



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF CULTURE
AND SOCIETY

Anti – Gypsyism

The European Union who Could. A discourse analysis on the
European Framework for National Roma Integration
Strategies up to 2020

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Abstract

The thesis defines Anti – Gypsyism by exploring the European Union and the possible challenges. Through constructivism and communitarianism, the thesis believed that it was a clash of identities between Roma and non – Roma. Thus, the aim became a prescribed research question on mending Anti – Gypsyism. The method applied was both a quantitative and a qualitative discourse analysis on the European framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 and two more official European documents. Although it showed that there exists a difference in norms and identities between Roma and non – Roma, the very same was argued for the European Union. This because the thesis explored in the analytical section whether Normative Power Europe is based on the Habermasian approach or if it is the Derridean perspective. From here the thesis argued that the European Union should have something that resembles the Malmö model, which is a theory that is based on an interdisciplinary holistic approach if they want to mend Anti - Gypsyism. Lastly, the thesis argues that the European Union should come to terms with itself before they can apply any new theories. Because right now, the conclusion lies in the European Union who could instead of should.

Key Words: Roma, non – Roma, Integration, European Union, Social Constructivism, Communitarianism, Discourse analysis

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, as it highlights, is around its ending phase. This has sparked a debate regarding credibility, responsibility and achievements (Iusmen 2018). However, some introductory formalities need to be established surrounding the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020. In 2011, numerous steps were taken, and on the broad surface of things, it was a policy that was supposed to do two things: highlight the Roma exclusion and discrimination. Secondly: To implement the framework. The purpose was to bridge the gap between Roma and non – Roma in terms of labor market and integration through a framework.

The thesis puzzle, put simply, is that the European Commission has gone through an extensive amount of funding and implementation of the strategy towards the Roma minority. Yet, the evaluation of the Framework raises the question of “what is going on?” This because the numbers shown in the evaluation shows for an example that Education sees a 39% increase on slight improvement. However, 38% of the Roma responded as a no change (Roma Framework Evaluation 2018:2). Essentially, this is where the thesis aim and purpose comes into the fray.

1.2. Aim, and structure of the thesis and research question

Given the puzzle mentioned above, the thesis aims to shed light on the matter presented. This will be done by explaining the term Anti – Gypsyism and provide a background history on the Roma and non – Roma. When this has been established, the thesis will move into the literature review.

The literature review will begin with the European Union and her members states showing the complex debate regarding integration. The following sub chapters focuses on the Roma and non – Roma by showcasing and reviewing different stances on what ought to be done. In addition, the thesis approach is a prescriptive one and thus moves forward with the following research question: What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism? The literature review further explores the ideas of normative approaches by showing how the Malmö model works for an example. Furthermore, the literature review also shows norm gaps between and amongst people.

The structure of the thesis further continues by implementing two theories, Social constructivism and Communitarianism. After this, in the last two sections of the literature review, the thesis explains what will be gathered and used for my methodological approach and the certain limitations and challenges the thesis will impose. The next chapter combines and implements the findings from the literature review and explaining as to why, the method chosen is the appropriate way to move forward. Lastly, when the methodological chapter has been cemented, the perspectives will be put into practice, showcasing the analytical chapters in two ways; quantitative and qualitative discourse analysis. But without putting too much emphasis on the future parts of the thesis, the thesis will hereby illuminate some historical aspects below.

1.3. The historical perspective and Anti – Gypsyism

Circa 14 years ago, Braham and Braham (2000:98-99) argued that the Roma, like so many other immigrants, usually wants to “escape” the country that they are living in. The reason the Roma wants to escape, is rooted in the fear of physical violence, discrimination and expulsions. It is worth mentioning, that my argument here is, even though life is better for everyone today, it is just recently where the Roma are starting to trust local authorities and their respective governments.

Moreover, Braham and Braham (2000) talk about a flood that occurred in 1997 in Czech Republic and how that flood led to the Slovakian Roma fleeing to the Czech Republic. This making the Czech Republican Roma angry and afraid since they did not want their Slovak Roma there. Why? Because the Roma from Czech Republic did not want to endure *more* discrimination and expulsion. In addition to this, the Czech Roma further feared that, their area would become even more isolated and thus, creating a ghetto. Braham and Braham (2000:111 – 112) conclude a few interesting things, for an instance, that if a major Roma migration occurs towards Western Europe, it will not solve the Socio – Economic conditions for the Roma.

Furthermore, even though the Roma are protected under European Union minority rights instruments, *their cultural Romani style is a problem* and that *only the Roma* will be able to change this. For obvious reasons, this type of mentality is what presumably, I argue, is the “bad guy”. Indeed, by the time the thesis is being written, it is 19 years after this article was published and may not be relevant.

I do agree with Braham and Braham on one thing though: It is true that only the Roma themselves, will be able to change their lifestyles, their *cultural lifestyles* however, is not the problem here. But I still argue that this is the lack of knowledge and understanding that creates these types of gaps between Roma and Non – Roma. Lastly, Braham and Braham (2000:111 – 112) end their article with the idea that if funding is only targeted towards the Roma, it will result in an escalation of more Anti – Gypsyism and create a wider gap between Roma and non – Roma. But what is Anti – Gypsyism?

According to the European Commission, the term is aimed towards the Roma and the racism they face, that is the general idea. However, Anti – Gypsyism also highlights the definition by recognizing the attitudes and negative expressions towards the Roma. More so, Anti – Gypsyism also becomes a broader discriminatory spectrum that also recognizes the hidden agendas about the Roma. For an instance, the crucial aspect of systematic and structural nature of Anti – Gypsyism. Given this, it is claimed that the institutions that are supposed to protect the rights of the Roma often fails to do so because of Anti – Gypsyism, since Anti – Gypsyism too, is rooted deep within these institutions and power structures of European societies (Anti – Gypsyism Reference paper 2017:10).

All in all, Anti – Gypsyism is not only about what is being said, but what is being done or what is *not* being done. With this, the introductory formalities have been presented and been accounted for and thus, the thesis can move into the literature review presented below.

2. Literature Review

Before the literature review can be presented, it will do so in respect towards three terms: credibility, responsibility and achievements. Since this thesis wants to understand what is going on. Given this, the terms mentioned, will involve the literature review more, even though it will be deconstructed into several sections.

The literature review will begin with some broad and general debates regarding the European union, the term integration, what it entails and possible challenges. Domestic politics in this section is highly important since Bulmer and Joseph (2016:734) explain that member states aims to implement their domestic political views into a wider context.

In the next section of the literature review, the thesis reviews the debates surrounding Roma and non – Roma and by doing so, gives the thesis a purpose, to understand and hopefully, provide a prescriptive approach that will benefit both the Roma and non – Roma.

This raises the thesis research question once again; What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism? Moreover, in this section, there are two important factors here. Firstly, Iusmen (2018) argues that European Roma policy in general, lacks the ability to acknowledge and thereby fails to *target Anti – Gypsyism*.

Secondly, In Matache’s conclusion (2017:603) it is argued that the Roma and Non – Roma are in dire need of policies that are aimed towards both groups and through that, create better opportunities for the Roma and thus, close the gap between them. However, even though the articles are correct, there are examples where this is already occurring. This will be showcased in the Malmö model section and explore the ideas of what can occur when both sides cooperate in a normative fashion. The fourth section will highlight the norm gaps between Roma and non – Roma taken from Búzás (2018). This because it gives the debate a thicker layer. When this debate has been illuminated and reviewed, the thesis will move into the section of the theories.

The literature review will incorporate two theories: Social constructivism and Communitarianism. In this section, the thesis begins with a classical approach from Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) and highlights the general ideas about norms. Because of norms and their attributes of shaping the political landscape the thesis argues that this is indeed the case for the Roma and non – Roma. By doing this and looking at Lantis explanation (2016) about leaders being part of debates that *are related* to prescribed and normative ideas. But to understand norms and identity, it is also crucial to make them physical and this will be achieved by adding communitarianism.

Communitarianism is what makes those ideas manifest and thus, also the reason why the thesis incorporates communitarianism. This theory will serve two purposes, to begin with, the theory claims that we might be able to think for ourselves, but the values and rationality comes from the community (Manzini 2018). Second purpose is to implement Larsen’s (2014:425) perspective on whether normative power Europe is based on Habermasian philosophy or if it is the Derridean perspective. Through this approach, the thesis can anchor back to the European Union once again and draw better inferences.

The literature review is then finished on a smaller, yet important note: The elaborated aim, the gathering and the limitations that will challenge the thesis. With this now established, the literature review begins with the European Union and integration.

2.1. European Union and Integration

Is European Integration in crisis? Bulmer and Joseph (2016) talk about the European Union and the challenges she faces. They claim that the reason why European integration is in a crisis, is because of the ever – growing attitude towards Euro – skepticism. Euro – skepticism is, according to Bulmer and Joseph (2016:725 - 726) embedded into two factors:

firstly, that the constitutional reform nearly failed since the French and Dutch electorates rejected it. In addition to this, the Lisbon treaty was, initially rejected by the Irish. This led to the European Union and its member states to be portrayed as weak. Their lack of ability to act regarding Ukraine, further spiraled down to the second factor: the refugee crisis. The crisis threatened migration policy and thus, strengthening the rifts that were already there between the member states. These two factors contributed even more to Euro – skepticism and was nevertheless, revealed in the 2014 elections (Bulmer & Joseph 2016:725 - 726). From this, the article further explains how they look on hegemonic projects and what their definitions are. For instance, Bulmer and Joseph claim that hegemonic projects are a way to gather support and thereby mobilize in actions that are based in interests and leading groups.

However, these leading groups also try to cooperate with other groups and through that, diffuse conflicts for both general and specific types of interests (Bulmer & Joseph 2016:734). These interests and their way of being balanced cannot be placed exclusively in the economic sector, they can in this, also be placed in the political, civil society and the state. Thus, a hegemonic project goes deeper into the definition of objectives or policy agendas. But how does integration fit into all of this? Simply put, European integration can be viewed as a weak hegemonic project (Bulmer & Joseph 2016:734).

This is because European integration is a combination of many and different sub interests, and at the same time, this is further complicated more by the fact that you also have compromises between *rival interests*. This makes European integration adapt towards a fragile nature that is the product of unintentional outcomes. European integration is not seen as a single coherent project but rather the example of rival projects of new hegemonic projects. In other words, different interests would want to have a saying, the term saying can then be divided into many other “sayings” and thus leaving European integration solely on the spectrum of chance, and thereby, rely on whatever the outcome might be.

However, Bulmer and Joseph emphasize that we should acknowledge two aspects here, firstly, that projects are contested with different political and economical motivations.

Secondly, member states and their European relations combined with multilevel governance. This would explain why the European Union is sometimes seen as limited, since the dynamics of politics and economy are predominantly driven by competitive views that originates from the member states. The member states want to implement their domestic political and social views into a wider context (Bulmer & Joseph 2016:734).

Indeed, this makes European integration difficult, and it is more complicated to regard it as successful since the stake at hand stems from the different processes, levels and interests of different member states. However, by looking at European integration as a rather complicated process that is entwined in economic and political spheres it can have an easier comprehension. Integration is a hegemonic project that is the product of *various projects* that compete in the political and economic landscape (Bulmer & Joseph 2016:735). But what is it that fuels integration then? What are the definitions? According to Bulmer and Joseph (2016:737) there are two points that we need to grasp. To begin with, interests are rooted in domestic political strategies and are tools for *articulation* and *legitimation*, on the other hand, the fueling factor for integration comes from the elites.

Bulmer and Joseph (2016:744) conclude that integration is a meta – project that is made up of sub – projects at the domestic levels. So, when domestic politics goes in a different direction, integration is soon to be affected as well. By throwing in the European Union's everchanging membership demands, policies and institutional orders, it is easier to understand why certain things are the way they are. But what can the result end in? According to Webber (2014) there are numerous outcomes, some more alerting than others. To begin with, Webber too, mentions the crises Bulmer and Joseph (2016) talk about. He is clear on pointing out that crises do not guarantee that the European Union will fall, as a matter of fact, the European Union has faced a lot of challenges and yet, has overcome crisis after crisis.

Furthermore, Webber defines disintegration process from three characteristics. Firstly, if a decline is occurring in common policies that has been implemented in the European Union. Secondly, the amount of European member states and lastly, the European organs and their ability to implement decisions if needed, even against the will of their member states (Webber 2014:342). Moreover, the weakness against the European Union is actually *domestic politics*, this means that both of the article agrees on one certain thing: when domestic politics goes in a different direction, integration is soon to be affected as well, by disintegration (Webber 2014 358 – 359). Can this explain the consequences of domestic policies affecting certain type of groups or people?

Webber argues that member states who might want to implement domestic politics embedded in populist views and thereby making the European Union vulnerable to political backlashes, in the end can also affect the regular European citizen and thereby, also the Roma (Webber 2014:359). Moreover, this can also be put into the European framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 since policy – making and policy – implementation thus involves state – level, national and local levels. More so, it also affects the member states, groups and organizations and as such, the Roma as well. This argument will be further explored in the section below by incorporate the debate regarding the normative approaches on Roma integration.

2.2. Normative approach on Roma Integration

From O’Nions (2011) perspective, it is explained that the European member states have been in a paradox for European *identity*. Since the implementation of the Lisbon treaty and article 45 from the central European member states. This finally led to the Roma leaving their countries behind, pursuing a better life. Given this, the Roma and their struggle against discrimination was finally recognized and not anything new, but something that has always been there (O’Nions 2011:362). However, Western European states attitude towards the Roma has been that of securitization, that the Roma can undermine the universal way of life. But on the other hand, European parliament have been criticizing the member states because they did not condemn their own behavior. Given this, the European Union decided to adopt the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (O’Nions 2011:361 - 362).

Furthermore, Sobotka and Vermeersch (2012:802) argues that the European Union and their policy initiatives face numerous challenges, one such challenge are the politicians who continue to portray the Roma as security problems and that the Roma are a burden on the welfare state. In this way, politicians can ignore their national and local responsibility and even ignore the European Union. This can be connected to Bulmer and Joseph (2016:737) and the interests that stem from domestic political strategies that are tools for *articulation* and *legitimation*, as I mentioned earlier.

Moreover, Sobotka’s and Vermeersch (2012:802) has two arguments, firstly, that the European Union should find ways to address local *communities* and provide with strategies that can help local authorities to become more invested in terms of socioeconomic integration for all their citizens.

Secondly, to find a common strategy that can be beneficial for both the Roma and non – Roma and in the end, having a balance between human rights and social inclusion to gather the full support of local, national and elite politicians as well as the majority population. Method – wise, Sobotka’s and Vermeersch’s article (2012:802) is divided into five sections and their article is based on a micro case study conducted in Czech Republic. The case study was used as a discussion for certain possibilities in terms of social change for the Roma which boiled down to be a challenging aspect.

But Sobotka and Vermeersch (2012) argue that the tools are already there, however, the governance perspective should be from three levels: European, National and Local. By doing so, the Roma and non – Roma will be able to legitimize and contribute towards each other for consulting, hosting and even set up municipal plans together (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012:819).

But if we shift this to broader perspective in terms of general immigration. Burgoon argues (2014:365-367) that immigration is a risk, economically for the host country since immigrants who come to European countries are less educated, while at the same time searching for employments in sectors that are already at its capacity. But I argue that not every immigrant who wants to be employed in a different country has a degree in medicine and the Lisbon treaty, is the very reason why the treaty exists, to be able to get out of poverty, even if you lack a degree. For his methods, Burgoon used surveys in an ordinal approach and had statements such as: “Government should reduce differences in income” the respondents had to answer with a number from 1 to 5. 1 was strongly disagree and 5 was to strongly agree (Burgoon 2014:377).

Gehring (2013:27) points out that one of the negative effects concerning article 45 from the Lisbon treaty is that free movement between borders does not necessarily apply every to European citizen. From her data, which was collected from the European Commission and conducted by the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), shows that the Roma are the most disliked ethnic group in Europe (FRA Roma EU citizens:2009). It is argued that even though the European Union has implemented the Roma framework, if the European Union fails to address and mend anti – Gypsyism while not calling out some of its member states, the European Union might end up losing its legitimacy (Gehring 2013:27).

My claim here is that this is not a guarantee either, especially if we look at Webber (2014) who pointed out that the European Union has faced a lot of challenges and has overcome crisis after crisis. How harsh it sounds; the European Union will not end up in a crisis for not mending and addressing Anti – Gypsyism.

It can, on the other hand, raise a normative crisis, and from that, the European Union's legitimacy might be questioned. But what are the remedies that can prevent these types of outcomes and generate a better standard for each involved party? Matache (2017:603) argues in her conclusion that the Roma and non – Roma need policies that are entwined in and for both groups, and from that, will the parties be able to close the gap between each other. For her methods, Matache (2017:589) used interviews, reports, surveys and evaluations. Her approach is overwhelming, and it can be a bit too much for a bachelor's thesis given the time spectrum. But, let us incorporate the evaluation of the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2018) and Iusmen (2018) into this debate.

To start with, the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, is about to reach its destination and because of this an evaluation report of the Roma framework was conducted. For an example, education sees an improvement divided into several categories. Strong improvement on education is 10%, *slight improvement* is 39%. However, 38% of the Roma answered this as a no change (Roma Framework evaluation 2018:2). This goes back to the idea that, colossal help has been there to aid the Roma, yet, the evaluation report says otherwise, why is that? This leads us to Iusmen (2018) who calls for an integrated, holistic approach for both parties involved.

She goes on to argue that European Roma policy in general, lacks the ability to acknowledge and thereby fails to *target anti – gypsyism*, this because it is, inevitably the root cause of the Roma and the marginalization they face (Iusmen 2018:434 – 435). Iusmen's (2018:428) empirical findings were drawn from qualitative interviews with both the Roma and European officials. She also used primary and secondary analysis through triangulation to validate her work. Two things can be considered here, if treating anti – gypsyism as one obstacle (Iusmen 2018) and Matache's (2017) view on the inclusion of Roma and non – Roma working together for a common goal, the thesis can grasp of what is needed to be one. This can potentially be showed in the Malmö Model, which does exactly what is mentioned above.

By moving on and altering our focus towards the Roma and Sweden. The thesis can share a prescriptive, normative approach on what can be achieved in the section below.

2.3. The Malmö Model

Sweden, in comparison to other European countries, lacked colonial roots which led to a homogenous society. Moreover, minority languages were considered less and less favorable all the way up until the early 1990's (Atikcan 2010:385 – 386).

In 1995 Sweden appointed a minority language committee, this committee created a report in December 1997 which called for two things: Firstly, a ratification of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the other, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. This led to acknowledging three languages as national minority languages: Sami, Finnish and Romani Chib (Atikcan 2010:385 – 386). In 1999 the Swedish government passed a bill that would acknowledge two new national minority languages, apart from the three mentioned above, the two new additions were Meänkieli and Yiddish. This also paved the way for the five groups to be recognized as historical minorities (Atikcan 2010:385 – 386).

Apart from this debate, Atikcan (2010:376) aims to show two approaches from a single comparative framework between European member states and candidate countries. He does this because the comparison between the member and candidate countries is more effective since the European Union does not have legislating power on the candidate countries. Atikcan's approaches are two-fold (2010:376), on the one hand, the European candidate countries triggers the top – down approach on minority languages and policies, whereas the European member states, triggers the bottom – up approach through a boomerang pattern and thus, providing new theoretical knowledge. Another example from the bottom – up approach can be seen in Sweden. In this case Sweden is a member state of the European Union.

In 2009, Sweden created Roma information- and knowledge center in Malmö. The center (RIKC), started as a governmental financed project for Roma issues. One year later and Malmö municipality took over the project from the government and in 2012, RIKC became a permanent organ in Malmö municipality. Apart from Roma issues, the aim is to strengthen Roma participation within the Swedish society. More interestingly, the reason as to why RIKC has become a cornerstone for both the Roma and non – Roma in Sweden is due to their ability to implement a certain theory; the Malmö Model (Halilovic 2015:352).

The Malmö model is an interdisciplinary holistic approach and was created together with Roma civil servants of Malmö Municipality when they sat down and interviewed approximately 300 Roma who, at that time was residing in Malmö City. The method for this was that 55% were female Roma and 45% were male Roma in the ages between 18 – 65. Apart from this, the participants for the interviews was a heterogenous group divided into the many different type of Roma that were in Malmö at that time. Only one group was missing: The Finnish – Swedish Roma since these Roma tend to live in the northern parts of Sweden rather than the south (Halilovic 2015:354).

The answers from the 300 interviewees was then divided into 4 different categories in order to pinpoint the answers. Psychology is the first category and it talks about issues related towards lack of acknowledgement, lack of participation and low self – esteem. The analysis according to the Malmö Model (Halilovic 2015:358) was that the Roma experienced that the majority saw them as immature, incompetent and culturally, someone who seemed to be exotic. Sociology was the second and is related to inclusion and expulsion. The answers provided her was socio – economic factors, norms and culture. Main issues with the Roma here was to address the Roma female dress code. The female Roma argued that the dress code (wearing a skirt for an example) should not equal towards someone being left out or be portrayed as unnatural (Halilovic 2015:358).

The third, History were in accordance with lack of rights and institutional protection and a strong “Us and them” mentality. According to the interviewees, they argued that the Roma were lacking certain rights, they felt that the majority society exercised an “us and them” mentality. Moreover, the Roma, to this day, is the only minority to not have any historical ruins that could be tied towards them and the frustration for the majority society not recognizing the oppression they had gone through over the course of history (Halilovic 2015:358). The last category, philosophy was regarding their own personal identity and tackled questions such as “Who am I?”, “How can we all live together?” and “Who are the others in this globalized world?”

The interviewees responded, that it is all about one thing: They just wanted to be seen as normal, regular Swedish citizens, who happen to be Roma as well. That they were fed up with being the “others” in a society (Halilovic 2015:361). The Malmö Model ends with the idea to create a new “us” or a new “we” where everyone is included and recognized (not only the Roma) and that the human rights are upheld and respected equally from all parties involved and from this, create a new society that is safe for everyone (Halilovic 2015:361). This can be connected back to Iusmen (2018) and Matache (2017) where the Malmö model shows how integration, respect towards identity and how a holistic approach can be best used.

This I would argue, is the pinnacle of how a society should operate. For obvious reasons, this method might not be perfect, but it does so much more than just implementing a strategy, hoping to change the future over the course of 9 years if we are to compare the fact that the Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2011) strives to do so. Moreover, with Matache’s (2017) argument about involving Roma and non – Roma together with Iusmen (2018) holistic approach, shows what can be achieved.

In addition to this, Iusmen (2018:438) argues that the European Union should do less, but better. I agree with this claim; however, more power should be exercised towards the European member states from the European Union. Because if we look back at the two aspects Bulmer and Joseph mentioned (2016:734) where the projects are contested with political and economical motivations. But also, that member states want to implement their domestic political and social view into a wider context.

I argue that the European Union should monitor its member states more and exercise power by demanding more and expecting better. Sweden, is obviously a strong case and we cannot expect that every member state would be able to implement or achieve these types of successes, given that we have to remember the economic, social and cultural factor, but it should, at the very least serve as an example for other member states. Looking back at Matache's argument about closing gaps (2017), it is important to mention that in order to close "the regular" gaps, the thesis addresses the norms gaps as well. This will be highlighted in the following section.

2.4. Norm gaps between Roma and Non – Roma

If there exists a gap between Roma and non – Roma, can the same rule be applied in terms of norm gaps? According to Búzás (2018:351) development and advancement towards a legalization and social norms is highly celebrated in the International Relations scene. In addition to this, Búzás develops a theory (2018) trying to explain why norm violations exists, especially after states have implemented the new law which ultimately leads down to norm gaps. He argues that legalizing international norms into international law creates these norm – law gaps .In theory, this means that someone can abide the law but still violate the underlying norms, which he argues is evasive behavior, thereby arguing for evasion theory (Búzás 2018:352 – 353).

Method – wise, Búzás uses different types of them, among of these are two case studies where the first one focuses on the years of 2008 – 2016 and France's expulsion of Roma immigrants and the second focuses on the Czech Republic's Roma children who have mild mental ability and end up segregated from regular school between the years 1993 – 2016. From this, he also uses 143 semi structured interviews based on people with legal expertise, human rights knowledge and people who have knowledge or work experience with the Roma. This because he believes he will be able to capture the norm gaps.

Lastly, apart from secondary sources and opinion polls he also implements a discourse analysis of 1451 texts (Búzás 2018:353). He further continues to expand his use of discourse analysis by explaining that he chose two newspapers and two leadership speeches from the Czech Republic, France, Germany and United Kingdom. From the newspaper's perspective, he chose open ended letters from two types of non – tabloid newspapers with the highest popularity among its citizens. Furthermore, he also took political related letter from each newspaper on the 15th of every month (Búzás 2018:363). After the analysis, he created three types of categories that had linkage towards norms in either way.

For his analysis, he used equal treatment, equal opportunity and equal outcomes, he then proceeded to combine everything mentioned above and got following: Equal treatment showed high levels of support from all methods conducted. Equal opportunity had insufficient amount of data from the discourse analysis. The overall support for each category summed up gathered from the methods showed the following: High support for equal treatment, moderate to high on equal opportunity and equal outcomes showed low to moderate (Búzás 2018:365).

However, my argument here is that this should be rephrased, since if one method fails to show enough amount of data and the rest show moderate to high, it does not necessarily mean that the support for equal opportunity is moderate to high. I would have put just moderate and explain my reasons why. This because I wat to show, more of a critical and transparent approach. Because of this, I claim that when applying three different methods and one coming up short, or in Búzás case *insufficient*, it just suggests that he is optimistic rather than critical in his findings. Regarding norms, before a norm is considered a norm, actors must share those same characteristics that shape a norm, this is what Finnemore and Sikkink argue (1998), which leads us down to this thesis first theory. Social constructivism.

2.5. Social Constructivism

Human evolution and knowledge are socially constructed, or so the theory of social constructivism goes. In order to establish a counterbalanced approach to other dominant international relations theories, social constructivism rose through the heights in the 80's and early 1990's (Hoffman 2010). Because of this, the study of norms in the modern era and the study of social norms are parts of social structure. By understanding how they emerge and their dynamics, the thesis can draw better inferences. According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1998:888) norms have an important role in political change, since the norms themselves can change and shape the political landscape.

Furthermore, the definition of a norm is “a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity” (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998:891). A norm becomes a norm when several actors must share those same characteristics to shape a norm. Since norms can shape the political landscape they can, by that definition be part of the life cycle of norms, that is what Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) argue. An important point on the other hand is that norms cannot be global, but they can be regional.

Furthermore, they explain a three – stage process that starts off with “norm emergence”. Norm emergence is influenced by what Finnemore and Sikkink refer to “norm entrepreneurs”, and these entrepreneurs are the ones that try to establish what norms are, so the states, or leaders can grasp these new norms. This is then followed by “norm cascade”, this is where states convince other states to approve of the “new norm”. Before we add the last stage into this, it must be mentioned that the first two phases are separated by a “tripping point” where actors and states approve the norm by, for an example pressure or to boost international legitimation. Lastly, when the norm cascade has been cemented “norm institutionalization” starts, from here on, the norm is no longer part of the debate but rather part of the wide public (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998:895).

Interestingly, this process is further elaborated by Lantis (2016) who conducts a study on norms and the dynamic change. He does this by implementing a critical constructivist perspective on the norm life cycle and claims that norms can change at the hands of greater powers. He claims that, while agents assume the role of protectors of norms, political leaders with power, in powerful countries, can also play the role of norm entrepreneurs. The reason for this, is because political leaders are participating in domestic political discourses to norm commitments. Hence, states can change their behavior, and even though there is always some form of a legitimacy behind this, they are still bound by certain guidelines.

This type of approach does not necessarily steer away from the norms but instead the constructivist framework prides itself in the idea that political leaders are part of debates that are related to prescribed and normative ideas (Lantis 2016:387). Furthermore, Lantis claims in his article that he wants to propose new ways of legitimate frames for understanding problems. He evaluates this with two steps, by redefining the norm parameters in the domestic political arena. This means that redefinition usually happens by policy debates and articulation, which from here, raises the norm questions of normative usefulness or normative legitimacy. In addition, by adding the constructive norm substitution in a multilayered diplomatic approach thereby legitimizes a new norm frame.

Meaning that political leaders tries to persuade other leaders for the new norm frame in diplomatic arenas for growing policy discourse. This process usually happens when western leaders try to encourage the other side in terms of reaching a policy consensus in the clash of existing norms (Lantis 2016:388). For his conclusion, Lantis (2016:396) suggests that norms are upheld by greater leaders, but they are also the one who becomes changed by these norms. In highlight towards domestic politics, norms and constructivism, if we look at Miškolci et al (2017), their article investigated how two polices regarding education, constructed the Roma and non – Roma. They argue that the Roma and their inclusion lies on the challenges about negative social construction. Their stance on this, is because their study used two qualitative research methods, document analysis and focus groups.

They wanted to critically examine how public policy documents impact the Roma and understanding what needs to be done to improve the situation. The authors did this by applying the concept of “social construction” (Miškolci et al 2017:71 – 74). The article analyzed the volumes of written data from the two methods and then identified five descriptive codes, the codes were then put into topic codes that were categorized into broader topics, reaching a conclusion about reducing inequalities and how complicated it might seem (Miškolci et al 2017:74&85). Carta (2019) on the other hand, discusses the three main International Relations theories from the perspective of discourse analysis in her analytical essay. Those are Poststructuralism, critical realism and the most important for this thesis: constructivism. Carta (2019:91) explains the general ideas about constructivism and methodological tools, these include communicative action, cultural change and speech acts.

In its core, constructivism, as a method, is about the questions on meaning, but Carta (2019) is keen to point out that constructivism can lose its effect if analyzing a huge amount of texts. Lastly, Carta shows and compares the three theories in terms of ontological, epistemological and methodological tendencies. From the methodological perspective, Carta argues that one should combine qualitative methods (Carta 2019:87). I agree with this statement however; I would rather see a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods but with more emphasis on the qualitative. Moreover, constructivism is anything but a homogenous method, this is taken from Price and Reus – Smit (1998) where it is argued that Constructivism has epistemological differences. These are, conventional, interpretative and critical.

The interpretative section focuses on the role of language and mediating social reality. Constructivism from the interpretive, epistemological perspective emphasize the knowledge and definitions about norms, this is Carta and Morin’s argument (2014:300).

Interestingly, in terms of approaches, constructivism is an ideational one, because constructivism rather wants cooperation instead of power. Korsgaard (2003:116 cited in Carta & Morin 2014:301) argues that normative concepts are the solutions of problems and that discourse moves beyond the material aspect of society and structure of individual interests. But the structure of individual interests must come from something, and for the thesis, as mentioned earlier, will be by applying communitarianism because this thesis wants to implement the normative ideas, claiming that communitarianism will thus, shed more light into the matter.

Looking back at Finnemore and Sikkink again (1998) they talk about a two – level game that is occurring, which in this sense means that norms whether domestic or international are linked to one another. Therefore, norms are understood as guidelines and expectations for a certain *identity* and *norm diffusion* in particular *communities* which leads down to communitarianism.

2.6. Communitarianism

Communitarianism rose as an opposed idea towards liberalism, because in liberalism, it is the individual that is the focus of the moral approach, unlike communitarianism who has its focus on a community or a collective. If Social constructivism serves as a base foundation for understanding norms and identity, communitarianism then, is what makes those ideas manifest. Moreover, communitarianism is a flexible theory, given its conservative approach, this will be shown below.

Looking at Larsen, who wants to investigate whether Normative Power Europe is based on the Habermasian philosophy or if it is the Derridean perspective. From Habermas, it is argued that the European Union drives on universal values and rights which opposes the European – Communitarian values (Larsen 2014:425). Larsen continues his argument explaining that European norms are not solely focused towards a communitarian value but are rather universal and fundamental values (Larsen 2014:425). However, the Derridean perspective suggests that the European Union's own construction in discourse as a normative power, can only be a normative power if it is considered to be acceptable in international politics.

On the other hand, if it is not, the European Union will only be part of a discursive struggle in the International scene. Moreover, the Derridean approach argues that the European Union's background does not stem from the historical context but rather from the very idea of how the European Union is constructing itself amongst the international actors.

In addition to this, the Derridean approach has two significant elements. To start with, normative European power is a battle about meaning, that take place in International Relations, this has to do with actors promoting possible values from their constructions of their own personal identities (Larsen 2014:426). Given this, the European Union cannot be regarded as a normative power since the harmonic existence between communitarian and cosmopolitan values.

The reason is that cosmopolitan values exists from values that acts via discursive battles for hegemony. Secondly, the European Union construct their own discursive identity as a normative power which is thereby defined in their opposition towards international “others”. However, there is nothing constructed in their articulation that would serve the European Union international power. Larsen (2014:426) claims that the European Union is only a normative power when others see it as a normative power, which would give the European Union a legitimate approach in international debates. But how does communitarianism portray itself from the individual perspectives then?

As mentioned just above, communitarianism can be built on many different foundations and factors. Foundations such as nationalism, religion or a *collective identity*. Those ideas, according to communitarianism comes from the community itself. The individuals should abide and act accordingly towards the community and what it stands for. We might be able to think for ourselves, but the values and rationality comes from the community (Manzini 2018). Although, Manzini’s article is about gender and LGBTQ+ rights, she does have some interesting key points.

Manzini (2018:20) mentions balance, that the balance within the community is achieved when the individual understands and accepts the norms. As such, Thomassen (2006:2 cited in Larsen 2014:423) mentions that norms cannot be universal and that norms are somewhere, somehow, always based on communitarian values. This is important for the Roma and thus, important for this thesis as well. The Roma define themselves through the collective and the collective define their identities. From communitarianism, it can now be easier to comprehend both the theory and the Roma by combining the two of them. Communitarianism claims that shared beliefs shape the individual and thus, the community becomes important (Lang 2015:35).

The individual should prioritize these values first and foremost even if it costs the individual their own opinion in the matter. For me, as a Roma, this is true for the Roma communities. However, I can only write about what I personally know.

One aspect here, is not about the idea of taking drastic measures and alienate one person, but the Roma community bases its values on being “safe” The Roma, given the extensive discrimination and alienation from the non – Roma, paves the way for the Roma and the community to be about keeping the collective safe. If I, as a Roma decide to trust non – Roma, I do so by risking the safe keeping of other Roma, belonging in the same community. Given this, I argue that the lack of distrust between the Roma and non – Roma needs to be handled. This can be backed up by looking at Nagy (2018) where she applied three methods in the field of ethnography. She investigated the mobility on the Roma and selected four countries to create a sampling frame. She then interviewed around 300 Roma migrants both online and in person through the snowballing effect, she also observed organizations.

In addition to this, she applied structured interviews on workers in advocacy and then had them reflect on her preliminary findings (Nagy 2018: 131 – 132). What is interesting here, is how some of the interviewees, who were Roma themselves, expressed hate towards the Roma. They either changed their names to be “less Roma” or even denied that they were Roma. It is also mentioned that some of the Roma did not necessarily belong to any local Roma communities. Lastly, Nagy argues that the Roma situation was not due to Anti – Gypsyism but rather by the national communitarian values (Nagy 2018: 136 – 137). I mentioned the clash of identities, that it is not about who is right or wrong but rather a misunderstanding between the Roma and non – Roma. However, I will claim that Anti – Gypsyism is still part of this as well.

Given the extensive debate regarding this, it is not so much about excluding one term from the other, but instead understanding and acknowledging Anti – Gypsyism, communitarian values and different identities. Given this, the literature review has been presented, it is important to illuminate what will be gathered and placed into the methodological section. By highlighting this in an elaborated effort, will give the thesis a better understanding of what the thesis will try to implement. In the next section, the following findings from the literature review are presented below in respect towards the research question.

2.7. Elaborated aim and research question

With the literature now presented, a few things can be clarified and be elaborated. Essentially, the core of the thesis, is to provide a normative, prescribed idea of how the European Union ought to tackle certain issues. For the thesis, it is about; What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism?

But before the European Union even tries to take care of the matter presented in the thesis, it is worth mentioning the challenges mentioned earlier in the beginning of the literature review. When domestic politics steer into a different direction, integration will become affected by this and this must be recognized by the European Union, not for the Roma only, but for European policy – making in general. This is what Bulmer and Joseph (2016:744) emphasize. Another alarming issue is the one Webber mentioned (2014:358 – 359), that domestic politics is the main weakness of European politics and through that integration as well. This is true, but there is also another truth to this in the domestic political spectrum.

As weak as domestic politics can be on the European Union, they can become equally strong from the perspective of a double – edged sword. Indeed, there is a risk for populist agendas to be embedded into this and thereby affect the regular European citizen, much like Webber argues for (2014:359). But if the European Union can be exposed to populist views it can, from the other spectrum be exposed to interdisciplinary holistic approaches as well. One clear example for this is to look at how Sweden did it and their Roma Information- and Knowledge Center. Given this, the thesis aim, apart from providing a prescriptive approach, has also become to encourage the European Union to look at examples that are not only better, but beneficial whether it is minority politics or general European policy – making.

Before the thesis moves into the methodological chapter, it will do so, by presenting the challenges and limitations. This is to show transparency towards the thesis and to inform readers that the thesis is aware of what the possible flaws are.

2.8. Limitations

The thesis intends to highlight some key notions that should be taken into consideration in terms of limitations and possible restrictions I claim that this is good sportsmanship. To begin with, the thesis only addresses three different, yet almost the same documents. On the broad surface of things, these documents might raise the same questions and answers, which can evolve into irrelevance.

However, as mentioned earlier, Carta (2019) argues that, from the constructivist approach, the theory can lose its effect if analyzing a tremendous amount of texts. That is also one of the main reasons why the thesis only focuses on three documents. Even though the documents might be limited due to their sibling nature, from the theoretical perspective, the thesis does exactly what is expected from it, namely not losing the efficiency on too many texts.

Another limitation is the very idea of the interpretivist approach. For better and for worse, what I interpret might not be the same for the very next researcher. However, this is avoided by the idea of searching, coding and analyzing the same type of words and flexions in all the documents, by doing it that way, it can reduce the far-reaching arguments of the interpretivist approach. Moreover, instead of focusing on either quantitative or qualitative methods, the thesis chose to incorporate the two of them and build upon the foundations gathered from the quantitative approach. This cements the idea further by avoiding the far-reaching conclusions and answers. With the limitations and expectations presented, the thesis can move on to the methodology chapter.

3. Methodology

If integration is fueled by domestic political strategies with the elites behind the cogwheel, then the method will start from this point of view. Given that political leaders are part of the prescribed normative ideas, the thesis will thus, look at documents that explicitly comes from the elites. Given that I want to provide a prescriptive approach for the European Union and not only the Roma but other minorities as well. Because of this, the research question is: What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism? Given what is claimed, the thesis will thus engage in Discourse Analysis, because to understand what is happening in Europe and why, is to know *what* to look for in the context of methodological choice and prescribed solution.

However, the thesis will implement discourse analysis with both quantitative and qualitative data, but more emphasis will lie on the qualitative approach. The next section begins with answering what the data collected for the thesis is, how it has been collected and how it will be analyzed. After this, the section ends with the actual decisions that led to the thesis intentions of applying discourse analysis from the inspiration of the literature review. So, in what is presented next, is the start of the thesis future analytical chapter.

3.1. Intentions and approaches forward

For the upcoming analysis, the method for this thesis will be both quantitative and qualitative. However, more emphasis will be on the qualitative part. Since Carta (2019) points out that constructivism can lose its meaning when deciding to analyze a tremendous amount of texts. For this reason and in respect towards constructivism, I will focus on three documents.

The thesis approach is also strengthened by Carta’s approach (2019), but there are also two important points that requires attention. The first point is that the documents are connected to the European Union and the Commission in any given way. The second point is the coding approach. After reading the three documents, a word list was created with 22 words. The words are displayed below:

Anti – Gypsyism	Child	Cooperation	Developed	Discrimination
Education	Effective	Employers	Empowering	Excluded
Health	Housing	Improve	Include	Integrating
Involve	Participate	Progress	Racism	Rights
	Should		Society	

The reason for choosing these words relates back to the literature review combined with the reading of the three documents. From Iusmen’s (2018) perspective, Anti – Gypsyism is the first and most important word. Given her argument about European Roma policy and lack of acknowledgement to Anti – Gypsyism. The following 20 words apart from “Should” and “Anti – Gypsyism”, is taken from all the three documents, combined. The word “Should” however, is taken on the premises of the thesis prescriptive approach. The word alone will most likely not have a bearing meaning when coded, but for expanding the research approach, it will be interesting to see what it will generate.

It is also worth mentioning that the words coded also catered towards flexions in the brackets above. These could be anything from “Child, children and child – sensitive” and so forth. Moreover, the documents to be analyzed are: The evaluation of the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategy up to 2020 (2018), then it is the European Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2011). The last document is the the final report of the midterm evaluation of the Roma framework (2018b) Now, I mentioned earlier the second key point, but I just touched upon it. To further elaborate on this, the words will be coded in a quantitative discourse analysis first.

The frequencies then, will be showcased in bar graphs with the corresponding amount in the analysis chapter. In this way, the documents coded will have a universal matter in terms of the same word being coded in all three different documents. The aim for this is to show from the quantitative analysis section, a black and white approach, given its numerical values. From this, the thesis can look for what it entails in terms of a qualitative notion which should generate knowledge on what ought to be done and set the foundation for the qualitative analysis. For the actual coding program, it will be used in Textstat because of two reasons.

Firstly, it is a free coding program, this makes the whole research process easier in terms of money. Secondly, textstat, is a beginner friendly introduction into the whole science of coding, which is a good start. Moreover, textstat was found in Halperin and Heath' (2017:351). There are numerous inspirations for this approach, and I will consider Bulmer's and Joseph's argument (2016) about articulation, by drawing strength from Iusmen (2018) and Matache (2017), the thesis can take something from the elites, which in this case, are the three official European documents.

From Búzás (2018) it is the knowledge behind discourse analysis and the norm gaps that is gathered and then combined with Miškolci et al (2017:71 – 74), since the thesis wants to understand, improve and propose a prescriptive approach. From the theoretical perspective, it is social constructivism. Given that Carta (2019:91) elaborates on the ideas about constructivism and method. That it lies in the communicative action, cultural change and speech acts, because constructivism is asking the questions on and about meaning. More importantly, by having a prescribed agenda, constructivism rather sees cooperation instead of power (Korsgaard 2003:116 cited in Carta & Morin 2014:301). But also, because like Price and Reus – Smit write about (1998), constructivism is anything but a homogenous method.

By keeping Lantis ideas in mind about norms (2016:396), which are upheld by greater leaders, leads to further justification of the reasons why the thesis aims for a prescribed agenda. This because states can change their norms and from that, their behavior. But these norms must be manifested before they can start the process of change, this will be achieved by applying communitarianism. Given the analytical chapter, the thesis will try to pinpoint whether normative European power is based on the Habermasian approach or the Derridean perspective, this gives the thesis a fleshed-out appearance.

With this, the thesis will argue for one of these approaches as well. Lastly, by addressing the misunderstanding between the Roma and non – Roma given what Nagy mentions (2018: 136 – 137). She claims that it is not about Anti – Gypsyism, instead, it is the national communitarian values which gives rise to the clash of identities leading to misunderstandings between the Roma and non – Roma. I argue that it is not about excluding one term from the other, however, the misunderstanding between the Roma and non – Roma is because of communitarian and national communitarian values but this also paves the way for Anti – Gypsyism. Given all this mentioned, the thesis has shown in what ways I intend to move forward and under what circumstances. Which, in what follows below is the thesis start of the analysis.

4. Analysis

The analysis will begin with a quantitative discourse analysis with three official European documents. As earlier, the following words below in the bracket will be coded. More so, the words coded, also had the flexions in mind and put them into perspective as well, the flexions could be anything from “Child, children and child – sensitive” and so forth. The word frequencies were then put in a bar chart and will be showcased in the next section. The chart was done in meta – chart (meta-chart.com).

Anti – Gypsyism	Child	Cooperation	Developed	Discrimination
Education	Effective	Employers	Empowering	Excluded
Health	Housing	Improve	Include	Integrating
Involve	Participate	Progress	Racism	Rights
	Should		Society	

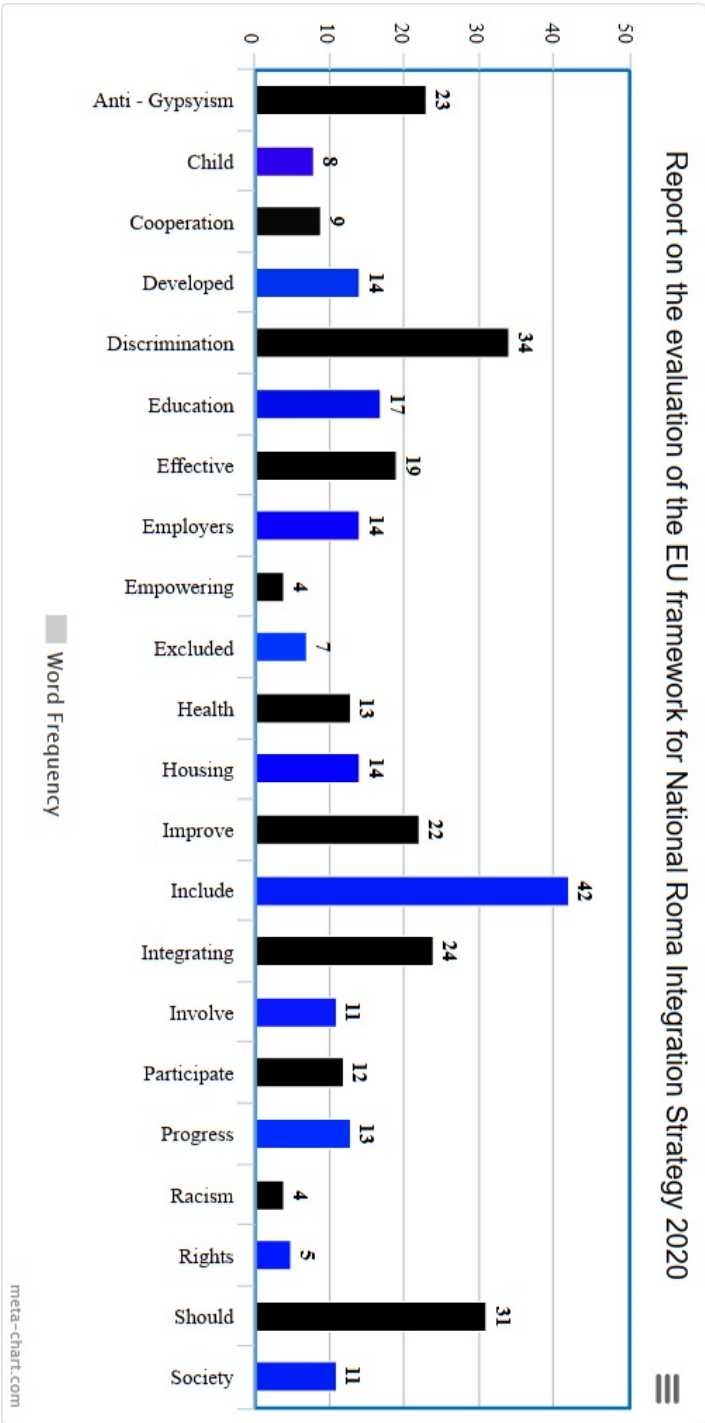
The aim for the quantitative discourse analysis is to create a foundation to be able to build further upon the qualitative section. By doing so, the thesis will be able to reduce the far-reaching arguments of the interpretivist approach. As mentioned earlier, the inspiration for this comes from Bulmer’s and Joseph’s argument (2016) about articulation, it draws further strength from by Iusmen (2018) and Matache (2017), thereby taking something from the elites, which will be the European documents. With this idea now cemented, the next section starts with the analysis of the report on the evaluation of the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategy 2020 (2018).

4.1. Quantitative Discourse Analysis

The first document that was put into textstat was the report on the evaluation of the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategy 2020 (2018). In its form, it is easy to understand. The first bar graph shows all the words in an alphabetical order, this will be the same for all the upcoming graphs. The document consisted of 4445 words and when the frequencies were all counted together, they had 351 repetitions all together.

In a quick glance, the graph shows that the word include was the most repeated word with 42 frequencies, this also has the flexions of the word include, such as included, including and inclusive. Furthermore, the lowest repeated words were racism and empowering. Both racism and empowerment had a low repetition of 4 counted words, each. The second biggest word count was the word discrimination, the flexions for this the document also had anti – discrimination and discriminated.

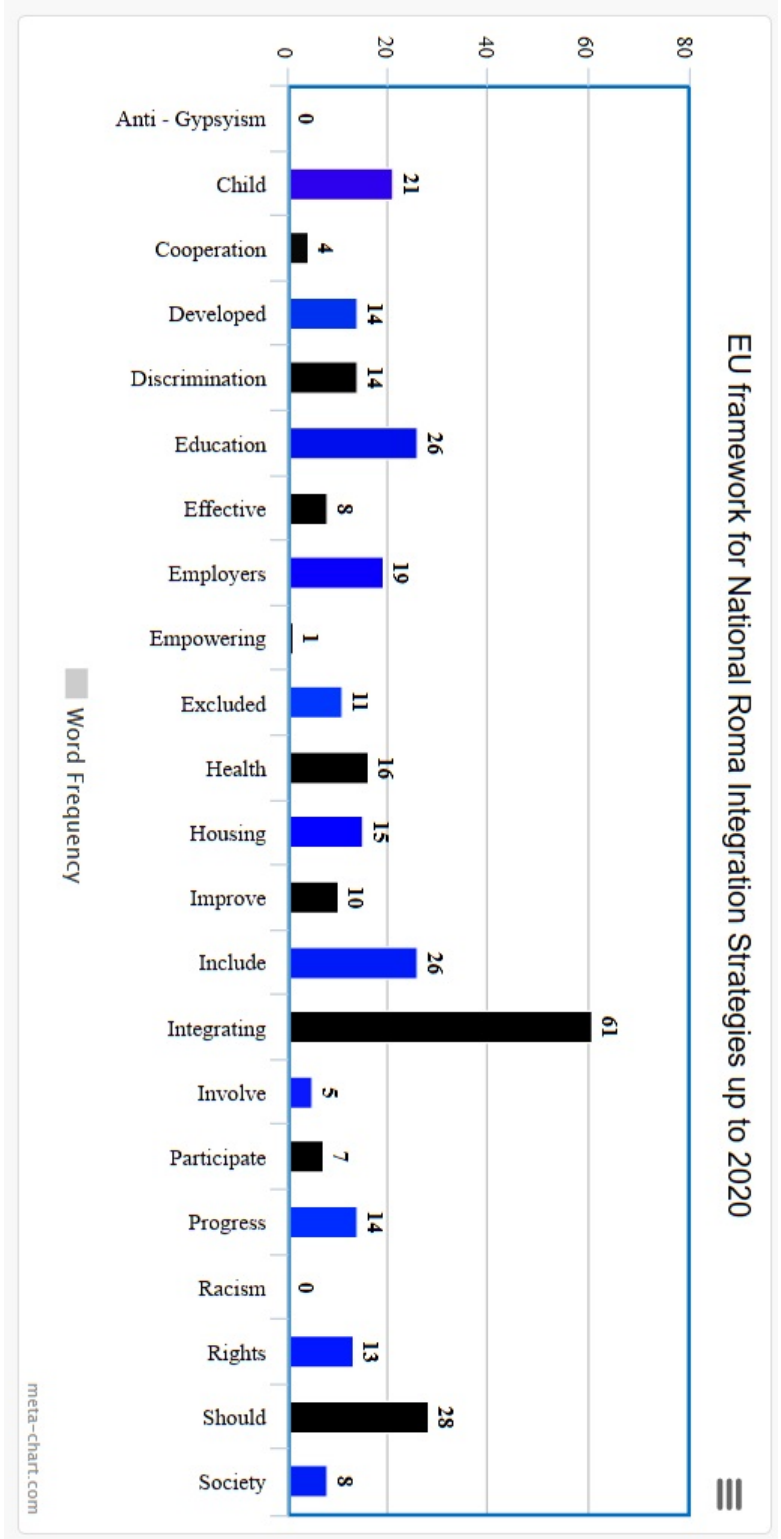
Anti – Gypsyism is addressed here as well, but not on the same level as discrimination and this is important to note. For two reasons. But these reasons are linked into the second graph.



The second document to be coded was the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2011). I mentioned that Anti – Gypsyism was repeated to some extent but that the reason for these came in two. Firstly, this is the document that started everything and with that, there must be some understanding regarding this. For instance, the emphasis lies on integration, and had a repeated word frequency of 61 times. Secondly, it shows the progress being made in terms of recognition from this document being linked back to the first document. This is shown specifically in the bar graph. When the EU framework for Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2011) was created, there was no acknowledgement regarding Anti – Gypsyism nor was there any emphasis on racism either.

This shows that the European Union understood, to some extent, the flaws the framework had. Interestingly, the most emphasis on integration is another key element. When the framework was created the European Union took for granted that if the Roma only integrate themselves, all the problems the Roma have, would suddenly be solved. Obviously, integration, education and inclusion are all crucial mechanisms when trying to make peoples day – to – day lives better. But on the other hand, the answer is not that simple either. In terms of numbers, this document consisted 4985 words, their repeated frequency had 321 words total.

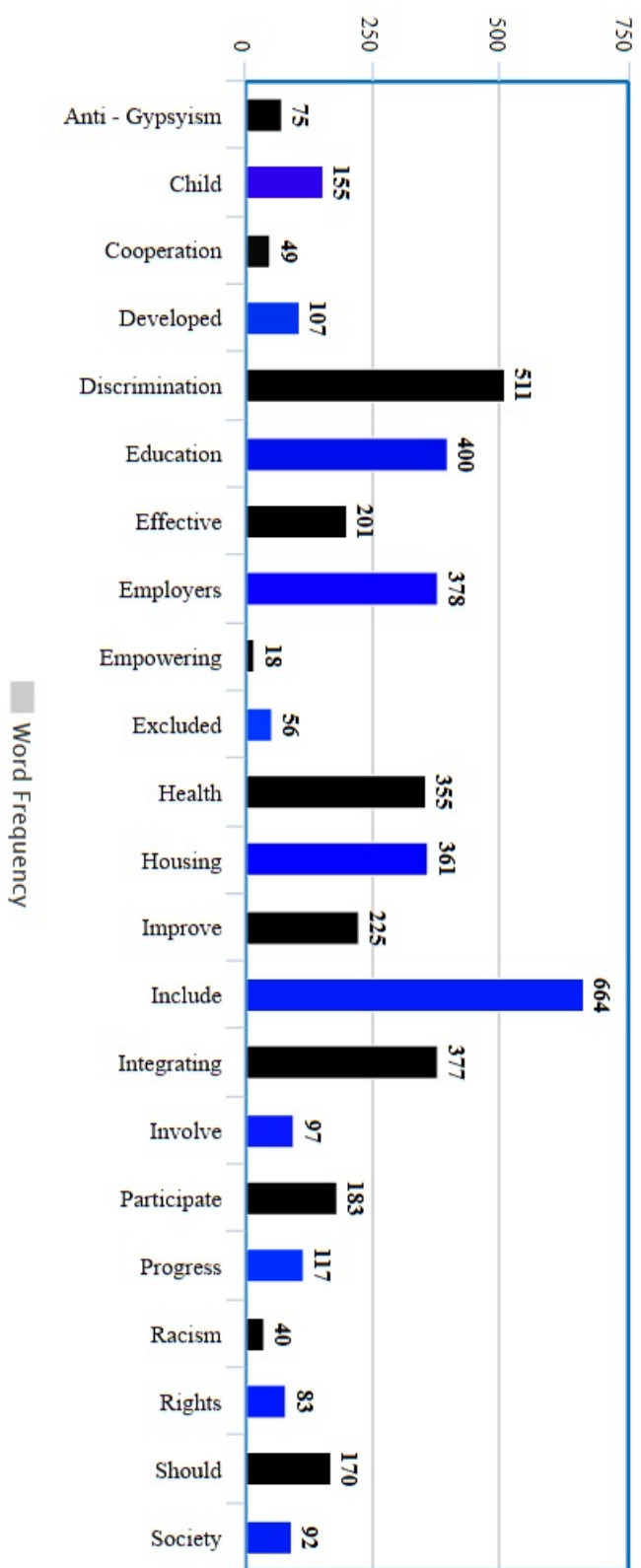
But what is more interestingly, this does not stop here in terms of raised question marks. The next graph to be presented is also the most extensive one and is the executive summary for national Roma integration(2018b).



The executive summary for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020 (2018b) had a total wordcount of 93588 words. This boiled down to 4648 repeated frequencies for all the words that I searched for. In the graph below, the word inclusion had the most amount of repeated frequencies, together with the corresponding flexions. The word inclusion was repeated 664 times. The second most repeated word, as the graph shows, was the word discrimination.

I mentioned earlier that in the graph above, that it necessarily did not stop there and looking at Anti – Gypsyism yet again, shows a daunting perspective from the quantitative perspective. Anti – Gypsyism had a frequency of only 75 times in comparison to discrimination which has 511. This means that *only* 0,08% of the whole 93588 words in this document was dedicated towards Anti – Gypsyism. Furthermore, by comparing it only towards the total words repeated which was 4648 repeated frequencies, the thesis gets the following: 1,61%. In the graph below, approaching this within a black and white manner, it becomes highly interesting that for an instance, integration was more emphasized than Anti – Gypsyism.

Executive summary of the key conclusions of the mid-term evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies



But discrimination is essentially universal, in that sense that it can discriminate against anyone and anything. Regardless of age, sex or gender, everyone can discriminate and be discriminated. Anti – Gypsyism however, is racism and discrimination the Roma specifically face on the one premise, that they are Roma. As mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, Anti – Gypsyism also highlights the definition by recognizing the attitudes and negative expressions towards the Roma. But it has also evolved into a wider spectrum for defining Anti – Gypsyism in terms of more discrimination definitions.

This is important for the difference between discrimination and Anti – Gypsyism. If the European Union acknowledges discrimination *and* Anti – Gypsyism then it must be on the rule that they are different. With this, the thesis has created a foundation for the qualitative discourse analysis. Which was shown in a black and white manner, the thesis will thus begin its qualitative discourse analysis. Given this, the thesis strives to uncover hidden meanings in the documents mentioned and apply the prescribed idea.

4.2. Qualitative Discourse Analysis

The qualitative discourse analysis will follow the same path in terms of showcasing hidden meanings, as such, the qualitative discourse analysis begins with the first document, which was the same document in the quantitative section as well.

Worth mentioning before the analysis starts off, is that after the coding was initially finished, I went back to textstat and opened the concordance in the program and started to look for citations that was shown in the bar graphs. From the first document I picked the following words: Anti – Gypsyism, discrimination, include and racism. Bear in mind that some of these words are often together within the same citation. The three first words were chosen on the basis that they were the three top repeated frequencies while racism was the lowest.

In accordance with the thesis research question, which is “What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism?” Some things will start to shed light as to why, Anti – Gypsyism is still an occurring issue but nevertheless, there will be some minor proposition in how to mend Anti – Gypsyism both from the citations that will be mentioned below and from the thesis perspective. With this, the first quote is presented below:

“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* [Emphasis added] to play a bigger role in measures fighting antigypsyism” (Roma Framework evaluation 2018:2)

A quick Google search on stakeholders from the European perspective related to the Roma are people that have authority statuses, they are also the intermediate bodies on both regional and national levels. Moreover, they are also the local and regional entities in both civil societies and organizations that have experience in the European Structural and Investment Funds (EU Roma). In other words, they are the non – Roma. What is interesting here is that these stakeholders acknowledge not only Anti – Gypsyism but anti – racism and anti – discrimination legislation as well. The stakeholders work under the European Union organs, but they are not European officials per se, which gives rise to the idea that the higher European officials are waiting for the people under them to provide and create better opportunities. Furthermore, the emphasis on the word *expected* is important.

Because in that sense, the European Union is expecting member states to have a big part in combating Anti – Gypsyism, but the European Union is not *demanding* it, which is what the European Union ought to do, given to the very idea that a framework strategy has been implemented. However, this is somewhat corrected further into the document:

“in stakeholder discussions, such as the European Platform for Roma Inclusion or the High Level Group on combatting racism and xenophobia and in the FRA’s research work. The evaluation suggests that Member States should be encouraged to implement more measures tackling discrimination and antigypsyism,” (Roma Framework evaluation 2018:8)

This statement has a more normative approach but again, one could still question the European Union for not exercising more power in its sense to demanding more from their member states rather than encourage. More so, the first three words in the quote above says something else as well. Where are the mainstream discussions? Why does the European Union rely so much on the stakeholders? Where are the Roma to give their point of views? The Roma are presumably involved into this, but the document, according to the citations, rather becomes an Us versus them approach either way. If not between the Roma and non – Roma, then from the European Union’s perspective and her member states.

Interestingly, something has changed along the process. Whether it is the European Union or if it has been the member states protesting towards can only be speculated, but if we look at the next document which is the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, from this document the thesis shall focus on integration, inclusion and education.

It should be noted that in this document, as mentioned, there is no repetition of Anti – Gypsyism. Other than that, the citations follow the previous premises. Given this, I want to show what I am trying to understand:

“The EU has made several proposals for Member States to promote the social and economic integration of Roma, most recently in its Communication of April 2010. Member States are already under an *obligation* [Emphasis added] to give Roma (like other EU citizens) non-discriminatory access to education, employment, vocational training, healthcare, social protection and housing through Directive 2000/43/EC” (Roma strategy 2011:3).

This shows a change in how the European Union is portraying itself to begin with. First and foremost, in this citation, the European Union is exercising power, not because they have the authority but by their legislations. For obvious reasons these legislations have not been removed or changed, yet the evaluation report is much smoother in comparison to this citation. Here the European Union puts pressure on the member – states by clarifying that they have duties to uphold and the previous citation it is suggested or encouraged. What happened?

Moreover, the European Union cannot be held accountable for what the member states do to their citizens, that responsibility lies within the member – states, first and foremost. However, this does not mean that the European Union is innocent either. Nevertheless, it does show that the discourse has changed, at least from the European Union’s perspective, in the sense that the the discourse is to encourage rather than to enforce. To not rely on coincidence, in the next citations below, it gives more meaning to the argument presented above:

“Member States' efforts in the field of social inclusion, including to support efforts to help the Roma. In April 2010, the Commission called on the Member States to *ensure* [Emphasis added] that existing EU financial instruments, and especially the Structural Funds and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development, were accessible to Roma. This approach was endorsed by the Council in June 2010. However, *most Member States currently do not make yet sufficient use of available EU funds* [Emphasis added] to address the needs of the Roma.” (Roma strategy 2011:9).

Again, the Commission wanted to ensure that the funds were accessible to the Roma, however the European Union is also aware about funds not used in the levels of the European Union's expectation. But this also sheds light on the thesis research puzzle. The European Union has put a lot of funding into the implementation of the strategy towards the Roma minority. But nothing seems to change. From one point of view, the thesis is answered through the citation above.

So, there is a knowledge and an acknowledgement, of what is occurring, yet the European Union did not take consequential measures aimed towards the member states. This leads down to the thesis third document, in this document the focus on words here are, Anti – Gypsyism, discrimination, include and integrating. The next following citation shows the European just how much they put accountability on the “other one”:

“First, in terms of the general objectives, the EU Framework *could be explicitly updated to recognise anti-Gypsyism* [Emphasis Added] as a key issue among Roma, to reflect the 2013 Council recommendations and a 2016 Commission report highlighting the importance of more systematic approaches and greater political will on the part of Member States in fighting anti-Gypsyism. In this context and along these same lines, many *stakeholders*, [Emphasis Added] such as EU-level organisations and NGOs, have called on public actors to *ensure* [Emphasis Added] that the four priority areas have a stronger dimension of anti-discrimination and anti-Gypsyism” (Executive summary 2018b:51)

Although the citation is extensive, it covers a lot of aspects, firstly the coded words Anti – Gypsyism and discrimination are mentioned here. It also shows how conflicted the European Union is, in matter it should not be. The first one is a nod towards what *could* happen, here the European Union is treating this statement as a question, even though the citation is not presented as such. What could happen if they recognize Anti – Gypsyism? What could the direction of this be? The European Union knows their data, they understand and acknowledge their weaknesses, yet the first part of the citation is presented in a what if approach.

Moreover, the stakeholders are back and so is the difference between us and them. Notice the word ensure here, this undoubtedly shows and explains why researchers in the International Relations scene such as Bulmer and Joseph (2017) and Webber (2014) write about crises and the European Union, because of the idea of shifting responsibility on someone else.

However, for obvious reasons, the economy is involved in these matters as well, but in those cases the European Union is very clear in how things should be handled. This can be seen in the citation that follows below:

“Mainstreaming of Roma inclusion into EU and National Policies is probably the most efficient way of reaching sustainable and large-scale results with little additional funding, while ensuring that policies and measures are designed in a way that take into account the needs of Roma. Targeted policies and measure are costlier and require additional planning and implementation capacity.”
(Executive summary 2018b:132)

The European Union is about the collective in that sense that every member – state and their respective citizens should be treated, essentially in a universal – European matter. In the citation above, there are statements about people and how much integration can cost or, be cheaper. Indeed, targeted policies demands more attention, time and money this is no news. But, when will the European Union understand that, this type of approach has been tried and implemented in many other instances with the same results? There have been evaluations that specifically has shown these matters in numbers, evaluation that has been addressed, coded and analyzed in this thesis as well.

When 38% of the Roma responds that no change has occurred in terms of education as highlighted in the Roma framework evaluation (2018:2) then clearly, something is not right. Although it might be expensive, the thesis has shown in the Malmö Model of what can be achieved. Indeed it is not an easy process, but in the end the Malmö Model shows ways in what potentially should be the better way of integrating, educating and combating Anti – Gypsyism: By involving the Roma, not just as someone to be part of something, but involving the Roma and trusting them to find the answers with secondary help from non – Roma and thereby working together.

This can also be connected back to Sobotka and Vermeersch (2012:819), where the Roma and non – Roma can legitimize and contribute towards each other for consulting and creating municipal plans together (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012:819). Looking at one last citation from this document, we reach the “coulds” of this thesis and the speculative processes that further raises questions regarding of how the European Union operates. There seems to be a lot more focus on the “could” in the citations when it rather should be demanded or enforced. Another clear-cut example is showcased in the next citation below:

“In the areas of housing and employment, the measures to be taken could be updated to reflect better the needs of different sub-groups of Roma in terms of gender, age and sedentary lifestyle. The Roma integration goal for education *could* [Emphasis Added] be more ambitious as highlighted in Section 3.2.1.1” (Executive summary 2018b:52)

In these terms, the European Union should demand or enforce the member – states to implement the instances in which the European Union calls for. With the word *could* added into the citation, it explicitly portrays the European Union who *could*, instead of the European Union who *should*. The situation becomes uncomfortable given that the European Union does everything it *should*, but still manages to deteriorate so much from the main objective. To actually make sure that the actions plans, whether it is regarding the Roma or some other instance, is followed, implemented and carried out but ultimately fails to do so.

This put the Normative Power Europe perspective into play, Larsen debates (2014:425 - 426) whether Normative Power Europe is a Habermasian strand or a Derridean one. As mentioned, the European Union’s machinery is supported in the terms that it is a universal value oriented and rights-based approach. This is what the Habermasian philosophy calls for. Given this, the European Union is indeed surrounded by this. For the general public, the European Union becomes a community, based on Habermasian values. Even though there is some contradiction to this claim, the cogwheel operates on universal and fundamental values, this is true, but they do so in respect to the European community.

But it does not stop here, in theory, and the way in which the European Union traverse the international scene, they are portrayed on the Habermasian approach. In practice however, and this is where the problem essentially becomes a thorn, the European Union, from the Derridean perspective argues that there is nothing constructing about the European Union’s articulation. The European Union can only be a normative power if it becomes accepted in international politics, if it does not, the European Union is only part of a discursive struggle.

Firstly, Normative Power Europe in the Derridean perspective is all about meaning that comes from actors who try to promote their values which stems from identities which are their own construction (Larsen 2014:425 – 426). Given this, the Normative Power Europe and the European Union stems on the one hand from Habermasian philosophy, on the other hand it becomes based on Derridean perspective. This boils down to the European Union becoming nothing and *everything* further complicating the European Union’s portrayal. This has to do with the existence between communitarian and cosmopolitan values which are in a constant battle between them.

The identity of the European Union thus suffers from an existential crisis and the approach of the European Union becomes a conflicting debacle, which is shown in the citations above. The European Union wants to help, and the European Union has some form of a normative power, the problem however, is that it cannot justify nor understand what to enact or diminish.

This is further strengthened what Nagy mentions (2018: 136 – 137) about the national communitarian values. Before this, the idea for the thesis was that there was a clash between the Roma and non – Roma regarding identities. This is still true; however, the European Union is in a clash of identity with itself to begin with. The ever-shifting way of circling responsibility, the deterioration from certain goals and the approach of trying to implement universal acts, the consequences thus becomes a matter the European Union itself must figure out first, before the European Union moves on to help someone else.

Furthermore, this behavior comes from someone and this is true for what Lantis (2016:396) argues for. Great leaders are the one who uphold the norms that exists in Europe today and only from the leaders will the norms be able to change, both for the Roma and non – Roma, but also the norm about European Union's own identity. More so, this also lies in what Carta and Morin claimed with inspiration from Korsgaard (2003:116 cited in 2014:301). The European Union, given the acclaimed status, it rather sees cooperation instead of power, this is true for the constructivist approach as well. That is the only explanation for how the European Union addresses itself in the documents and citations above.

The normative idea is taking its toll on cooperation. Since in the grand scheme of things, the cooperation between member states and the European Union is the status quo and by shaking that very foundation, it can result in new types of crises. Which would explain why the European Union might be in a paradox regarding its own norms and identity which spills over to their strategies and action plans.

As a finishing point, this is where Búzás (2018) comes in as well, when the European Union is acting the way they are in these conditions, norm gaps are bound to occur. Given that these norm gaps are created by the European Union and are supposed to be enacted which fails to do so, thereby creating norm gaps. Given this, the thesis can move into the last section and conclude a few certain things.

5. Conclusion

The thesis has reached the conclusion and it has a few questions to answer. Firstly, where does this leave the thesis and the proposed prescriptive approach? As mentioned, the research question is “What should the European Union do to mend Anti – Gypsyism?” The answer is simple yet, complicated.

On the one hand the thesis can argue for the Malmö Model to be extracted from the European Union and implemented through EU funds for and in several member states. There is no indication that when implemented, the model becomes a disaster, but the same can be said regarding success as well. On the other hand, there are instances that show that having separated integrational, educational and non – discriminatory reforms will be expensive. This is also true, according to the citations above as well.

However, this connects back to the thesis puzzle. The European Union has put a lot of funding into the implementation of strategies towards the Roma minority. But nothing seems to have changed, this was shown in the evaluation of the framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (2018). The thesis puzzle then became a point of investigation and when it was investigated in the qualitative analytical section it raised questions that clearly relies on the normative spectrum, for an example, whether it should be debated how much improving lives would cost? One could argue yes, but that can be countered by the idea, that if the Roma finally become integrated and educated, they can as other regular European citizens contribute back towards this again. Which would mean that it becomes an investment with money being generated back to the European Union.

The research gives rise to the indication that if this continues over the course of incoming years, it will thus, become expensive for the European Union. If it however goes in the other direction and invests more money into strategies like the Malmö model for the member states, not only will the European Union be able to mend Anti – Gypsyism, slowly and steadily. They will also create opportunities for the Roma to become part of the regular society, in which the Roma will be able to contribute back towards the general public.

This is essentially the thesis argument claimed by investigating an in-depth approach for the thesis puzzle. Given this, the argument becomes a normative prescribed product. Since, when every other option not only has been tested and depleted, it clearly shows that the European Union have run out of other options. Thus, I claim, at the very least for the European Union, to spend some thoughts on this, since they would not have anything else to lose apart from their normative stance the European Union highly cherishes.

With the argument presented above, the thesis contributes on several factors and ideas. Firstly, it opens a debate that incorporates the minority perspective, making it a bit more mainstream in the International Relations scene, this since these types of subject often relies too much on the actual minority but not on the bigger picture, in this sense the European Union. Secondly, it contributes to something that is rarely seen in IR but rather within human rights and migration studies.

But even more so, the thesis contributes to terms that are somewhat uncharted for the IR scene in terms of defining Anti – Gypsyism and integration. Norms are not new for IR but given that the IR has a whole sub field dedicated to this, I do not see why the terms mentioned above should not be fitted into this as well.

Lastly, instead of looking at typical ideas regarding the European Union the thesis has tried to humanize the European Union, by doing it that way, identity and norms become easier to see, but also to find meanings that are not necessarily hidden but goes under the radar and in disguise of the “Could’s” when the European Union should do something.

On the conclusive note, the thesis has defined Anti – Gypsyism and shown ways in which how the European Union should mend Anti – Gypsyism given the thesis research puzzle. This does involve a complicated process that lies in the European Union’s own recognition of a paradoxical identity that needs to come to terms with themselves, their member states and their boomerang – shifting responsibility before they can start the process of mending Anti – Gypsyism through something that resembles the Malmö Model.

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