

# Communicating with States: Underprivileged' Migrations within the European Union

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International workshop

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Abstracts for Romani Migration Conference attendants

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State Responses to and Various Forms of Discrimination of Romani Victims of THB – Romani Migrants as Victims of THB

My contribution will focus on trafficking in human beings (THB) for sexual exploitation and forced labor including begging of so-called EU migrants of Roma origin. The majority of the victims of THB in Sweden are members of Roma communities from other EU Member States, predominately from Romania and Bulgaria.

THB is often addressed in the context of criminal law such as amendments of criminal sanctions and increased penalties for the crime. However, the question of how states (including the Member States of the EU) in certain ways contribute to or even aggravate the problems connected to THB and this particular group of persons has been overlooked.

Another variable which has hitherto not been addressed in this area of research concerns the personal circumstances of the victim as a factor that might further aggravate the abuse associated with THB. Although the stigmatization of victims of THB has been discussed in research, the personal circumstances of abused persons have been largely ignored when creating national referral mechanisms for victims of THB, i.e., when discussing how victims of this crime should be approached and treated by state authorities.

I will discuss my upcoming project where I plan to develop a theory of multiple discrimination, including the concept of intersectionality read in a broad sense to encompass discrimination based on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, physical or mental disabilities, etc. The aim of this model is to shed light on different forms of discrimination of Roma migrants, both in the public and private spheres. The ultimate purpose of my research is to increase the knowledge on this particular group within the context of THB, in order to be able to better meet the needs of these persons in countries of origin and destination.

**Prof. Margaret Greenfields** (Margaret.Greenfields@bucks.ac.uk)

*Buckinghamshire New University*

Experiences of Roma migrants in accessing service, and contact with agencies of the state engaged in the delivery of health and social welfare programmes

This contribution to the UCRS Research Initiation Workshop '**Communicating with States: Roma migrations to Western Europe**' will focus on the experiences of Roma migrants in accessing service, and contact with agencies of the state engaged in the delivery of health and social welfare programmes. As such it builds upon Greenfield's body of individual research (and other studies undertaken by the author with inter- and intra-institutional collaborators including Smith/Berlin/Dagilyte/Henry et. al) in relation to migrant Roma's contact with the following key agencies: housing departments, social work (in particular pertaining to contact with child protection services); health services and welfare benefits providers.

Whilst the current paper will focus predominantly on the UK situation with a specific focus on findings from existing and on-going research undertaken by the teams detailed above which explore the complex relationships between Roma migrant poverty, experiences of claiming welfare benefits, access to accommodation and health services – all of which frequently coalesce into enforced contact with social services and child protection agencies (see Greenfields, et. al., 2015) ; the core element of this submission consists of a review of the challenges and potential interventions which exist in relation to communication barriers with state authorities.

This paper is intended to commence the evidence base from which one WP of the developing application (health and wellbeing) will be developed. It is anticipated that Greenfields will lead on this WP and as such this paper, supported by evidence gathered by other research collaborators, will be developed further to enable engagement with questions and solutions to supporting migrant Roma around issues of health and wellbeing and knowledge of their rights as EU citizens when in contact with statutory state agencies.

**Dr. Jan Grill** (jan.grill@gmail.com)

*University of Manchester*

In/out of states: ethnographic reflections on studying states, comparisons and connections in Roma migrations

This paper aims to provide a set of reflections focusing on the key issues of the workshop. It will explore some possible methodological ways through which we can - and indeed - must study Roma migration together with the reconfiguration of states. The paper will suggest the importance of studying Roma migrants' moving within a single transnational social field yet in between two (or more) state structures. I will illustrate my points with examples from my

long-term anthropological research both in Slovakia and in Great Britain (since 2006 to date). Rather than proposing top-down comparative models based on comparisons by ‘analogy’, I will propose studying connections in which particularly situated Roma migrants and their movements encounter different facets of states through concrete practices of ‘street-level bureaucrats’ and through particular collective representations of states and nations. Particular attention will be paid to the forms of presence and absence of the state in the lives of migrants (and vice versa), and its role in shaping migration dynamics and producing forms of mobilities and immobilities.

**Britt-Inger Hedström Lundqvist** (brittinger3@gmail.com)

*Chairman for Associations RUNG, RFHL and Dik Manusch Vänner, and editor of the journals Redaktör Dik Manusch and Oberoende*

Britt-Inger Hedström Lundqvist represents two different civil organisations. The first is Dik Manusch Vänner [Dick Manusch Friends], an interest organisation supporting the existence of the newspaper sold by EU migrants. The homepage of the paper is: <http://dik-manusch.tk/>. The other organization is RUNG (resande, ung, ny och gammal) [Traveller, young, new and old] which is a national association for travellers. Travellers are the oldest and largest group of the five different kinds of Roma groups in Sweden.

**Prof. Slawomir Kapralski** (Kapral@up.krakow.pl)

*Pedagogical University of Krakow*

Roma Migrants in Europe: Diaspora or Transnational Network?

The main question is how the migration of Roma from Eastern to Western Europe can be interpreted in the context of two alternative approaches to Roma identity construction and political action: one that refers to the category of (variously understood) nationhood and one that employs the perspective of citizenship. My project intends to find answer to this question with the help of the concept of diaspora, which serves as a theoretical mediation between the perceptions of the Roma as a nation and as a citizenship.

We should, however, bear in mind that the concept of diaspora often refers to a certain project of identity (nominalist approach), rather than to a well-bounded conglomerate of groups (realist approach). Consequently, I will analyze the political programs and concepts of identity developed within Roma political movements, which refer to or imply the notion of

diaspora in its various forms. Parallel to that I would like to study Roma diasporas as real entities. My project involves the revision of the concept and typologies of diaspora to make them applicable to contemporary Roma communities that cut across the old typological divisions, in particular between diaspora and transnational community as well as between realist and nominalist understanding of diaspora.

In this context I will investigate whether Roma migrants have a tendency or potential to move from the state of being a “proletarian diaspora” to “situationally mobilized diaspora” (Armstrong 1987: 225-227). Subsequently, I would like to study the possible directions of such mobilization: whether it is going to take form of the struggle for redistribution or its main objective would be that of recognition. Studying these issues, I plan to compare the contemporary situation of Roma migrants in Western Europe with the situation of the Romanian Roma who migrated to Poland in the early 1990s, which is important because it was the first mass-scale migration of Romanian Roma after the collapse of communism.

**Prof. Angela Kóczé** (koczea@wfu.edu; Kocze.Angela@tk.mta.hu)

*Wake Forest University and Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA)*

Migration, Anti-Gypsyism, Romophobia and Biopolitics of Roma in Europe

This presentation explores the recent public, policy and political debates about Roma migration, particularly from Romania and Bulgaria to France and Italy, through an examination of media and political discourses. It will critically analyze the connection between these recent migrations of Roma on the one hand, and the historically and politically constructed misconceptions about “Roma criminality and nomadism”, on the other. This article aims to understand how race and neoliberalism currently connects and constructs specific discourses in which “Roma migration” is conceptualized. Furthermore, it contributes to the newly burgeoning debate about the migration, securitization, politics of anti-Gypsyism, Romophobia and biopolitics of Roma in Europe; (Clough Marinaro 2009, Hepworth 2012, Sigona 2014, van Baar 2011, Stewart 2012a, Picker, 2012).

**Prof. Yulian Konstantinov** (yulian.konstantinov@uit.no)

*University of Tromsø*

‘On-the-road’ studies of Roma mobilities: towards advancing fieldwork methodology

Field-work with migrating Roma people poses considerable challenges, to date not addressed satisfactorily in concerned research. Despite existing projects with the ‘on-the-road’ label,

actual ‘on-the-road’ work is rare. This paper focusses on the advantages that ‘on-the-road’ work has, including also its preparatory stage at the home country, as well as the first days of arrival at the host one. The main point which is made is that ‘on-the-road’ fieldwork establishes relationships of solidarity and cooperation with the community we work, leading to revealing data and insights. Specific situations, based on previous research experience, are highlighted. It is proposed, in conclusion, that a Work Package is designed for ‘on-the-road’ research within the overall project, which shall be contributing with its findings to all other WPs.

**Elena Marushiakova** (emp9@st-andrews.ac.uk)

*University of St. Andrews*

From East to West: Historical and Modern Patterns of Roma Migrations\*

In recent years the “Roma issue” has become, from a problem initially specific to the Eastern European countries in transition, one of the leading themes in pan-European public space. At the beginning of this public interest there were mass migrations of Roma from East to West after the accession of most of the countries in Eastern Europe to the European Union. The failure of national integration policies towards the Roma in Eastern Europe became a failure of national integration policies towards the Roma in Western Europe as well. Today, it is already clear that there is a complete failure in policies for Roma inclusion on a pan-European level. Even when one considers some of the individual policies and projects that have been successful, this does not, however, alter the overall picture. In the end, the contemporary policies of inclusion lead to neither a decrease in the rate of Roma migration, nor to Roma inclusion in their home countries or host countries, and if there *is* successful Roma migrant inclusion it is in spite, not because of the policies.

The outcomes of the current Roma migration to the West have different dimensions. On the one hand, the migrating Roma families who settle permanently in Western European countries, who are already part of the huge “invisible” migration from the East, are mitigating the continuing dependency of Western European market structures on low-skilled or skilled immigration workers, which is thus, in the end, profitable for the West.

On the other hand, as a result of migration, in Eastern Europe there remains mostly marginalized populations of the local Roma communities, unable to migrate with low social literacy and without any qualification. This further complicates and undermines the efforts for

their successful social integration. In this situation, development prospects for Roma migration from East to West are difficult to predict, especially in the more distant future, but it is now already clear that this phenomena detriment in particular the Roma who stay in their homelands.

\*Paper to be presented with Vesselin Popov

**Dr. Márton Rövid** (Marton.rovid@gmail.com)

*Central European University*

Romani migration patterns from Hungary before and after the Eastern enlargement of the EU

The paper overviews and analyses the main patterns of Romani migrants from the early-1990s till present day. The change in push and pull factors are studied for the main target regions, including Canada and the countries of Western and Northern Europe. The changing role of state and EU bodies is analyzed before and after the accession of Hungary to the EU in 2004.

The paper also studies the representation of the migration of Roma by Hungarian media. The highly mediatized cases of “exodus to Canada” in the mid-1990s, and the “refuge seeking of the Roma from Zámoly in France” are studied with the help of critical race theory.

**Dr. Lynette Šikić-Mićanović** (lyn@pilar.hr)

*Institute of Social Sciences, Ivo Pilar*

Arranged Roma Marriages in the Context of Transnational Migration: Gender Issues and Challenges

This paper seeks to introduce a gender-sensitive perspective in relation to aspects of arranged marriage and migration among Roma in transnational contexts. Marriage migration invokes numerous anxieties, strategies and ambitions and has been seen as problematic and controversial (see Wray 2011). Globally, marriage migration, regardless of motives, appears to be predominately female. Likewise, brides migrate in traditionally arranged Roma marriages negotiated by parents on both sides who adhere to specific rules of marriage and post-marital residence. Although it is a means available to disadvantaged women to achieve a measure of social and economic mobility (Del Rosario 1994; Fan & Li 2002; Fan & Huang 1998), in-marrying wives in their new environments are often unfamiliar with local customs, family traditions and frequently experience language barriers, and therefore are at risk of becoming socially invisible, vulnerable and marginalised.

For clarification purposes, this overview draws distinctions between arranged marriages, forced marriages and sham marriages. In this grey zone there is the additional dilemma of child marriages and the associated violation of girls' basic rights for freedom, growth, education and health. International studies have shown that child marriage can lead to a lifetime of disadvantage and deprivation. This paper will consider state laws as well as immigration procedures in the Republic of Croatia and their impact on marriage (including early and forced marriages) and family relations.

Following Palriwala & Uberoi's suggestion (2008: 24) social scientific attention should be on the intersection of marriage and migration (without discounting the abuses) that goes beyond victimisation to a more balanced and context-sensitive consideration of changing dynamics in the nexus of marriage and migration. Motives for arranged marriages among the Roma may include family solidarity, aspirations for social improvement, desire to respect tradition, a renegotiation of traditional gender relations as well as protection of cultural values. For this reason, further ethnographic fieldwork and the collection of primary micro-level data is indispensable for a more nuanced understanding of marriage and migration among the Roma.

**Dr. David Smith** (david228martin@yahoo.co.uk)

*University of Greenwich*

Settlement patterns, housing 'careers' and accommodation related experiences of Roma migrants in the UK.

This contribution to the UCRS Research Initiation Workshop '**Communicating with States: Roma migrations to Western Europe**' will focus on the settlement patterns, housing 'careers' and accommodation related experiences of Roma migrants in the UK. It will draw upon and further develop ongoing work for the EU Fundamental Rights Agency's (FRA) *Local Engagement Roma Integration* (LERI) project (Smith, 2014). This has involved desk-based research, policy analysis and interviews with local authority personnel and voluntary/community organizations working with Roma communities in various parts of the UK in addition to focus groups with largely Slovakian and Czech Roma migrants in Medway and Gravesend (Kent, South-East England). The majority of these have been resident in the UK for between 1-10 years and living in private sector-rented housing, usually within areas of low income housing that are ethnically diverse but uniformly poor and with above average indicators of social disadvantage.



Research has explored the extent that Roma migrants are clustered within certain urban neighbourhoods; the demographic and socioeconomic structures of those locales where such concentrations were identified; commonalities and disparities in housing conditions both between and within different localities and the extent to which macro (national), meso (city/town) and particularly micro (neighbourhood) level destinations represent conscious choices and a desire to replicate the homogenous ethnic enclaves from where most originated.

This paper will form the starting point from which one of the WP's of the developing application (integration and housing) will be developed, led by Smith in collaboration with researchers working on similar issues surrounding housing, neighbourhood, social inclusion and community relations in different contexts.

**Dr. Töhötöm Szabó** (szabo\_tohotom@yahoo.com)

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Work and property relations and patterns of Romani migration. A case from Transylvania

In the summer of 2014 a relatively large group of Roma people from Two Valleys, a multiethnic village in Southern Transylvania, was transported home from Poland after only a few days spent there with the help of the local authorities. Local people interpret this story in many different ways depending on their ethnic background, social status in the village, distance from those transported home, etc. Basically, however, there are two interpretations: the first one operates with the vulnerability of the migrants home and abroad, while the second one operates with the undeserved help offered to Roma – again – home and abroad. Starting from this case, and drawing on fieldwork and a survey conducted in this multiethnic village (participant observation, informal conversation, semi-structured and structured interviews, focus groups, questionnaires with local Roma and non-Roma), the presentation will analyze the local circumstances of work (touching upon the integration of local Roma people into the socialist industrial sector) and the changes occurred in the work and property relations in post-socialist times. While presenting the general conditions for local Roma migrations, the paper will apply a special focus of political anthropology addressing the ambiguous presence of the state(s) in the local community and especially in the life of the underprivileged Roma. Poor Roma people, while seemingly act and make a living outside the state controlled sectors, are very much dependent on the state structures, the global capitalist

economy and their middlemen, and in the meantime try to be flexible enough to find the niches in the local and global contexts.

**Dr. Monika M. Váradi** (varadim@rkk.hu)

*Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

Romani migration patterns in a multiethnic small town

Following a seven-year derogation period granted to the new EU member states and especially after 2011, migration has increasingly become a strategy and practice in Hungary. Although there is an obvious correlation between the willingness and necessity to migrate and the existence or lack of jobs and different income levels, international migration has become a natural livelihood strategy for people in local societies of rural areas in almost all social strata. While Roma people participate in international migration as well as non-Roma people, their exclusion from the primary labour market, poverty and segregation, their social discrimination culminating in economically lagging micro-regions and the transformation of the social welfare system are all factors that compel especially the Roma to find employment abroad, or to even leave the country permanently.

Our ongoing empirical research is based on interviews conducted with families involved in migration who are living in severely disadvantaged areas and that belong to diverse social groups. One of our research questions is whether there are differences in the factors generating migration among the Roma and the non-Roma in terms of migration histories and migration routes, and where these differences come from. We assume that the more segregated the Roma live in a given settlement, the larger the differences of migration patterns will be for the Roma and the non-Roma groups. We suppose that we will also find differences among various Roma groups; groups that are originally more mobile will have a higher proportion of emigrants, while in the case of less mobile groups, earlier migration experiences (e.g. the Canadian refugee migration experiments) will strongly define whether a new European migration wave takes place or not.

In our paper we attempt to highlight the differences of Roma and non-Roma migration patterns, and in addition, to show and analyse how the local state and institutions do (or do not) adapt to the new challenges caused by the increasing cross-border migration of local inhabitants.