Diana Gil, María J. Sanchis and Carmen Vives. Other developments in the project include gender sensitivity of the NRIS and the depth of their health planning.

[v] In addition to the aforementioned five descriptions, we have considered two elements associated with the 'ethnocultural' (diversity) and 'discriminated' (conflict/risk) components that are not strictly from the fields on which they depend, but are related to them and can help to specify the affiliation to the two components.

[vi] In general, large proportion of the citations in this article, especially Matras (2013: 33–37), although in a non-systematic and partial way, were faced for the first time with the task of locating the definitions of Roma in the NRIS.

[vii] States such as Great Britain in many cases separate the categories 'Traveller of Irish Heritage' from 'Gypsy/Roma' (Anderson et al., 2018: 11).

[viii] Malta did not develop a NRIS as it states that no Roma live in their territory (see https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-country/roma-integration-malta_es (accessed on 2/1/2020).

[ix] In both Latvia and Sweden, the Roma population percentage is lower than 0.5% (see https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-country_en (accessed on 13/1/2020) and there is no tradition of continuous presence.

[x] Sweden is more western, but it refers only to the native population, like in the eastern model. In Sweden, 'gypsy' is included as part of the nation/state, and the history/culture of the country, which is the main difference with the two main models. This does not happen in Cyprus which only refers to the foreign population (Turkish and Asian). There is no recognition of diversity and manifestations of anti-gypsyism. These are also the main differences with the majority models and Sweden. We can say that Cyprus has the least-inclusive strategy, largely due to the Turkish element that is included in the consideration of what is gypsy (the Roma living in Cyprus come from Turkey). Sweden could may be the most inclusive.

[xi] See https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-country_en (accessed on 13/1/2020).

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