

POLICY AND SOCIAL REGULATION. New and old patterns of Roma mobility/settlement and public policies. Administrations' practices towards the phenomenon in urban France and Spain. Report on the Seminar discussions.

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URBA-Rom Report on the Seminar discussions

“POLICY AND SOCIAL REGULATION”

1ST SESSION

**New and old patterns of Roma mobility/settlement and public policies.
Administrations' practices towards the phenomenon in urban France and
Spain**

21st June, 2011

Mòdul A, Parc de Recerca
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

Editor:

Dr. Bálint Ábel Bereményi, CER-Migracions – Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona



Date: 21 June, 2011
Time: 9:00 - 18:00
Location: Mòdul A, Parc de Recerca, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain
Purpose: Interchange of state-of-the-art information among French and Spanish social researchers about public policies towards Roma in France and in Spain

Attendees/Invitees

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AGENDA

(PLEASE FIND DRAFT OF THE LECTURES FOLLOWING THE AGENDA)

9.00 – 11.15 Short Papers Session chaired by Tommaso Vitale

Grégoire Cousin: Controlling Roma migrants: the administrative/judicial framework and its current evolution.

Martin Olivera: Migrants practices and institutional responses in Ile-de-France.

Marion Lièvre: Local policies *outside* the Parisian Metropolis: The case of Montpellier in the South of France.

11.30 – 13.15 Short Papers Session chaired by Sílvia Carrasco

Óscar López: Marginality, social exclusion and public policies. Settlement and migration of Romanian Roma in Barcelona Metropolitan Area.

Teresa Sorde: Drom-In. Roma immigration in Spain. Challenges of social inclusion.

Ábel Bereményi: The triangle of education, access to job and social/legal status. Focusing on structure.

13.15 – 14.00 Discussion session

15.30 - 16.45 Afternoon session

Sílvia Carrasco: Presentation of other research groups on Roma/Gitano in Spain

Olivier Legros: “Comparing the policies towards Roma migrants and their social effects: some paths of reflection based on case studies”

Tommaso Vitale: “The interactions between Roma Migrants practises and local policies in three European metropolitan areas”: *Urba-Rom*’s response to the funding call of the City of Paris

17.00 - 18.00

Debates about the perspectives of collaboration and exchanges.



Main issues of discussion

- In order that Spanish researchers can understand public policies in France towards the Roma/Gens de Voyage, it's necessary to clarify interrelation among different levels of administration such as "l'état local" (local state) and municipalities. There is a constant ping-pong between local state and municipality, as well as underlying agreements in Roma issues.
- Key factors in the differences between social intervention in Spain and in France can be the radical separation of "social sector" and "charity sector" in France, whereas in Spain there is a historical relation between those two elements, both stemming from the responsibilities of the Catholic Church. In France, governmental social assistance has monopolized the "Roma-assistance", so there are very few NGOs devoted to it.
- "Roma" as a unique category can be put to question both in France and in Spain. Though it is also true that the notion of "Roma" is not used in Spain in order to avoid the negative connotations of the term "Gitano".
 - there is an enhanced necessity to focus on individual and collective trajectories rather than encompassing categories (Roma, Gens du Voyage, Gitano, etc.).
 - As for the policies towards the Roma migrants, the main questions in this sense are:
 - A, whether there is any difference between policies towards "migrants" and "Roma-migrants"?
 - B, whether there is any difference between policies towards "local Roma" and "migrant Roma"?
 - C, what are the arguments in favour of the differentiation?

Proposals and decisions concerning the emerging Fra-Spa Network

Main objectives:

- More researchers should be directly involved in our network
- Researchers of the network should focus on the "state of the art" in the research tradition of the other state (France and Spain). Key texts should be circulated among all researchers, to which everyone should add critical comments/analysis following a common structure.
- Working in network with the use of URBA-ROM platform.
- Further intensive workshops between French and Spanish researchers
 - o emblematic texts on the Roma in French and Spain will be circulated in order to enhance understanding to generate a critical debate on different approaches to different realities.
- Future collaborations in possible comparative projects
 - o On the nature of public policies towards the Roma (Towards migrants? Towards Roma?)
 - o On local impact of public policies

Decisions: Workshops on Public policy and social regulation towards the Roma resume. Proposed next workshop date: 3rd, 4th, 5th of November, 2011. To be confirmed.



Attachment:

- Short papers sessions" abstracts



URBA-ROM WORKSHOP, "POLICY AND SOCIAL REGULATION" 1ST SESSION

New and old patterns of Roma mobility/settlement and public policies. Administrations' practices towards the phenomenon in urban France and Spain.

21st June, 2011 - Universtitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Controlling Roma migrants:

the administrative/juridical framework and its current evolution.

Grégoire Cousin

GERCIE - Univ. Tours

Draft

This article tries to show how the operational administrative framework of sending back Romanian Roma is destabilized right at the moment when it becomes a national public policy.

I An operational administrative framework

The entry of Romania and Bulgaria into the European Union has led to get the Romanians and Bulgarians, and especially Romanian and Bulgarian Roma, out of the deportation procedures of common law. This had an significant impact on the statistics of the French Ministry with special responsibility for Immigration, since in 2006, 6242 out of 23,831 removed persons were Romanians or Bulgarians and most of them Roma.¹ The Department of Immigration had to compensate this statistic « loss » and turned towards voluntary returns, which are recorded in the figured objectives of deportation. In December 2006, a ministerial circular provided for the possibility for the l'ANAEM², nowadays l'Office français de l'immigration et de l'intégration (O.F.I.I.), to grant a humanitarian return assistance (H.R.A.) to European Union citizens³. It was only an embryonic plan (548 persons in 2006, 757 from 1 January 2007 to 31 August 2007). Humanitarian return assistance consists at the moment of a return ticket to Romania plus a little financial support of 300 euro + 150 per minor, which is the equivalent of a Romanian median wage.

¹ Rapport DER Cimade 2006.

² Agence Nationale de l'Accueil des Etrangers et des Migrations

³ circulaire interministérielle [n°DPM/ACI3/2006/522 du 7 décembre 2006](#)



This return assistance is of course voluntary, there is a large scale of practices concerning this assistance : some Romanian nationals come specially from Romania for only three months just to receive this assistance, some persons living on the territory and facing difficulties decide to leave permanently and to give up their migration plans. However, most of the departures with return assistance are stimulated by the administration. The prefectures implemented a method which consists, when evacuating Roma camps or with the collective distribution of obligation to leave the French territory, of enforcing the presence of agents of the O.F.I.I. who propose to people to leave via the H.R.A. Return assistance is thus accepted because of the pressure exerted concerning the loss of a house and the expectation of police harassment. To go back to Romania gives them the opportunity to find a safe place during a while before coming back to seek a better future in France. In this sense, the way those people use return assistance could be analysed in the scheme of Romanian circulatory migration proposed by Dana Diminescu⁴. In an extreme case like in Massy on the 8th of March 2010, the « consent » was forced, people were placed in a gymnasium without the right to come and go, until their « acceptance » of voluntary return.⁵

In 2008 more than de 9,000 Romanians and Bulgarians received a H.R.A. (8,240 Romanians and 938 Bulgarians); more than 11,000 in 2009 (10,177 Romanians and 863 Bulgarians). In 2010, 84% of the 8,000 Romanians and Bulgarians who left France at the end of the 2010 summer fell under this system. These mass departures are illusions, being European citizens they are entitled to return immediately. In theory, the O.F.I.I. can grant the HRA only once, in practice some beneficiaries receive several times assistance. The interviews we conducted show that some people managed to receive the HRA 3 times in a same year. This practice is very widespread since the population of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma is stabilized in France since 2007 around 10,000 to 15,000, and since they do not move very much; the associations note that they have been following the same persons for several years. In other words, each year the government sends back 2/3 of Romanian and Bulgarian Roma living on the territory by granting a HRA and in spite of this, the target population remains stable in number but also in its composition.

⁴ Diminescu, Dana and Rainer Ohlinger. 2001. *La construction de l'Europe par ses marges Stratégies et Stratagèmes de la circulation migratoire des Roumains*. Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme - Paris/ Géophiles ENS-Lyon

⁵ “[Des Roms expulsés de Massy vers la Roumanie](#)”, *LEMONDE.FR* 03/11//10

II A destabilized policy

This policy has been destabilized by changes in practices and rules initiated by the highest levels of the State. First, after the introduction of a file concerning the H.R.A., the number of Roma giving their consent to go back dried up. Many persons who have already received assistance can not leave any more in this way. The administration must develop forced removals which are much more expensive (about 22,000 euro per person). Roma will be less and less an "interesting" population to deport, from the point of view of the "expulsion" department of a prefecture.

Furthermore, the administration is undergoing the feedback of the media campaign of the summer 2010. Internal control institutions (Administrative court) pay more attention and the issue of two legal weaknesses of the French system has been raised: the lack of an individual examination and evidence concerning the duration of stay. The European Commission strongly protested after the mass expulsions of last summer and the French legislator made some cosmetic changes. This modification followed a fairly long legislative process and has been voted on 11 May of this year. The legislator introduces guarantees provided for in article 28 of the directive: « *Before taking an expulsion decision on grounds of public policy or public security, the host Member State shall take account of considerations such as how long the individual concerned has resided on its territory, his/her age, state of health, family and economic situation, social and cultural integration into the host Member State and the extent of his/her links with the country of origin* ». It is difficult to assess the impact of such a diplomatic addition. In the past French judges considered an examination of a few minutes on a field as a personal situation examination in accordance with the directive. When granting this modification to the Commission, the legis he territory for more than three months (beginning of the stay stricto sensu)⁶. This is not easy if there is no real individual examination. In order to face legal insecurity of mass deportation measures, based on the duration of stay, the legislator introduces something new in the bill on immigration, integration and nationality: expulsion based on short-stay abuses. The article 25 of the bill inserts in the CESEDA (Code on the Entry and Residence of Aliens and the Right to Asylum) an article L. 511-3-1., worded as follows:

⁶ CE avis 26 nov. 2008, *Silidor*, req. n° 315441, Lebon 442



: « *The competent administrative, by a decision stating the reasons, may oblige a national of a Member State of the European Union, of other States parties to the Agreement on the European Economic Area or of the Swiss Confederation, or a member of his/her family, to leave the French territory when such authority establishes: 1° (...), 2° that his/her stay constitutes an abuse of rights. To renew stays of less than three months in the intention of staying on the territory when conditions required for a stay of more than three months are not satisfied constitutes an abuse of rights. A stay in France with the main aim of obtaining social assistance constitutes also an abuse of rights* ». This article is based on directive 2004 article 35 : « *Abuse of rights : Member States may adopt the necessary measures to refuse, terminate or withdraw any right conferred by this Directive in the case of abuse of rights or fraud, such as marriages of convenience. Any such measure shall be proportionate and subject to the procedural safeguards provided for in Articles 30 and 31* ».

This article, worded in this way, will allow the employees of prefectures not to respect the condition of duration of stay, if judges accept a larger vision of the notion of abuse. This new provision is interesting because of what it tells about the way the legislator sees migratory flows. Which is considered by the legislator as a fraudulent practice « *in order to remain on the territory* », is seen by the persons involved as a normal mobility within the limits of immigration at less than 24 hours away. A real mini-bus service has been developed between shanty towns and the towns of departure. The travel costs about 60 euro and people go back often for religious feasts, burials, holidays, to bring some money back, to invest in their house in their village.

Migrants practices and institutional responses in Ile-de-France

Martin Olivera

Université de Paris Ouest-La Défense/Urba Rom

Rather than a linear argument or demonstration, *this paper proposes* to discuss the terms of the "*Roma question*" in Ile-de-France following various threads, in order to promote discussion: *it* is only a working draft (still in progress!), and has to be considered as such.

1. Romanian Roma in *Île-de-France*: brief history and today's panorama

In the 90's, the first shantytown of romanian Roma appeared in Nanterre (92) - a place which knew the big slums of the 60's (more than 10 000 people in the algerian slums of the area). At the same time, other installations appeared in the suburb of Lyon.

During the first years after the "1989 Revolution" (Ceauescu's falling), most of the romanian migrants (both Roma and non-Roma) tried to get legal status in France being "asylum seekers". After 1993, the great majority of those demands were rejected (+90%), and in 1998 appeared the notion of "safe country" which *de facto* forbade the Romanian citizens to be asylum seeker

However, some Roma families settled in the 1990s in Paris area, including in Seine-Saint-Denis (93). The vast majority of these pioneers were from the western regions of Romania, bordering Hungary (Arad, Bihor) and Serbia (Timiș). Many had already an experience of commuting between Romania and the socialist countries border (labor migration or black market with Yugoslavia under embargo). At the same time, other Romanians, non-Roma, who also practiced in the 1980 cross-border movements drive the same way on their journey to the west: cf. the example of people from the "Oaş country"- Satu-Mare (D. Diminescu).

On 1st January 2002: End of visas for Romanians and Bulgarians wishing to stay three months as "tourists" in the Schengen area: democratization of emigration.

The pioneers were gradually joined by relatives: formation of bigger slums and squats, especially in the Val de Marne (94) and Seine-Saint-Denis (93): two popular departments (past "banlieue rouge"), adjacent to Paris, well served by public transport and where there are many industrial wastelands "available". [Going to Paris to practice their economic activities, the Roma say "*jav ando gav*" = "I go to the village".]



From 2002, other Roma groups settled at that time in Parisian area, from innermost regions: Dobrogea (Galati, Tulcea - cf. Hanul the Saint-Denis), Central Transylvania (Alba, Mures, Sibiu) and Southern Valahia (Bucharest, Teleorman, Oltenia) - non-exhaustive list of course. However, the Roma of Timis and, moreover, Arad and Bihor (Crisana), remain the most important.

Between 2002 and 2004 > from a few thousand individuals to 12-15 000 (Romeurope estimations, locally confirmed by prefecture - cf. the 93). Since 2004-2005: still the same estimations.

If, since the 2000s (particularly in response to the "criminalization" of the Romanian Roma immigration cf. below), Roma migrants are often presented as "exiles on the run," leaving a country that marginalizes and segregates them for centuries, the reasons and forms of Romanian Roma migration are broadly comparable with other migration dynamics as found in Romanian rural communities: cf. again the example of Oseni for the 93 county.

In fact, those are not "the Romanian Roma " who migrate, but various distinct groups (family networks) based on their region of origin and historical, social and cultural differences: difference of local implantation in Romania (concentrated or scattered over several villages), differences of migration experiences under communism, differences of ethnic environment in the region of origin, differences of professional occupations and so on...

Like other rural European migrants during the 20th century (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese), they group in slum or squat by related families from the same towns and villages - Roma from Arad will not settle on a place occupied by Roma from Bucharest, and when must live nearby, the "boundaries" between each and others are evident (see the great shantytown of St-Ouen which in fact consisted of three distinct places (*platzuri*): Alexandria / Bucharest in barracks; Arad (Pecica / Curtici) in a 2-storey building and a third smaller field ("mixed ") between them).

The same kind of migration can be observed among non-Roma Romanians (Oaş, but also from Moldova and Wallachia, in Italy for example), who form squats and slums in the same way, and practice the same economical activities: begging, recovery, sale of homelesses' newspapers, and other less legal activities (see the timestamps - *horodateurs* - jacked by youths from Maramures and Satu-Mare).



Since 2006, we can observe a provincial scattering, linked to regular evictions in IDF and the difficult access to social services there (domiciliation, health institutions, school etc..) After five years in Essonne (91) and Val de Marne (94), some families left for Marseille area, after four years in Paris (bd Mac Donald), others drove to the Swiss border (Annemasse) and Annecy etc.. Today, all major provincial towns have their Romanian Roma families: most of those groups did not reach directly there, but have previously lived in the Paris area or Lyon.

Indeed, the usual attitude (for local authorities as well for the state agents like the prefects) is not to facilitate the installation and the local insertion of Roma migrants (!) but to "push the problem" further: they are not seen as "poor economic migrants" who could be housed and "integrated" by social aids, but as an unwanted and illegitimate "population" who must leave.

However, almost half of Romanian Roma of France still live in Île-de-France (around 5000-6000), especially in Seine-Saint-Denis (93) county: around 3000 persons in more than 20 *platzuri*.

And despite of regular evictions, as long as they can the families try to maintain their presence in a territory they know well: some of them literally *turn* on 3 or 4 cities in the same department for 6-8-10 years.

While trying to maintain some forms of local insertion, the majority of Roma migrants keeps links with the country of origin and, if they cannot go back for the holidays (Christmas, Easter) or during the summer months, they send packages and/or money at home.

...

Rather than explain these policies of rejection by a (simple) logic of further discrimination against Gypsies linked to their "ethnocultural identity", we can try to see how a nested set of political, social, urban and economic problems motivate ethnicisation, which, in a second time (a posteriori), justify the social and spatial exclusion itself. In other words, it's not because they are Roma that these families are evicted and excluded from social services and policies, but because the socio-political context needs an effective categorization that these families are perceived (and treated) as "Roma migrants".

[This is not to say that "Roma migrants" have no positive cultural identities... but that "Roma identity" has nothing to see with the fundamental reasons of their social difficulties in migration: Roma or not Roma, that is not the question...]

2. From shantytowns to "illegal camps": how to transform economic migrants in "nomadic Gypsies"

Until 2000-2002, there was no question of the "Roma" but simply "Romanians". This is in the beginning 2000's that appeared the "Roma" in public debate, for different (but linked) reasons:

- Dissemination and development of awareness campaigns vis-à-vis the "Roma issue" at European level (Council of Europe, NGO's) - in France, creation of the "Romeurope" network grouping several associations and "local support committees"- *details*;
- Opening of accession talks between the EU and Romania (and Bulgaria)>> perspective of integration in the medium term> rise of anxiety // "invasion" (after the "Polish plumber", the Romanian Roma, seen as "historical pariah" dedicated to emigration);
- French political context: presidential campaign marked by the theme of "insecurity" (fight against delinquency and his "causes": almost the "not selected" immigration...)>> JM. Le Pen in the 2nd round of presidential elections in April 21, 2002.

Since the early 2000s, therefore, the "Roma slums" are regularly mentioned in the regional daily newspapers (*Le Parisien* archives since 2004: "Roma shantytown" = 128 articles / "Roma camp" = more than 400 articles) while the national press is looking more and more regularly on the "Roma issue" in Europe. These two movements will come together and conjugate during summer 2010 (see the famous "Grenoble speech" of N. Sarkozy and the media-political runaway during 4 months): during this "sequence", the government never talked about slums or shantytowns, but only about "illegal camps".

Indeed, since the late 1970s, shantytowns seem to have been definitely eradicated in France. To the point that the "retour des bidonvilles" in the public arena, in the years 1990 and 2000, especially through Romanian and Bulgarian immigration (Roma or not), symbolizes a unacceptable flash back. And if today's shantytowns are much smaller than the ones in the 1950-1970's (12 to 15 000 people today against more than 80,000 in 1960), we cannot underestimate the weight of symbols in the creation of public problems and, more importantly, in the magnitude of the echo they find in the public opinion.

The shantytowns of today can be less important than those of yesterday, the fact remains they are much more visible, because of urban expansion: they are no longer located in "forgotten margins" but appear as true "holes" inside the City. And even more when these barracks rise between highway interchanges or along the RER lines of Paris area, which are often the only places "available" for such installations. Finally, the constant evictions and, then, the group's mobility, give to observers (neighbors, media, politicians) a feeling of an ever increasing immigration, totally uncontrolled.

These precarious and illegal constructions otherwise jeopardize the business of "urban regeneration" today conducted in all major cities of France - moreover in Île de France. The continuous rise of land and housing prices for 15 years (1997-2007: a grow between 150% and 200%) further complicates the situation: land, whatever it is, now has such value that the owner (private or public) must make it fruitful. Meanwhile, it is better that the place remains empty. Finally add the "judicialization" (JP Jean) of our societies and, therefore, the increased responsibility of property owners and, most importantly, local authorities who cannot take the risk to tolerate such precarious installations. In this context, the slums of the 2000s thus appear as a painful thorn that has to be removed as soon from urban body.

Otherwise, social, medical and educational services are for the 1990's under the pressure of "economic rationalization" (cf. par exemple la *chalandisation de l'action sociale* de M. Chauvière). In a context of economic and social crisis, most of these institutions have *really* no solutions for a part of their public (structures of emergency shelter are for example totally saturated around Paris) while other services (of the associative sector - loi 1901) are dependant of their *efficiency* to be funded and, therefore, favor the "cost-effective" cases in their selection...

For all these reasons, we can understand the emergence of the "Roma migrants" seen as a "problematic population": it 'is indeed a category effective ("bonne à penser" // Sperber) for many reasons.

[...]

[Today, some few families invested in a true caravan they can move with their car when necessary... Are they becoming "eastern gens du voyage"? (the expression was used by many government members in the past months)...]



3. The local “solutions to Roma issue” between standardization and “do-it-yourself”

Roma migrants are not “alone”: since the 1990’s, different actors are present in the slums. Major part of them come from the humanitarian and caritative field: Médecins du Monde, Secours Catholique, ATD Quart-Monde etc. Others emanate from the (more or less) extreme left local networks and constituted informal “support committes” (comités de soutien): Les Verts, NPA-LCR,...

Note that if there is in France a great field of specialized associations working with “Gens du Voyage” for decades (in IDF as elsewhere), these structures are not usually concerned with Roma migrants (exception: ASAV in Nanterre, Rues et Cités in Montreuil). As well, institutional social services (see above) are rarely involved with this “public”. So, the actions with the Romanian Roma are usually disconnected from the traditional sector of social work.

According to local contexts, associations and support committes have different links with local authorities:

- in Val de Marne (94) the network of support committees are well known by department authorities (Conseil Général - Parti Communiste): they managed to implement local projects of housing and social aids for Roma families with the department’s support, even when the municipalities disagree (see Saint-Maur);

- in the same time, in Seine-Saint-Denis (93 - which was also communist until 2008) the department had no actions toward Roma migrants. The social services (department’s prerogative) were even closed to them, arguing it is a “state responsibility”.

If, usually, the left municipalities are less hostile (but not necessary more tolerant!) to the Roma presence, this is not always verified: see Montreuil (Parti Communiste until 2008) where the last municipality were pro-active for evictions.

In fact, the *very local* context is always the determinant thing to know to understand the (political) positions of each other on the “question”.

The things “moved” a little bit after the government’s offensvie against “Roma camps” last summer: in IDF (but elsewhere too), some left municipalities took official position against the state policy and launched local projetcs for Roma housing and insertion: Choisy le roi, Saint Denis, Orly, Sucy, Ivry-sur-Seine..

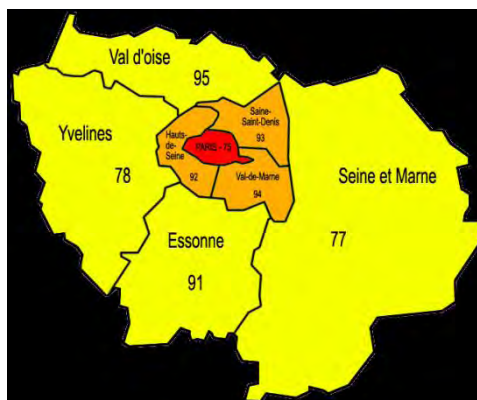
Besides those “local bricolages”, more or less politicized, an institutionnal “solution” to Roma slums and camps (supported by state authorities) reached: the “village d’insertion” > details

[Aubervilliers, Bagnolet, Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen. >> standardization following the politic of “choosen imigration” and the “new” social work (contractualization)]



Conclusion

The recent visit of European Commission in IDF (for FEDER funds), and their declarations in Montreuil, addressing the municipality: “why don’t you put together your projects with Romanian Roma (MOUS) and those with French “Gens du Voyage”? This will be more effective to reach the FEDER funds” ...



Population
Ile-de-France: 11,6 millions d’habitants
 Paris: 2,2M ; 93 : 1,5M ; 94 : 1,3M ; 92 : 1,5M ; 91 : 1,2M ; 77 : 1,3M ; 95 : 1,2M ; 78 : 1,4M



Categorization of one specific public: the rehousing of Romanian Roma migrants at Montpellier

Marion LIEVRE

CERCE – LERSEM/UM3

Abstract

The political developments of last summer concerning the expulsion of the Romanian Roms have led to the "Rom question" being identified as a public problem in Montpellier. Upstream of national measures/decisions, collective action crystallised around a collective to defend the rights of Roms in the Montpellier region. This collective action brought the Rom cause onto the local political scene at the beginning of June, prompting a meeting with the municipality to reflect, primarily, on public policies aimed at the Roms (expulsions and integration). In the middle of the summer, the Rom populations found themselves targeted by the local public authorities in response to a dual problem: reconciling management of the urban space at the local level (albeit independent of the municipality's policy) with the "profitability" of national quotas (Prefecture). In effect, the two expulsions concerning two private squats that took place on 10 August led the collective to multiply its contacts with the town hall, leading to a meeting on 16 August, when the collective focused on three major demands: non-expulsion from land belonging to the municipality or structures associated with it; dealing with the immediate problem of the people expelled on 10 August; the search for a policy of long-term integration. In this paper we will focus on the second demand: "dealing with the immediate problem of the people expelled on 10 August" and hence on the public policy of housing/rehousing and integration. This policy has aroused much controversy in the collective, particularly as concerns its orientation: must it be modelled on the policy of "integration villages"? The collective expresses its reservations as to these villages and advocates a more flexible policy of rehousing and integration based on a different approach. This is the central point on which this paper has been constructed. We will therefore be looking at a number of points: we will first look at the local structure of political opportunity, and then in greater depth at the rehousing policy. First, we will be replying to the following questions: What rehousing policy has been put in place? Can we talk of a genuine public policy aimed at these populations? Is it "a turning point in policies aimed at Rom migrants?" (Legros, 2010).



Secondly, as concerns the rehousing policy, we will be asking the following questions: "What players will be involved in this rehousing? If it does not involve integration villages, what could we say about the selection inherent to these villages? What form will it take? But, in particular, what kind of debate will these new policies give rise to in the collective itself? And, in conclusion, we will look at these political analyses in the light of their consequences on the process of identification of Romanian Roms in Montpellier.

Marginality, social exclusion and public policies. Settlement and migration of Romanian Roma in Barcelona Metropolitan Area.

Óscar López Catalán

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Abstract

The Romanian Roma population in Barcelona, as well as in other contexts, is undoubtedly linked to a series of imaginaries, stereotypes and attributions. The main idea behind this text is, on the one hand, that those discourses strongly relate with (and interrelate) different fields, just as the attitudes of -and the interactions with- the general population (and other minorities); the local politic agenda and the political parties; the mass media and other actors, such as NGOs or neighbourhood associations (opposing those imaginaries or not) to mention the most relevant ones. On the other, they “crystallize” in attitudes, measures, legal frameworks, management models, budgets, programs, and so on. Said in other words, not only the discourses contribute to the construction of certain ways of approaching the “Roma issue”, but also these approaches themselves serve, once designed and applied, as a strong framework in which discourses and practices develop.

In my speech, I will first briefly try to offer an overview of the Romanian Roma present in Barcelona Metropolitan Area, including settlement and migratory processes, general characteristics and situations, etc. Despite it will not be possible to offer concrete and extensive data for every aspect (i.e. labour and economic activities, housing, health, education and so on), I believe this can be particularly interesting to position some elements of Roma migration in the wider scope of both migrant and local gypsy populations, as they share some characteristics but also strongly differ in others.

The above information will be based in ethnographic fieldwork (mainly participant observation and interviews) conducted during the last five years with Romanian Roma population in several neighbourhoods of Barcelona’s Metropolitan Area, particularly in Sant Roc (Badalona) and Fondo-Santa Rosa (Santa Coloma de Gramenet), two of the territories where this population has had a more stable and numerous presence in the last ten years. The research (still ongoing) has been conducted mainly with the Roma Population itself, based in a “horizontal”, not mediated, approximation, trying to span a vast diversity of contexts (homes; public, religious and institutional spaces, and so on) and individuals/families (different origins, socioeconomic situations, economic strategies, to name a few). On the other hand, the research implied the collection of data regarding the impact of concrete public policies on the Romanian Roma population, as well as other sources (mainly secondary) to outline the imaginaries and discourses related with it (particularly using media analysis).

Therefore, focusing on the subject of the seminar, I will carry on presenting some reflections about the public policies carried out in this concrete local context, the practices and strategies of the Roma Population itself linked with this policies and the way discourses and the construction of a “Roma Issue” have played a role in these social processes as a whole. To do so, I will provide two examples: the first related with public space regulations (for instance, the civic ordinance of Barcelona) and the evolution and combination of different marginal economic strategies; and the second regarding settlement policies, housing situation and mobility.



In both cases, as well as in other possible examples (health, child protection system, etc.), the modes of interaction between the practices of the population and those institutional policies are also strongly related, among other factors, with social exclusion and marginalization of the Roma migrant population. Said in other words, marginal positions, in general or in concrete fields, are linked with the way policies are adopted and implemented, as well as with the concrete and long term strategies of the Romanian Roma. Finally, they are connected too, as I already mentioned, with ideological forms and practices (not only concrete stereotypes, but also culturalization, homogenization, etc.) that support and justify exclusion, which I will try to briefly analyze.

Ultimately, the main objective of my speech is to reflect and help to a coherent comparison of some of the public policies regarding Roma migrants in our context and the way they have evolved, with a strong emphasis in the consequences in their daily living conditions. In this regard, I believe the analysis of institutional policies and their effects can provide clues to a better understanding of the wider contexts in which they are applied, but above all, they can give us some insight in their possible evolution, moreover considering the recent cases of political construction of the “Roma Issue” and the present situation of welfare state’s withdrawal.

Building common alliances and developing shared strategies: Immigrant and Native Romani women¹

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The present paper⁷ analyzes the alliances and strategies built between Romani women both immigrant and native to fight back the widespread anti-Gypsyism found in Spain. Anti-Gypsyism affects all the Roma, whether migrants or native; and it is greatly amplified in the case of Roma migrants. The fact that this group is largely associated with poverty and marginalization only reinforces the rejection and discrimination faced. Thus, the negative images and stereotypes that are applied to the Roma migrant community are mostly associated with women (e.g. traditional clothing, begging). The multifaceted stigma suffered by Romani migrant women places them in a highly vulnerable position in terms of discrimination translated into access barriers to basic rights. Drawing from a Spanish Ministry of Science funded qualitative research project, authors will first analyze the specific gendered elements attached to the stigma associated with Romani women migrants.

Second, given that Romani migration is usually a family-based strategy, with many children among those migrating, the present paper will also analyze the role played by these women within the migratory project and in the process of settling down. It will be argued that far from the well extended stereotypes, many Romani women feminist ideas are changing gender and family relations, creating new understandings of their identity, generating new opportunities to fully participate in society, through their work or education, and making their own decisions.

Third, authors will explore the fact that Romani migrant women are very often the ones actively participating in initiatives together with native Roma associations. Authors will present evidences of how Romani women both migrant and native are building common alliances and developing shared strategies to fight back the widespread anti-Gypsyism

⁷ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the „Romani mobilities in Europe: multidisciplinary perspectives“, international conference, Oxford, 14-15 January 2010 with Ana Contreras (Drom Kotar Mestipen), Ariadna Munté (Universitat de Barcelona), and Oscar Prieto (Universitat de Girona). All of them members of the research team of the RTD project “Drom-In. Roma immigration in Spain. Challenges of social inclusion” funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.

found in Spain. Examples will be provided to illustrate these strategies and alliances, and the transformative dynamics found at their individual lives and also in their social contexts.



The triangle of education, access to job and social/legal status. Focusing on structure.

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In this paper we put some concerns about the often mentioned positive correlation between better schooling and improved opportunities at accessing labour market, taking into consideration some structural questions. Education, and especially school education, is one of the core issues of comprehensive public policies that pretend to improve socioeconomic situation of the Roma/Gypsy population. In the last decade, we have observed a growing financial investment of State, regional and local authorities in school-related interventions for Roma/Gitano children. Nevertheless, we have not been able to detect signs of significant improvement in their access of the labour market.

Although it is true that lower level of education corresponds to more limited opportunities in access to labour market, however does the contrary necessarily hold true? Do better academic credentials imply correspondingly better job opportunities? This paper shows that in fact, there is no reliable statistical data or relevant pieces of research that could prove this correspondence. Research shows that more than half of Roma people experience discriminative treatment, and the majority detect it while applying for a job and only to less extent in school, for example. This piece of information suggests that there is a third element between academic instruction and labour market that should be addressed, some structural factors. Even if it is undoubtedly a multivariable issue, there is empirical evidence for the existence of a “job-ceiling” for Roma people, and also for that they can clearly perceive it.

In the light of these facts, can we keep on speaking about school education as an overall improvement factor for labour market insertion of Roma people? We propose that more attention should be paid to the correlation of the composing elements of that triangle. Furthermore, based on previous research, better indicators should be implemented in order that the changes in outcomes could be measured in relation with the interventions of the public policies.

