

**To what extent does the European Union's policy on inclusion affect
the political representation of marginalised groups?**

Based on the case study of the Roma minority

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Abstract

This thesis combines insights from political science and history through theory extension. Causal process tracing is used to investigate the effects of the European Union's inclusion policy on minority representation. The thesis adopts a single case study of the Roma minority due to its complexity and uniqueness. The research uses various data generation and analysis methods, such as analysis of expert interviews and critical discourse analysis of speeches with a custom coding grid. Ten expert interviews with policymakers as well as civil society and advocacy organizations are conducted. The in-depth interview insights help identify the main historical causal factors that affect representation and measure the opinion of Roma stakeholders on the representativeness of the EU Roma Strategic Framework. The custom coding grid is used to analyze statements made by Members of the European Parliament during five Roma-related debates in the European Parliament and the LIBE Committee. The analysis of speeches explains the extent to which EP political parties in the European Parliament reflect the representation of the Roma minority. The study contributes to the academic debate by producing a more comprehensive understanding of minority representation in Europe through recognizing additional causal links. The most important identified causal factors are voice entrepreneurs, antigypsyism, public opinion, Europeanization and democratization, as well as openness and responsiveness of political systems and actors. Overall, the EU has grown more representative of minority views in recent years, but there is still misinformation and disagreement among MEPs. Some national governments still show clear signs of antigypsyism, which is often not explicitly recognized as a type of racism, making countermeasures more difficult to implement. While a more binding policy is virtually unachievable, the EU should focus on fighting the root cause of discrimination through education, increased horizontal and vertical communication as well as empowering minority interest groups.

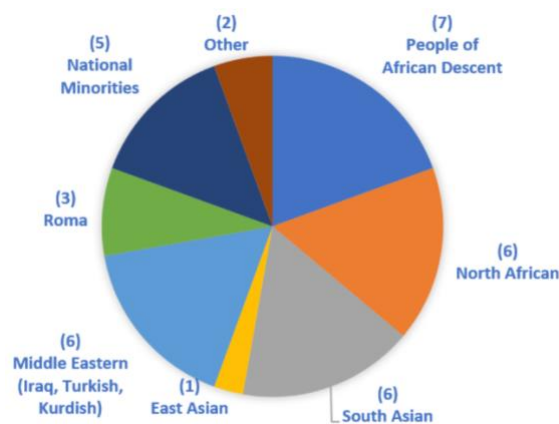
Problem Statement and Research Question

Ethnic minorities across Europe often find themselves marginalized and under-represented in the policymaking processes on a national and international scale. Most minority groups are seen as passive agents with little or no influence. Consequently, major political actors take a passive or negative stance towards minority inclusion (Schemer and Müller 2017). The lack of comprehensive ethnic integration further legitimizes the widespread public discrimination and leads to expanding socio-economic and socio-cultural cleavages (Newton and Deth 2016, 186; Phillips 2010, 221-2). The wave of populist nationalism in the European Union incited by the vast refugee influx has led to a racial crisis (De Genova 2018, 1772). With the re-emergence of the "Black Lives Matter" movement in the United States, the European Union found itself under particular scrutiny from the public for not encouraging more diversity of race and ethnicity (Onyeji 2010; De Genova 2018, 1767). Those developments prompted the von der Leyen Commission to

include ‘union of equality’ as one of its main political guidelines for 2019-24 (European Commission 2020a).

There are 12 million Roma estimated to reside across Europe, out of which over 6 million reside in the European Union, making Roma the largest ethnic minority in the EU (European Commission 2020b). In comparison, over 5 million Tatars reside in Europe, predominantly in Russia (Joshua Project n.d.) Even though historically, the Roma have been associated with constant migration, the majority is currently settled. Although divided into many sub-groups, the Roma minority has a common language and culture. Roma are spread predominantly across South-Eastern Europe, England and Germany (Amnesty International n.d.). Although they comprise the largest ethnic minority in Europe, there is a relatively low number of Roma MEPs in the European Parliament, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Racial and ethnic minority representation following the results of the 2019 European Parliament elections



Source: [ENAR’s Election Analysis - Ethnic minorities in the new European Parliament 2019-2025](#)

The EU Roma Strategic Framework 2020-30 and the preceding 2011 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies aim to increase Roma inclusion and create more equality (European Commission 2020c). Notably, the 2011 framework focuses predominantly on socio-economic aspects, whilst the post-2020 framework expands the scope of the previous framework by political and cultural issues (European Commission 2020b). Although the new framework brings significant improvements, many Roma still fall victim to discrimination and find themselves vastly underrepresented across all major EU institutions (EU Observer 2020).

For the purpose of this thesis, a single instrumental case study of the Roma minority will be adopted. The choice of a single case study is motivated by the complexity and uniqueness of the Roma minority. The thesis will provide more in-depth insights and tailored advice for policy improvement by adopting a single case study. As the definition of the term “Roma” can vary based

on the source, this thesis adopts the terminology used across all EU Roma-related policy and discussion:

“The umbrella-term ‘Roma’ encompasses diverse groups, including Roma, Sinti, Kale, Romanichels, Boyash/Rudari, Ashkali, Egyptians, Yenish, Dom, Lom, Rom and Abdal, as well as Traveller populations (gens du voyage, Gypsies, Camminanti, etc.).” (European Commission 2020b).

Notably, one has to remain critical about the definition created by policymakers, which might be a reflection of a political construct subject to specific interests (Surdu and Kovats 2015, 5). While a scholarly definition would be more desirable, a large number of academic articles do not provide a definition of Roma (e.g. Loveland and Popescu 2016; O’Nions 2011; Vermeersch 2012) or adopt rather vague definitions related to a shared culture and ‘cultural essence’ (Gay y Blasco 2008, 297; Yıldız and De Genova 2018, 432). Moreover, academic research is increasingly seen making use of the definition provided by the European Commission due to its comprehensiveness and inclusivity (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy 2017, 1048; Surdu and Kovats 2015, 6–7).

This thesis aims to assess the extent to which the European Union’s policy on inclusion affects the political representation of marginalized groups based on a single case study of the Roma minority. This will be done with the use of three sub-questions:

- What historical factors can explain the persistence of the exclusion of the Roma minority and discrimination in European Union politics?
- To what extent do the political parties in the European Parliament reflect the representation of the Roma Minority?
- To what extent do interest groups advocating for the rights of the Roma minority perceive the inclusion policies to make a significant difference in the representation of the Roma in European Union politics?

As there is no single definition of representation, this thesis adopts Hanna Pitkin’s (1967) definition of substantive representation because of its common usage throughout the literature (e.g. Rehfeld 2011; Urbinati 2006) and applicability to the subject studied (Zuber 2015). Some even suggest that Pitkin’s definition is “the best contemporary treatment of the concept of representation” (Shapiro 2009, 58). It relates to one’s interests and goals being represented either through descriptive representation, when part of the minority participates in politics, or non-descriptive representation, when someone who is not part of the minority speaks on their behalf to represent their goals and views (Pitkin 1967, 209-16). Non-descriptive representation can be motivated by intrinsic or extrinsic reasons, such as electoral support (Sobolewska, McKee, and Campbell 2018, 1238).

The choice of an EU perspective instead of a national focus is motivated by two reasons. Firstly, since the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007, countries where the majority of European Roma resided, such as Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, became part of the EU, which led to a broader spread of Roma across Western European countries (Vermeersch 2012, 2–3). Secondly, the issues experienced by Roma regarding discrimination and exclusion often transcend national boundaries (Fekete 2014). This is illustrated by the public debates on the EU scale regarding the Roma minority and the introduction of the EU Roma Strategic Framework 2020-30 (European Commission 2020c). Due to the EU-based focus of the thesis, the presented insights will date back to the fall of the communist regime in 1989.

Relevance

Producing more research on the subject of minority representation in European Politics is of great societal and academic importance. A comprehensive interdisciplinary study can combine insights from multiple disciplines to provide an in-depth understanding of the subject, which supersedes disciplinary findings. Moreover, the identified causal factors help to establish additional directions for future research on minority representation. Therefore, this thesis has academic relevance. It could also contribute to identifying the crucial factors necessary for bridging social and cultural gaps through policymaking, creating more social cohesion. It is significant in terms of improving societal integration as well as upholding democratic values and fundamental human rights (Onyeji 2010, 1). Additionally, the research can improve policies by providing information regarding the needs of various stakeholders, as well as the main drivers of the problems related to minority representation. If the suggested policy improvements proved helpful, a more equal democratic system could be established in the European Union, with fair representation of ethnic minorities. Therefore, this thesis also possesses societal relevance.

Interdisciplinary Approach

Minority representation in EU politics is a complex and multifaceted subject, which is often studied from a variety of perspectives. As the topic receives attention from various fields of study, it already exceeds disciplinary boundaries. Moreover, to produce a more comprehensive answer to the research question, interdisciplinary research is necessary. This thesis adopts political science as its main discipline, coupled with history as a complementary discipline.

Political Science is concerned with the dynamic power relations that influence the policymaking process. It helps explain why certain groups can influence the decision-making procedures while other groups are deliberately excluded (Clark, Golder, and Golder 2017, 47-8). This is useful for assessing the effectiveness of inclusion policies because it explains key political actors' preferences and how they affect minority representation. The political perspective also provides

insights beyond major political players to consider mobilization of citizens and interest groups whose actions shape the political arena in liberal democracies. Political science also highlights the complex balance of democratic deficit and legitimacy. Increasing minority representation to fight the democratic deficit may also decrease legitimacy if majorities aim to exclude minorities (Bache et al. 2020, 58–9).

The historical perspective allows the thesis to assess the policymaking process as part of broader historical developments over a given period, providing a wider context (Evans 2012, 135). As historical questions often focus on how and why some changes occur, the historical point of view helps understand the root causes of minority exclusion and discrimination over time. This can be achieved by assessing changes in the discourse regarding Roma's political representation and analyzing how various actors related to the cultural, societal and political developments (Achim 2013, 203-15). By assessing the changes of the past three decades, the thesis identifies and explains concrete reasons for the current state of inclusion policy and its efficacy.

Alternative disciplines often applied to study minority representation are sociology and anthropology. Sociology can be defined as a “science of the organization and evolution of society” (Ellwood 1907, 303). Political science often overlaps with political sociology, as both provide insights into the relations between various groups in society in the context of politics. Nevertheless, political sociology is restricted in its focus, as it does not put much emphasis on government-derived power. Its application to public policy and policymaking is also limited (Williams 2000, 122), making political science a more suitable option for the purpose of this thesis. Anthropology studies humankind in a variety of complex contexts, including geographical, economic, socio-cultural, political and religious systems (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013, VII). The scope of interest of anthropology is much broader than that of political science, incorporating insights ranging from biology to geography, which goes beyond the research question adopted in the thesis. Anthropology of Public Policy, which aims to analyze the “constellations of actors, activities, and influences that shape policy decisions” (Wedel et al. 2005), overlaps with political science, but produces limited insights on power and authority.

State-of-the-art and theoretical framework

A comprehensive interdisciplinary explanation of the influence of inclusion policy on political representation can be achieved by integrating the disciplinary insights. To establish a strong foundation for the integration, a common ground will be created using the methodology provided by Repko, Szostak and Buchberger (2020), as well as Keestra and Menken (2017). Firstly, a literature review is conducted to collect and integrate insights from various disciplines. Secondly, the main theories are identified thanks to the literature review and their similarities and differences, necessary for creating the common ground, are discussed. Finally, a new comprehensive theory is developed by integrating theoretical insights identified through the literature review.

State-of-the-art

Stephen Deets and Will Kymlicka have contributed significantly to understanding minority representation through the application of Liberal Democratic Theory from two viewpoints (Deets 2000; 2002). Liberal Democratic Theory suggests that democracy can be seen as a solution to prevent discrimination and ensure the rights of minorities, in particular regarding social provisions and political representation (Deets 2000). Will Kymlicka (1995, 1–6) explains that minorities in liberal democracies are protected by civil and political rights, which assess the society from behind the ‘veil of ignorance’, without differentiation by race or ethnicity. Stephen Deets (2002, 51–3) disagrees with this universalist view and explains that lack of differentiation can lead to further conflicts within civil society and social exclusion of minorities. Nimni (2015, 23) expands Deets’ criticism by suggesting that the cultural status quo will prevail under a universalist liberal democratic regime, turning cultural pluralism and diversity into minority alienation and monism.

Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst (2010) provide an excellent balance between the two views as they argue for a mix of a multicultural approach with differentiated policies and an established system with equal rights. In a macro-context, minorities should have the same fundamental legal rights as all European citizens: “access to legal citizenship, cultural rights of citizenship, social and economic rights” (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010, 13). Additionally, minority groups should also receive a differential treatment regarding political mobilization, which is often dependent on the openness and responsiveness of the political system (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010, 13-4). The importance of mobilization requires recognition and openness of prominent political leaders in the EU to increase the political representation of minorities, especially regarding membership and leadership positions in EU-wide and national political structures (Bloemraad and Schönwälder 2013, 565).

Political representation of ethnic minority groups can lead to a higher degree of civil trust and increased societal and political integration (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010, 6). Public policy can be considered undemocratic, and its legitimacy might be questioned if part of the population does not feel represented in the legislative procedure. This could lead to civil conflict and alienation of minorities from politics (Pitkin 1967, 209; Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010). The challenge of minority groups to gain fairer political representation lies in being perceived by the political actors and the general public as politically relevant. To that end, the minority group should be perceived as favorable for improving the state’s well-being (Williams 2000, 30–7). The spread of right-wing populism, paired with the economic downturn, further increases prejudice and antigypsyism¹,

¹A working definition of antigypsyism is as follows:

“Antigypsyism is a historically constructed, persistent complex of customary racism against social groups identified under the stigma ‘gypsy’ or other related terms, and incorporates:

1. a homogenizing and essentializing perception and description of these groups;
2. the attribution of specific characteristics to them;
3. discriminating social structures and violent practices that emerge against that background, which have a degrading and ostracizing effect and which reproduce structural disadvantages.” (Alliance Against Antigypsyism 2016, 11).

which negatively affects the public opinion of the Roma minority (Grabbe and Groot 2014, 33–4). Influential ‘voice entrepreneurs’, such as advocacy and civil society groups, are instrumental in framing the perception of minority groups (Urbinati and Warren 2008, 388–9).

Viorel Achim (2013), in his book about the history of Roma in Romania, talks about the fragile state of Roma integration within civil society since the 1990s. In particular, the economic downturn, which followed the fall of communism, had an enormous negative impact on Roma unemployment and poverty. Due to their “lacking the qualifications, education and capital” (Achim 2013, 209), Roma became highly marginalized and excluded from some of the societal benefits. McGarry (2008, 449) explains that the fall of the communist regime prompted widespread discrimination and persecution against Roma throughout Europe, often leading to violence and pogroms of Roma.

Sambati (2018) and End (2013) reason how sociocultural evolutionism relates to the history of Roma. Sociocultural evolutionism explains changes in social, cultural and political structures over time and the perception of such changes (Sewell 2005, 1–8; Klüver 2002, 1–3). In the post-communist period, the ‘Gypsy’ group found itself under particular scrutiny due to their unique culture and history. The lack of understanding among the general population has led to oversimplified and understated portrayals of Roma, who were often denied their cultural and historical association (Sambati 2018, 36-7; End 2013, 143). Attitudes such as antigypsyism and racialization² motivated the formation of a Roma social movement (Sambati 2018, 40). As Romani Nationalism developed, a “common historiography and a coherent cultural set of characteristics” (Sambati 2018, 43) were established. Moreover, Roma activists and leaders have mobilized to increase political representation and fight antigypsyism (Sambati 2018, 43–61). It is essential to recognize that antigypsyism is a prevalent problem, shaped by the social construction and perception of “Europeanness” influenced by major historical events (Alliance Against Antigypsyism 2016, 7).

Iлона Klímová (2002) assesses the situation of the Roma representation in 1989-2002 through the scope of mobilization. Her main findings suggest that many of the Roma-led associations, political parties and foundations (Klímová 2002) within Central Europe had a short lifespan due to limited governmental acceptance, support and especially funding. Sambati (2018, 29) explains that the first significant wave of Roma mobilization and optimism came due to growing democratization in Europe in the 1990s. The second wave was related to the EU enlargements of the early 2000s. McGarry (2011, 283) adds that, due to discrimination on a national level, Roma became more active in EU politics after the EU enlargement of 2004 and 2007 to address discriminatory policies and circumvent the national policy deadlock.

² Racialization can be defined as: “the act of giving a racial character to someone or something: the process of categorizing, marginalizing, or regarding according to race” (Merriam Webster n.d.).

Hoch Jovanovic (2014) explains that minority rights are nowadays significantly affected by EU politics. Grzymala-Busse and Innes (2003, 64) claim that EU membership improved the rights of ethnic groups. This is achieved by adopting EU policies and norms on a national scale (Nancheva 2007, 390). Europeanization theory explains that nation-states give up some of their sovereignty and derive top-down policy changes from the EU policymaking field (Jovanovic 2014, 1). Europeanization can be defined as “the process through which domestic politics and polities are changed by their engagement with the EU” (Bache et al. 2020, 46). The success of EU-wide policy can be threatened by democratic backsliding and unwillingness to yield decision making power by the member states (Bache et al. 2020, 52).

From Jovanovic’s (2014) work, one could deduce that, because minority-related policies are made mainly on the EU scale, and countries often override EU-wide decisions, EU minority policies can often be unsuccessful in their implementation. Additionally, national and local governments might use Europeanization as an excuse to tackle the social concerns on an international level while evading implementation locally. Poor data collection and insufficient development of indicators for impact assessment, as well as limited local support of governing elites and the general population further complicate the task of increasing minority inclusion and political representation (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012, 802). Not only is there a limited monitoring framework, but the European Commission is also limited in its capacity to monitor Member States’ implementation of cohesion policies (Brusis 2003, 3).

Marsch and Norris (1997) provide crucial insights for understanding the link between Europeanization and political representation, explaining why EU-wide policy might not be successful. Their paper on representation in the European Parliament states that the general public has a relatively minimal influence on EU politics. As the EU policymaking scope expands across more policy areas, bureaucratic procedures ‘behind closed doors’ dictate more policy reforms. This development leads to a democratic deficit, which can be partially counteracted by increasing the political representation of minorities. Nonetheless, such an outcome might not be considered legitimate by sovereign national member states (Marsh and Norris 1997, 153-61).

The groundbreaking work of Katharina Crepaz on the impact of Europeanization on minority representation extends the ‘top-down’ approach, focused on the policy and norm consequences of EU accession, by the ‘bottom-up’ approach, concerned with a variety of non-state actors, such as advocacy networks and civil society (Crepaz 2016, 15–6). According to Crepaz (2016, 16), various interest groups could increase the representation of minorities through the bottom-up (uploading) approach by raising awareness and networking. To that end, the Europeanization process might increase input legitimacy, concerned with the inclusion of stakeholders, which is limited in the top-down (downloading) approach regarding minority inclusion policy. In this broad understanding, the Europeanization process can influence the mobilization, involvement and lobbying capacity of minority groups across all stages of the policymaking process (Crepaz 2016,

42). Cerpaz’s approach to studying Europeanization seems more coherent with the Europeanization definition provided by Hirschhausen and Patel (2010, 2), who see Europeanization as “a variety of political, social, economic and cultural processes that promote (or modify) a sustainable strengthening of intra-European connections and similarities through actors of emulation, exchange and entanglement and that have been experienced and labelled as ‘European’ in the course of history.”

Theoretical Framework

The three theories selected for this thesis are Liberal Democratic Theory from political science, Sociocultural Evolutionism from history and Europeanization Theory, which incorporates insights from both disciplines. They are prominent theories receiving much attention in the subject of minority representation, and therefore serve as a solid set of theories for studying the subject.

Two crucial sources of strengths and weaknesses have been identified: depth and scope. With regards to depth, the insights should explain a specific phenomenon with a significant amount of detail. When it comes to scope, the research area should be broad enough to produce explanations for a large range of issue areas. The overview of the selected theories and their assessment in terms of depth and scope is provided in Table 1. Interdisciplinary integration is necessary to create a comprehensive understanding of the problem with increased depth and scope.

Table 1: Theoretical insights- depth and scope

	DEPTH	SCOPE
LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC THEORY	+	-/+
SOCIOCULTURAL EVOLUTIONISM	+	-/+
EUROPEANIZATION THEORY	-/+	+

Theoretical Similarities and Differences

Reconciled understanding of the problem at hand can be achieved through identifying, modifying and reinterpreting conflicting and complementary theories, insights, assumptions, methodology and concepts (Repko, Szostak, and Buchberger 2020, 309–14). A suitable integration technique can be selected by assessing the degree of overlap and disagreement between the theories. As shown by Kestra and Menken (2017, 78), analyzing differences and similarities with the use of a data management table is necessary for creating common ground. Therefore, a data management table (Appendix 1) has been created to identify complementary and conflicting disciplinary components.

Similarities

In terms of assumptions and methodology, all theories identify political forces as crucial for studying minority representation. Sociocultural evolutionism expands the political focus by also considering social and cultural forces. The Europeanization theory additionally mentions economic forces. Thus, the Europeanization theory has the most extensive scope, producing complementary rather than conflicting insights.

In terms of theoretical insights, all theories agree that top-down and bottom-up movements can increase political representation. In particular, the support and openness of the major political actors and highly mobilized advocacy networks and civil society groups are of great importance. An economic downturn linked to populism by Liberal Democratic Theory negatively affects minority representation. Both Sociocultural Evolutionism and Liberal Democratic Theory provide insights on how the general public opinion, among other factors affected by the economic situation, can further antigypsyism.

The most prevalent concepts occurring across all theories are mobilization and activism. All theories mention advocacy as a central concept related to bottom-up movements. From the top-down perspective, concepts such as openness of the political system or governmental support seem similar in meaning. The theories also mention more broadly interrelated concepts, such as public opinion/perception and legitimacy. Although in the socio-cultural sense, public support is more related to the perception of “Europeanness”, there is a sufficient agreement across the theories that a lack of broadly understood public support leads to limited representation.

Differences

Although the chosen theoretical framework differs in scope and depth, most differences are complementary rather than conflicting. According to Liberal Democratic Theory, minority representation is desirable. This is not as explicit in Sociocultural Evolutionism or Europeanization theory, which put more emphasis on public perception and output legitimacy. These insights can be combined to say that minority representation is desirable when it produces output legitimacy, which is dependent on public perception. Another assumption of the Liberal Democratic Theory that differs from other theories is that politicians are office-seeking and self-interested. While this might be true, Sociocultural Evolutionism and Europeanization adopt a more constructivist approach, highlighting that socialization can also affect norms and behavior within the policymaking realm (Lewis 2005).

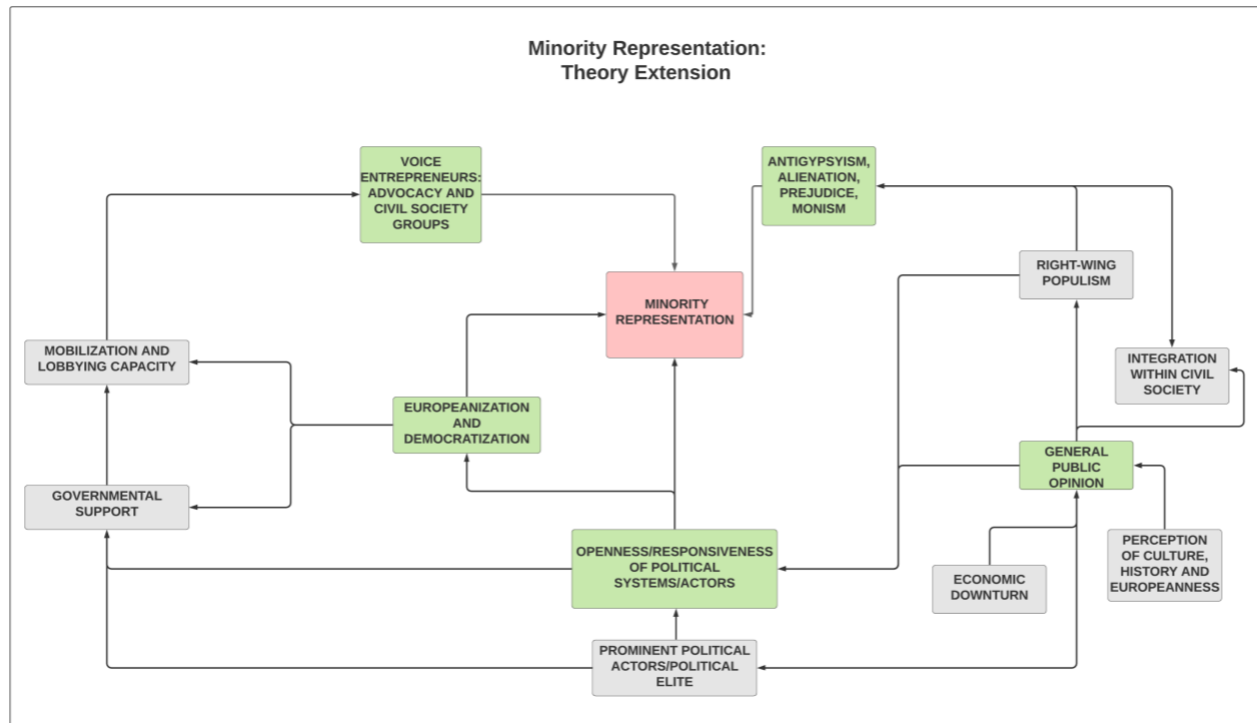
When it comes to theoretical insights, the Europeanization theory and Sociocultural Evolutionism suggest that the EU enlargement improved the situation of Roma. However, Sociocultural Evolutionism adds crucial insights about the general perception of the “Europeanness” of Roma, which affects the success of the inclusion policy. Even though the theories produce insights on top-down and bottom-up movements, some are highlighted more in particular theories. For example, Liberal Democratic Theory predominantly focuses on top-down changes.

When it comes to concepts, some seem to appear only in a single theory and not others. Nonetheless, they are usually of a complementary nature. Universalism is the concept that could clash the most with other theories. However, even Liberal Democracy scholars argue for a more balanced hybrid system with elements of multiculturalism to increase minority representation (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010; Deets 2000).

Insights Integration and final theoretical model

Due to the identified theoretical insights being complementary rather than conflicting, theory extension³ is a suitable integration technique. The causal factors identified through various theoretical insights are combined to create a more comprehensive understanding of the factors affecting minority representation (Keestra and Menken 2017, 44-5; Repko 2007, 16). For the purpose of theory extension, Chart 1 shows the most important links between theoretical insights. The major factors that affect minority representation are marked in green. Additional significant influences are marked in grey. A more extensive version of the chart can be found in Appendix 2.

³ In the framework provided by Repko, Szostak and Buchberger (2020) ‘theory extension’ is called ‘theory expansion’. Both relate to the same integration technique.

Chart 1: Theory Extension

(See Appendix 2 for an extended version)

Openness and responsiveness of the political systems and actors, which is highly influenced by the political elite, is a crucial factor that affects democratization and Europeanization processes. Higher openness and responsiveness might lead to more effective policies due to increased transparency and data collection. It also defines the extent of governmental support of minority groups. Governmental support strongly affects mobilization and capacity building of advocacy and civil society groups. Nevertheless, the interest groups often require a clear common goal and a collective identity to mobilize successfully. Only with a high level of mobilization and high capacity can the interest groups become voice entrepreneurs and improve minority representation.

Notably, Europeanization and democratization processes are instrumental in further strengthening the capacity and representation of minorities. The success of Europeanization is affected by the willingness of sovereign governments to give up some of the decision-making power to make collective supranational decisions. The decision-making and implementation processes need to be seen as legitimate to reduce democratic backsliding.

Another crucial aspect that can result in changes in minority representation is the general public opinion. The level of economic prosperity can strongly alter the public support of minority groups and long-term forged perceptions of culture, history and “Europeanness”. By framing Roma as non-European and cultural outsiders, the problems facing the Roma minority have been

deliberately or implicitly misidentified. Politicians, media and the general public deny that socio-economic equality is a significant issue and instead suggest Roma culture and lifestyle as the main problems negatively affecting the representation of Roma needs (Vermeersch 2012).

An economic downturn, with increased unemployment and poverty, can not only lead to negative public perception but also (xenophobic) populism and nationalist movements. To that end, the integration within civil society might be negatively affected. This might lead to considerable prejudice against minorities, which can be reflected in violence against minority groups and exclusion from societal benefits, either formally, for example, through limited welfare provisions and residence rights (Fekete 2014) or informally through social exclusion and prejudice (Onyeji 2010). In the case of the Roma minority, antigypsyism is one of the most important factors that requires substantial attention to improve representation.

Methods and Research Design

This thesis uses a variety of qualitative research methods to study the complex social phenomenon of minority representation from a variety of perspectives and with much attention to the context in which the most important actors and events find themselves (Manheim et al. 2018, 75). Qualitative research design produces a more comprehensive understanding through extensive and engaging interactions with the subjects studied (Manheim et al. 2018, 77–8). A single case study is adopted to better investigate “the perceptions and motivations of important actors and to trace the processes by which these cognitive factors form and change” (Blatter and Haverland 2012a, 6).

To investigate the effect of inclusion policy on Roma representation in the European Union, this paper adopts the case study typology of Causal Process Tracing (CPT). CPT is suitable for interpreting specific necessary and jointly-sufficient causes, as it allows better to reveal the context and processes behind complex issues. Because the subject of Roma representation is quite complex, CPT is of great use in identifying not only the key events and actors but also the underlying societal changes and perceptions (Blatter and Haverland 2012b, 22–31). To generate data, this research adopts a variety of methods that could reveal the underlying context and produce a coherent and comprehensive response to the research question.

To identify the main factors that lead to Roma-exclusion (sub-question 1) and measure the perception of inclusion policies (sub-question 3), a series of ten expert interviews are conducted. The number of interviews has been limited to ten due to the number of possible interviewees with expert knowledge and time constraints. As the interviews are relatively thorough, an in-depth understanding of the studied phenomenon is achieved even with fewer observations (Manheim et al. 2018, 320). Elite interviews were chosen because expert policymakers, politicians and interest groups have a high degree of knowledge regarding the EU’s Roma inclusion policy. The interview

is conducted in a semi-structured manner, with most of the questions prepared in advance. The questions (Appendix 3) are designed to be open but specific so that the interviewee can answer them with ease while still having an indication of the time frame and place. Clarifying and exploratory probes are used to increase the depth of insights. Each interviewee signs a consent form for audio-visual recording and anonymous use of information (Appendix 4). The information is gathered whilst sustaining confidentiality in order to ensure that the subjects can speak truthfully and need not modify their behavior to fit the stance of the organization they represent (Manheim et al. 2018, 77–8). To uphold anonymity whilst at the same time indicating the positionality of the interviewed actors, the following scheme has been created:

Table 2: List of interviewees

Reference	Description
*(all interviews took place in 2021)	
Interviewee 1	Bulgarian Roma activist and a Project Assistant at a transnational Roma youth organization/advocacy group
Interviewee 2	Director of a European Roma grassroots organization
Interviewee 3	EU Policy Officer
Interviewee 4	Deputy Director of a European organization promoting equality
Interviewee 5	Roma scholar and former external advisor on Roma issues to the European Commission
Interviewee 6	EU Policy Officer
Interviewee 7	Governmental official at a National Roma Contact Point in Bulgaria
Interviewee 8	Roma scholar, German human rights activists and a political advisor at a German Roma rights group
Interviewee 9	Senior Policy Analyst regarding Roma related issues at a human rights foundation
Interviewee 10	Roma Member of the European Parliament

Additional information has been gathered for interviewee selection, backup data collection and verification of interviewees' statements. The sources of information include, but are not limited to, transcripts of speeches and written or spoken statements, official meeting minutes and reports, as well as broadly understood media content, such as radio, podcast, newspapers and mini-documentaries.

To assess the level of representation of Roma in the European Parliament (sub-question 2), a critical discourse analysis (CDA) is conducted. CDA is particularly useful for analyzing political

power, abuse and domination. To that end, it helps to assess the socio-political consequences of abuse of power and how such abuse relates to inequality of representation (van Dijk 1997). Statements made by MEPs during five Roma-related debates in the European Parliament and the European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) as well as statements on the official websites of the European Parliament's political parties are subjected to analysis with the use of an analysis grid. CDA requires a tailored approach to measure the "context-specific and historically sensitive" factors (Chouliaraki 2008, 25). Therefore, a unique analysis grid (Appendix 5) has been created. The design of the grid is based on Fairclough's (1992, 98) three-dimensional approach of discourse analysis combined with embedded political discourse features suggested by Babb et al. (2012, 354). Swinkels and van Esch's *Sense-Making Coding Grid* (n.d.) and values identified in Stone (2011, part 2) inspired the categories and questions. Notably, the variables and corresponding questions have been adapted to study the subject of minority representation.

Results and Analysis

This section discusses the results of the interviews and the Causal Process Tracing analysis by exploring each of the three sub-questions. All the research insights are examined together in relation to the broader research question and suggestions for policy improvement are offered.

The following sub-questions will be discussed in turn:

- What historical factors can explain the persistence of the exclusion of the Roma minority and discrimination in European Union politics?
- To what extent do the political parties in the European Parliament reflect the representation of the Roma Minority?
- To what extent do interest groups advocating for the rights of the Roma minority perceive the inclusion policies to make a significant difference in the representation of the Roma in European Union politics?

Sub-question 1: Roma exclusion and discrimination in EU politics

The interviews proved particularly useful for identifying the leading causes that influence the degree of success of Roma policy and affect Roma exclusion and discrimination. The main themes that seem prevalent across all interviews are the perception of Europeanness and general public attitudes, the rise of populism, antigypsyism, and limited mobilization.

Theme one: public perception

Since the fall of the communist regime and the transformation from socialism to a market economy, the public perception of Roma has worsened and led to broadly understood social exclusion (Interviewee 8). Roma were often seen as distinct from the rest of society, perceived as criminals who live in ghettos and extreme poverty (Interviewee 1). The language, culture, history and socio-economic status have been ethnicized and negatively exploited by politicians and the media to create a misguided Roma discourse (Interviewee 1, 6, 7 and 8). A Roma policy analyst said that 90% of the media portray Roma negatively (Interviewee 9). Roma have been framed by powerful political actors as welfare-dependent and antisocial as well as dangerous and threatening, which led them to deny their identity and limit their participation in civil society (Interviewee 5 and 6). With little regard for Roma culture and history, European governments often put Roma in segregated schools, sometimes even for the mentally disabled. In particular, many children were segregated into special schools or classes in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary (Interviewee 2), but there was also segregation in Spain, France, Greece and Italy (Interviewee 9).

The Europeanization process increased the pressure on national governments and broadened the outreach of Roma. The enlargements of 2004 and 2007 allowed the Roma to reallocate to the West. Nevertheless, the Fundamental Rights Agency Survey shows very little progress regarding Roma perception due to increased Europeanness (Interviewee 4). The Western countries adopted a rather hostile approach towards the Roma minority. The Roma from Bulgaria and Romania were perceived as a threat. “Western European countries [saw] the Roma movement as a problem” (Interviewee 1). They were seen as ethnic outsiders, which led EU countries, particularly the Netherlands, to oppose Bulgaria and Romania’s joining the Schengen area. “To me, this is clearly related to Roma movements”, said a Roma activist (Interviewee 1). A large number of forced Roma evictions in France in 2012-2017 (‘Roma Evictions in France’ n.d.) driven by a “racist agenda” forced the EU to take a more active stance in the Roma related discussions, with the need to frame the issue in terms of inclusion rather than security (Interviewee 3 and 8). Three MEPs were instrumental in redefining the problems of Roma and pushing towards the first EU framework, namely Livia Járóka, Soraya Post and Viktória Mohácsi (Interviewee 8). Notably, the increased influx of refugees can help to change the perception of Roma. They could become part of the negative campaigns against refugees or be considered favorably as they are more domestic (Interviewee 4).

Theme two: populism

As expressed by a director of a grassroots organization, “nationalism and extreme right are becoming a tremendous threat for Roma” (Interviewee 2), especially in the last fifteen years due to financial downturns and the migration crisis (Interviewee 9). While populism can lead to a

negative portrayal of Roma in politics, this is not always the case. Sometimes Roma are excluded from politics due to other topics being seen as more attractive, such as migration (Interviewee 2 and 6). Other times, the migration crisis can be politically abused to frame Roma in a negative light (Interviewee 8 and 9). Nevertheless, when Roma are involved in far-right political parties' agenda, they are often used as scapegoats for failure in society to gain political support from the general public (Interviewee 10). The anti-Roma attitudes are so strong in many EU countries that during national elections, "as a politician, you do not want to put on your agenda that you will fight for Roma" to keep political support (Interviewee 9). Far-right political actors spread stereotypes about Roma and thus hinder the improvement of their socio-economic status. Even when they are not in government, they can influence how society thinks about Roma, and thus, the agendas of mainstream political parties are pushed towards the far-right side (Interviewee 4).

There is also a long history of police violence and political hate speech against Roma in many EU countries (Interviewee 4 and 10). Members of the Roma minority find themselves under threat of physical violence. One example of this are the racial killings of Roma in Hungary in 2008-2009 (Interviewee 8). The Covid19 pandemic proved that in many European countries, such as Romania, Bulgaria, or Slovakia, the negative political discourse is not just an issue of the past (Interviewee 1, 4 and 10). In Bulgaria, several Roma neighborhoods have been sprayed with disinfectant from the sky using crop dusters (Interviewee 1; Cheng 2020). Nevertheless, an EU policymaker claimed that "it would be too easy to blame the rise of populism for the situation of Roma" (Interviewee 6).

Theme three: antigypsyism

The real danger experienced by Roma, according to the interviewees, is antigypsyism prompted by the ignorance of the general society and lack of willingness to learn about Roma history (Interviewee 1, 2 and 6). Although antigypsyism is a form of racism, it is much more socially acceptable (Interviewee 3). Antigypsyism is visible in hate crimes and, on a more implicit level, as part of daily life and policy. White supremacy and elitist approaches reinforce the discrimination that negatively affects access to employment and housing, education, schooling, legal assistance, and resources necessary for mobilization (Interviewee 2). Due to a long history of structural and institutional discrimination, the "Roma problem" has become so structurally implicit that lack of punishment for crimes against Roma, as well as common acceptance of racism and no political backing have become more common (Interviewee 2 and 4). In other words, "it is a norm to be racist against Roma" (Interviewee 2).

Across Europe, there are many examples of policies designed to keep Roma dependent on the welfare state without the possibility of succeeding in the labor market. Frequently the root causes of antigypsyism are not tackled by the national policymakers, which leads to inefficient and

ineffective governmental spending and limited progress (Interviewee 8). Many countries in Europe spent millions of EU funds to integrate Roma into social housing, effectively leading to evictions of hundreds of people (Interviewee 9). In Bulgaria, the national government is blocking European Funds for social projects such as Roma housing due to the general population not wanting to have Roma neighbors (Interviewee 7). A Roma MEP states that antigypsyism is the leading cause due to which equality, inclusion, and participation cannot be achieved effectively (Interviewee 10). As explained by a Roma policy analyst, “the solution for Roma inclusion and representation is to change those [antigypsyist] attitudes” (Interviewee 9). Whilst the EU serves as a platform for Roma (Interviewee 6), the European integration strategies are not effective in fighting antigypsyism (Interviewee 1). As a Roma activist says, “we renamed the issue, but this does not mean that the issue has been solved or there is improvement in solving the issue” (Interviewee 1).

Theme four: limited mobilization

Mobilization of Roma and increasing political representation would positively affect political representation (Interviewee 4). As mentioned by a senior policy analyst, “when Roma are able to organize and think together as voters [...] only then they are able to articulate their demands for policy change” (Interviewee 9). Historically, Roma communities were often built around evangelical churches (Interviewee 1). In Germany, the 70s and 80s were characterized by increased collaboration between groups of young Roma and the holocaust survivors. The issue of representation was rephrased from holocaust recognition to becoming a recognized minority (Interviewee 8). Roma-led organizations also learned from the civil rights movement in the US to forge coalitions with non-Roma (Interviewee 9). The growing popularity of far-right parties in the early 2000s, such as Fidesz in Hungary and Ataka in Bulgaria, brought Roma civil movement together due to a common threat (Interviewee 1). At the same time, the organizations struggled to incentivize Roma to participate in politics due to decreasing interest in elections caused by empty promises and corruption in some Eastern-European states (Interviewee 1).

Perhaps the most important finding from the interviews not mentioned in the theoretical framework is the political dependence of Roma civil society organizations. As mentioned by a human rights activist and a policy advisor, 90% of civil society organizations are entirely dependent on state and EU funding. “Instead of civil society being a critical voice to keep the government accountable, basically the governments make civil society as service providers and keep NGOs accountable because they receive funding” (Interviewee 8). While the Alliance Against Antigypsyism⁴ brings a critical voice to policy discourse, the civil society remains conceptualized as service providers

⁴ While many organizations are part of the Alliance Against Antigypsyism, the main coordinators are “ERGO Network, the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma and the European Network against Racism” (ERGO Network, n.d.).

rather than structures to represent the community and have a critical voice in the public arena (Interviewee 8).

Sub-question 2: The European Parliament's reflection of representation

Since the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, the EU has become an instrumental actor in putting the Roma issue on the political agenda and shaping Roma policy (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012, 804–5). A senior policy advisor explains that “policy coming out of the European Parliament is very much less reflective of ethnic minorities or migrants because they are not directly there”⁵ (Psaledakis 2019). Hannah Pitkin suggests that we can also assess representation based on the actions of elected officials (Pitkin 1967, 209-16).

To assess the representativeness of Roma by parties in the European Parliament, various documents have been analyzed:

- European Parliament debate (Strasbourg): *Fighting against antisemitism, racism and hatred across Europe* (European Parliament 2020a)
- Online LIBE committee meeting (European Parliament 2020b)
- European Parliament debate (Brussels): *Boosting Roma inclusion process in Europe for the next decade* (European Parliament 2020c)
- European Parliament debate (Brussels): *Roma integration strategies* (European Parliament 2019a)
- European Parliament debate (Strasbourg): *Roma integration strategies* (European Parliament 2019b)
- Additionally: official websites of the political parties

Notably, four out of five debates discuss the EU Roma Strategic Framework, which means that the insights from the debates serve as reflections on the policy itself.

Table 3 shows a summary of the results of the Critical Discourse Analysis. The complete analysis can be found in Appendix 6. Each party has received an overall score from -18 to 18 as well as individual scores across the three political discourse features, namely structures and identities, dynamics and agency. As can be seen, parties such as EPP, S&D and the Greens received high scores across the three categories, whilst parties such as Renew, GUE/NGL and ECR found themselves in the middle. Only ID received a negative score, which is additionally relatively close to the negative extreme.

⁵ The number of Roma representatives has decreased from five to three after the 2019 EP elections (Psaledakis 2019).

Table 3: Critical Discourse Analysis results

<i>Political Party/Score</i>	Structures and Identities Score	Dynamics Score	Agency Score	Overall Score
EPP- European People's Party	7/7	6/6	4/5	17/18
S&D- Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats	6/7	6/6	5/5	17/18
Renew- Renew Europe (previously ALDE)	5/7	4/6	4/5	13/18
ECR- European Conservatives and Reformists	3/7	2/6	4/5	9/18
ID- Identity and Democracy	-5/7	-4/6	-3/5	-12/18
Greens/EFA- Greens/European Free Alliance	7/7	6/6	5/5	18/18
GUE/NGL- Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left	6/7	3/6	2/5	11/18

As can be seen in Table 3, the Greens received the highest score. The speeches made by members of the party showed a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted problems experienced by the Roma community and the willingness to act together with other actors to achieve clear objectives. This score does not come as a surprise due to the influence of Romeo Franz⁶, who is a German Roma MEP from the Greens, strongly advocating for the implementation of the EU Roma Strategic Framework. Both S&D and EPP are also amongst the strongest proponents of a comprehensive Roma Strategy. Interestingly, members of EPP and S&D commented on the

⁶ Romeo Franz is also an author of an influential *Report on the implementation of National Roma Integration Strategies* as a rapporteur in the LIBE committee (European Parliament 2020d).

adverse effects on Roma inclusion associated with far-right movements. Such comments led to verbal clashes with the ID group, who, during one of the debates, urged the rest of the Parliament to “stop calling right-wing nationalist colleagues racists” (European Parliament 2020a).

The Renew group received a lower score as they have often failed to address the Roma-related points of interest as comprehensively as other parties. They also did not explicitly indicate Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda, which has been done by the Greens, EPP and S&D. Similar assessment can be made about GUE/NGL. The statements of MEPs were relatively short, with several issues either briefly addressed or not at all. The relevant actors and actions have also not been clearly outlined by the party. Nevertheless, a good understanding of socio-economic problems as well as inclusion and discrimination issues was shown.

Analyzing the ECR group produced fascinating results. While the group explicitly acknowledged socio-economic issues, they, at the same time and on multiple occasions, hinted that discrimination is not an issue relevant in the Roma debate. One of the ECR’s MEPs used possibly offensive language towards other Parliamentarians by expressing the following opinion: “[...] some of you practice saying that there was discrimination in Bulgaria. Honestly, I would not comment on this because most of you do not know where Bulgaria is on the map. You have no idea what you are talking about. You speak by heart, as usual.” (European Parliament 2020c). When it comes to concrete actions that should be taken, ECR focused mainly on welfare provisions, while other parties, such as the Greens, S&D and EPP, were much more elaborate. Even concerning the social provisions, ECR produced contradictory statements as to identifying the actors responsible.

As the only party receiving a relatively low negative score, ID proved to have a limited understanding of the problems faced by the Roma community, which can be seen in the following statements: “There are major problems with people with Roma background. They struggle to find housing, but if you are not successful professionally, then it is perhaps not surprising. Germans and people from other countries who are not appropriately qualified and do not have jobs also have the same problem.” (European Parliament 2020b). Nor was discrimination and inclusion seen as essential issues that should be tackled. The ID groups produced statements, which could be described as discriminatory, especially towards some of the Roma MEPs present during the debates. For example, an ID MEP said: “This unfortunately happens with the Roma, who in our country have given birth to criminal networks, evading the census, while we are all registered, and who exploit their children, forced to beg, who are denied even the right to school.” (European Parliament 2020c). Finally, the ID group distinguished themselves as unrepresentative of Roma views by denying that the EU should support Roma-related causes.

Concerning the previously mentioned definition of representation, which suggested that one does not need to be part of the minority to represent it, it is interesting to see that parties which have had Roma MEPs seem to receive the highest scores. There is a strong influence on Roma

discussions of Romeo Franz in the Greens, Lívía Járóka⁷ and Peter Pollák in the EPP as well as Soraya Post, until the 2019 elections, in S&D (Ryšavý 2019). Throughout the analysis, these three parties have the most elaborate speeches and address other parliamentarians to produce a unified response. While a correlation might be established, it is difficult to say with certainty that there is a causal effect between Roma MEPs and the representativeness of the parties since the MEPs might be part of those parties due to their representativeness.

Another insight from the overall analysis is that the parties expressing their views regarding Roma related issues seem to have extreme outliers on both sides of the political spectrum. With only three parties receiving medium scores, the rest of the parties fall on either end of the spectrum. With the ID group producing potentially discriminatory or prejudiced statements and the EPP and S&D condemning far-right movements, the discussions showed that the possibility of a unified response from all the parties in the European Parliament is limited. Nevertheless, the majority of the parties seemed to be supportive of the EU Roma Strategic Framework. The parties were also divided on whether the framework should be implemented as a recommendation, in other words, “soft policy”, or a directive with binding goals. In this case, ID and ECR were particularly critical of the EU intervening in “sovereign” Member States and impeding their rights to make individual decisions even though the problem, according to the two parties, does not require such an approach.

Sub-question 3: Perception of representation by Roma interest groups

According to Hannah Pitkin, when it comes to political representation, “it is important to ask when people are satisfied by the representatives and under what circumstances they feel they are not being represented.” (Pitkin 1967, 110). This is a specific gap in research that this thesis tries to approach. To that end, the conducted interviews aimed to uncover the views of various stakeholders on the EU Roma Strategic Framework. The main topics of discussions were assessment of the policy, implementation and identified roadblocks.

Assessment of the policy

The strategic framework prior to 2020, which mainly focused on socio-economic factors, has been described as “an absolute failure”, because of its minimal progress in terms of education and health (Interviewee 3 and 9). Conversely, the 2020 framework received both hopeful and skeptical comments. The mainstream approach with targeted measures for the most marginalized groups has been seen as a positive development compared to the previous framework (Interviewee 7). The new framework aims to reach the society at large and discuss equality, inclusion and participation

⁷ Since March 2021 Lívía Járóka is no longer part of the EPP group due to Viktor Orbán’s decision to remove the Fidesz party from the EPP (De La Baume 2021).

as broader societal issues while producing targeted policy solutions when necessary (Interviewee 3). As explained by a German human rights activist and political advisor, “we need to be careful not to create this completely separate policy field where Roma are being stigmatized and ethnicized, and at the same time, we need to keep in mind that we need to improve our mainstream antidiscrimination system, accessibility and quality of education.” (Interviewee 8). This shows that the new framework, which follows a hybrid approach, is favorable, rather than a targeted approach such as the one used in the previous framework. The broader scope, encompassing equality, participation and inclusion (Interviewee 3 and 7) with a particular focus on discrimination, racism and antigypsyism (Interviewee 1, 8 and 10), has been recognized as more representative of Roma needs (Interviewee 3).

As mentioned by a director of a grassroots organization, a Roma activist, and a Roma MEP, decision-making processes regarding Roma-related issues should involve Roma in drafting, implementation, and monitoring stages (Interviewee 1, 2 and 10). This sentiment is prevalent throughout the interviews regarding both the supranational and national/local level (Interviewee 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 10). One point of criticism has been identified as limited support in empowering Roma civil society organizations, especially in terms of independence and capacity-building (Interviewee 1). While the issues of representation have been put on the agenda of EU institutions, with more Roma platform meetings and consultations with civil society and pro-Roma groups (Interviewee 4), many Roma organizations have become dependent on the EU funding. This leads to decreasing autonomy of Roma-led organizations (Interviewee 8). Moreover, there is not enough emphasis, especially in terms of research, when it comes to promoting the participation of Roma youth (Interviewee 1). As explained by a senior policy analyst, “when it comes to representation, the Roma framework is extremely weak.” (Interviewee 9). Although the new framework has a more ambitious language and concrete targets on social provisions, there is no obligation towards the Member States to make changes (Interviewee 9).

Implementation

Implementation has been mentioned in the interviews as particularly complex. A Roma scholar and policy advisor explains that there are no structures fostering accountability, which leads to the misuse of funding (Interviewee 5). In practice, the EU Roma Strategic Framework leads to maintaining the status quo on a national level as there is little assessment of Roma-related projects (Interviewee 5). A Bulgarian governmental representative explains that there is no comprehensive communication plan or dialogue on a horizontal and vertical level with all the stakeholders (Interviewee 7). Due to a lack of coordination and communication, there are many small targeted projects, but they do not complement each other nor lead to systemic change (Interviewee 4). The inefficient small local projects do not successfully reframe the public debate and change the racist rhetoric (Interviewee 8).

While the European Commission has developed a set of indicators to achieve successful implementation, ensuring their applicability and accuracy remains a significant monitoring challenge (Interviewee 7). Although the European level indicators are overall a positive development towards more accountability, some interviewees were rather critical about the indicators not being developed together with Roma (Interviewee 8). In contrast, others saw them as a critical tool for ensuring the efficient spending of EU funds (Interviewee 4). Notably, the Roma Civil Monitor established in 2020, mentioned by a Roma activist and political officer (Interviewee 8), should improve the situation in terms of “capacity building for Roma civil society and strengthening its involvement in the monitoring of national Roma integration strategies.” (Center for Policy Studies 2020).

The Roma Contact Points, established by the European Commission, which aim to gather data in each Member State and report back to the Commission, are strategically placed in the governmental structure by each country. In Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), this task falls under the Ministry of Culture, while in Germany, it is the Ministry of Interior, and in France, it is under the umbrella of homelessness agencies. A Roma activist says that “this speaks a lot, it shouts. It shows what is the understanding of the state administration towards Roma in general” (Interviewee 1). Public administration structures in most countries have their unique way of operating, often giving way to institutional and structural discrimination, which has not changed for decades (Interviewee 4). A deputy director of a pro-equality organization mentions that “changing institutional mindset and changing how institutions deal with Roma is going to be very important” (Interviewee 4). To improve the institutional and structural discrimination, equality impact assessments should be conducted (Interviewee 4).

Identified Roadblocks

The main roadblock that hinders the framework’s success has been identified as antigypsyism, which leads to socio-economic exclusion and lack of political representation on a national level (Interviewee 3). Notably, discrimination and antigypsyism are deeply rooted in society and require a broad public opinion change (Interviewee 6). General anti-Roma attitudes in society lead to politicians not being interested in Roma concerns (Interviewee 2). A Roma MEP states that Roma must increase their political representation by participating in elections (Interviewee 10).

Limited mobilization capacity at a national level and harsh barriers to entry when it comes to the political realm decrease the capacity of Roma to influence the EU Roma Strategic Framework. Mainstream national parties often do not allow young Roma to participate. As suggested by a Roma activist, they “allow people with businesses who can contribute financially to the party” (Interviewee 1). Even then, the Roma candidates are found at the bottom of their party list

(Interviewee 2). Due to short-term electoral cycles, long-term commitment to equality is not worth pursuing for many political parties (Interviewee 4).

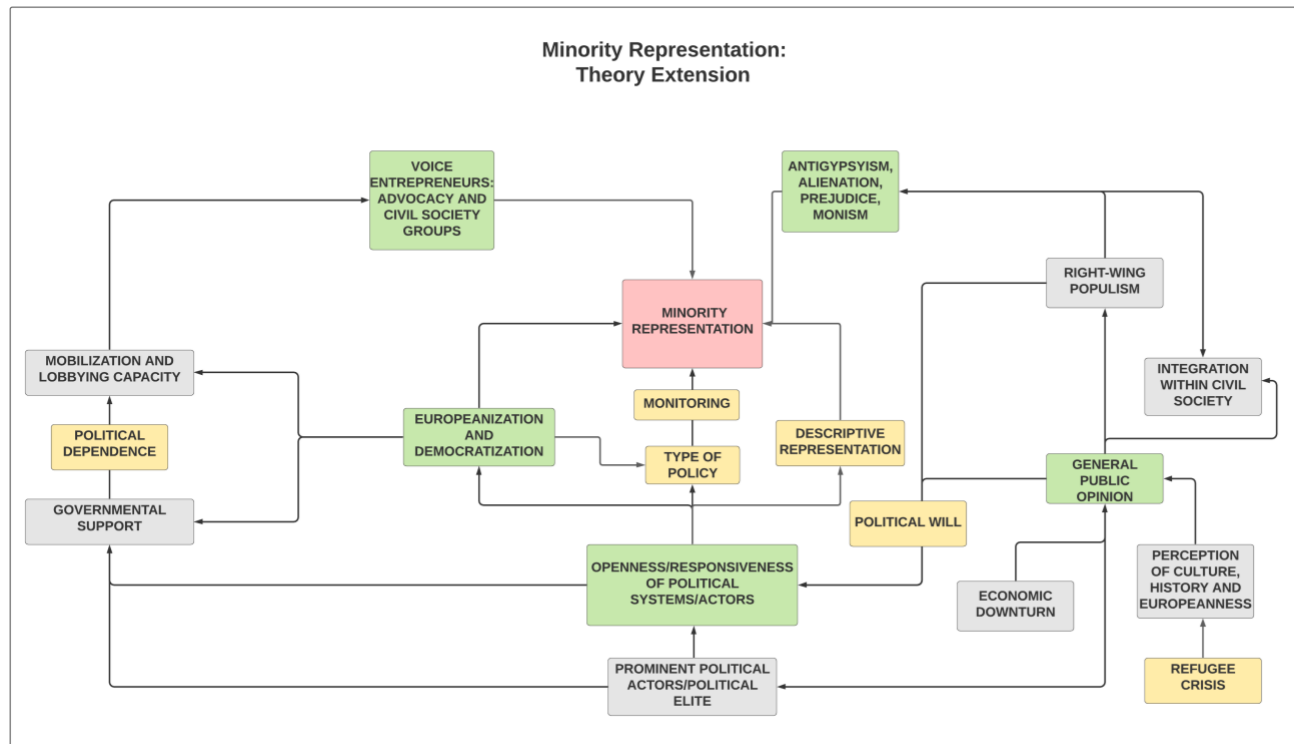
The lack of political will amongst individual Member States to implement the policy leads to the ineffectiveness of the EU Roma Strategic Framework. All interviewees mentioned the role of the Member States and ‘political will’ in successfully implementing the policy. Due to the EU Roma strategic framework being a ‘soft policy’, with no obligations of implementing Roma strategies or legislation, the framework is highly ineffective (Interviewee 10). Another interviewee claims that “it all goes down to political will and, since it is not a legally binding document, what it goes down to, ultimately, is the Member States and what the governments are willing to do.” (Interviewee 4). As mentioned by a Roma MEP, “without an equality law for people of Romani descent and without a rule-of-law mechanism, the framework strategy remains a toothless tiger.” (Interviewee 10).

The interviewees also identified the prominent European leaders that could help to reduce the main roadblocks. A senior policy analyst says that “when you ask who can make a change and whom we hold politically accountable for Roma, I would say the EPP, and here I would put Germany who has the most economic power and chancellor Merkel who has the most say. She is the most influential in European Politics, so she should be accountable for what happens with the six million Roma in the EU.” (Interviewee 9).

Research insights

The analysis of speeches and interviews has revealed strong support of the Roma minority and a relatively high degree of representativeness when it comes to most parties in the European Parliament. Nevertheless, there are main roadblocks that hinder an effective Roma inclusion policy. The results confirm the causal links from the theoretical framework (Chart 1) and reveal additional insights that could further improve the understanding of minority representation and provide new directions for future research. It is important to add that these results could also be applicable for explaining minority representation beyond the Roma case, as many of the causal factors relate to minority representation in general. Chart 2 shows the theoretical framework with new insights marked in yellow.

Chart 2: Research Insights



The idea of political dependence has been incorporated into Chart 2. The theoretical framework explains that governmental support, especially in terms of funding, positively affects the mobilization and capacity-building of pro-Roma organizations. However, the analysis revealed that governmental support could lead to a loss of autonomy in civil society groups and reduce their capability to hold political bodies accountable. This is because they often become dependent on governmental funding linked to specific instructions that can be withdrawn or spent elsewhere if the organizations do not follow the implicit or explicit guidelines provided by the respective governments.

Another essential aspect identified is monitoring, which is highly dependent on the openness and responsiveness of the political systems and actors. Effective monitoring using suitable indicators has been highlighted throughout the interviews as crucial for successful Roma policy implementation. Monitoring is constrained by the openness of the Member States to allow the European Commission to collect data and measure progress. The monitoring capacity is dependent on the type of policy that is implemented. This thesis distinguishes between a ‘soft policy’ and a directive and between mainstream, targeted, and hybrid approaches to Roma policy. ‘Soft policy’ cannot force the Member States to yield specific results, but a directive would increase the capacity of the Commission to monitor progress. The policy’s character depends on the degree of Europeanization and the willingness of political actors to integrate.

The importance of political will has been highlighted in all of the interviews and some of the speeches of MEPs. Political will is the willingness of individual political parties or Member States' governments to put minority-related issues on the agenda. The political will is influenced by the perception of the public opinion regarding minorities. It directly affects the openness of a political system to implement inclusion policy and engage in promoting the political participation of minority groups.

Descriptive representation, with members of the minority represented directly rather than by a delegated non-Roma actor, has also been identified as instrumental. While this thesis adopts the definition of substantive representation, the analysis of the political parties in the European Parliament has revealed that parties who have MEPs belonging to the Roma minority were much more active and knowledgeable when it comes to Roma-related issues. Nevertheless, it should be noted that establishing a causal link is particularly difficult. It might be that Roma MEPs are more likely to join pro-Roma parties instead of the parties becoming more pro-Roma because the Roma MEPs joined them.

Additionally, the analysis highlighted the influence of crises, such as the refugee crisis, on the perception of minorities. Here it is challenging to assess whether the influence is positive or negative. On the one hand, the refugees can cause Roma to be seen as domestic actors. On the other hand, Roma could be further alienated and framed the same way as refugees.

While the role of prominent actors is already incorporated in the model, the analysis has resulted in a better understanding of the most influential actors when it comes to Roma-related subjects. The main political parties with a high degree of influence in the European Parliament and a relatively high representativeness score are S&D, EPP and the Greens. Additionally, the role of Germany and Chancellor Merkel in shaping the Roma debate have been emphasized.

Policy Suggestions

While comprehensive policy advice is not the aim of this thesis, four significant policy suggestions are proposed that could increase the capacity of Roma policy to increase representativeness. Notably, some of the advice could also apply to the general policy on minority inclusion. The suggestions reflect the author's normative beliefs about required policy changes based on the collected data and analysis. Even though proposing a binding regulation was mentioned by all interviewees, it must be acknowledged that in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ), shared competence between the EU and the Member States is established with a relatively high intergovernmentalist sentiment, meaning that a binding policy would be difficult to achieve (Bache et al. 2020, 230).

Firstly, the EU should encourage more effective and consistent vertical and horizontal communication across all relevant Roma and non-Roma stakeholders. The EU Roma Strategic Framework for 2020-30 states that better channeling of resources should be established through the involvement of a multitude of stakeholders, ranging from small NGOs to large intergovernmental organizations. The relation between the national level and the EU level is emphasized (European Commission 2020c, 3). However, the European Commission should provide more guidance on successful communication between stakeholders on a local, regional, national and supranational level to improve resource management and increase effective policy coordination across multiple areas. More extensive communication could also provide mutual learning opportunities and make use of economies of scale. The Commission does already aim to facilitate better communication by using the European Roma platform, which will stimulate discussions regarding the implementation of the EU Roma Strategic Framework (European Commission 2020c, 14). Nonetheless, solid collaborative structures should also be established to exchange data and couple resources on a much larger scale, including the smaller local and regional stakeholders and Roma Contact Points. Furthermore, national and supranational barriers that prevent the successful implementation of regional policy should be closely examined. For example, national governments should not be allowed to block EU Funds for Roma-related projects without a comprehensive justification.

Secondly, more emphasis should be put on fighting antigypsyist attitudes in society and promoting Roma role models through education. The European Commission already wants to develop a seminar series on discrimination, encourage the development of role models, and raise awareness of Roma culture and history (European Commission 2020, 10). More ambitious and concrete goals should be set out and encouraged by the Commission. The main priority of the Commission should be addressing anti-Roma attitudes through education. School curricula should include Roma history from primary education to higher education. Every child in the European Union should be aware from an early age who Roma are, where they come from, their history and cultural heritage. The history of Roma should be strongly emphasized in history classes, specifically while discussing five centuries of slavery of Roma in Romania (Hancock 2002, XI), the Roma Holocaust and the communist era, as well as the post-communist period. The Roma contribution to European history should be highlighted, and positive role models should be identified and promoted. Special attention should also be paid to fighting stereotypes through education. Additionally, Roma children should be encouraged to be proud of their background. School structures that foster discrimination and do not allow Roma to identify themselves should be sanctioned and subsequently revised. The schooling system should be carefully monitored by national governments in collaboration with the European Commission.

Thirdly, promoting pro-Roma civil society organizations should go beyond financial contributions and inclusion in policymaking processes to increase autonomy and efficacy. While the EU Roma Strategic Framework for 2020-30 does highlight the involvement and partnership of civil society

organizations (European Commission 2020c, 3–4), there is too little emphasis on autonomy and capacity-building. Only when the capacity of pro-Roma organizations is built, can they have enough influence during consultations and collaborative meetings. Pro-Roma organizations, especially youth organizations, require intensive training across a broad range of tasks, from fulfilling basic administrative duties to lobbying and fund-raising. As suggested by the Open Society Institute, it is crucial to “include content-based policy training in the issues that impact most upon Romani communities.” (Open Society Institute 2006, 23). Additionally, workshops should be organized to foster the essential leadership and advocacy skills for members of civil society organizations and aspiring Roma youth. Such an approach requires substantial funding and more meaningful involvement on behalf of the Commission and national governments. However, it also creates a much better foundation for the long-term development of pro-Roma organizations, which allows them to hold policymakers accountable, participate in political discussions, organize activities and collaborate with other organizations for Roma and non-Roma communities.

Finally, the European Commission should take a much stronger stance on fighting antigypsyism as a potential crime. The EU Roma Strategic Framework highlights the importance of fighting antigypsyism across many areas of public life (European Commission 2020c, 11-2). The Commission aims to enforce the Racial Equality Directive by “investigating systematic discrimination and launching infringement proceedings, if necessary, to prompt changes in national legislation and policy.” (European Commission 2020c, 11). However, the EU should take an even stronger stance against anti-Roma attitudes. The European Commission should strongly encourage national governments to “legally recognize this specific form of racism [antigypsyism] in their domestic law.” (Matarazzo and Naydenova 2019, 29). The European Commission should also put special emphasis on the promotion of monitoring antigypsyist attitudes, not only on a national scale but specifically on a local and regional level. Communication and accountability structures should be established to empower local and regional offices to monitor antigypsyist attitudes and share their data with national agencies. Special attention should also be paid to acts of racism and discrimination as a result of the Covid19 pandemic.

Validity and Reliability

The internal validity of this thesis is high due to the qualitative and interdisciplinary orientation of the analysis, with multiple research methods used to gather results. An in-depth understanding of the subject has been achieved by adopting a single case study rather than a large-N study design. The use of a Causal Process Tracing approach, incorporating expert interviews and Critical Discourse Analysis, allowed for a comprehensive understanding of minority representation. A sufficient congruence has been achieved between the observed insights, resulting in additional identified causal processes, thus producing a comprehensive answer to the complex research question. Notably, the information collected through interviews has been cross-checked with

alternative sources. What might have reduced internal validity is the fact that some of the speeches in the European Parliament required translation. Therefore, the meaning of the speeches might have been slightly altered. The external validity of this study is relatively low. Due to the unique nature of the case study, it might be challenging to generalize all the findings to a larger context of minority representation. Nevertheless, at least some of the insights provided through the ‘think description’ of the Roma case might prove instrumental for explaining minority representation.

The reliability of the study is sufficient. A consistent set of questions has been used during semi-structured interviews, which aimed to increase the consistency between each interaction. Nevertheless, follow-up questions and prompts have been used to increase the data quality and depth. Recordings and detailed notes have been stored in a private database and frequently consulted during the analysis. A custom coding grid has been developed for a Critical Discourse Analysis. While the author of the thesis developed the grid, much attention has been paid to personal biases. Moreover, the design of the grid was based on four reliable sources (Swinkels and van Esch, n.d.; Stone 2011; Fairclough 1992; Babb et al. 2012). A justification is coupled with each score in the analysis and any ambiguities are also mentioned. Therefore, sufficient reflectivity has been achieved in order to produce reliable results.

Conclusion

Thanks to the interdisciplinary approach, additional insights on the complex subject of minority representation have been provided. By combining insights from political science and history, an improved understanding beyond interdisciplinary boundaries has been reached, indicating directions for future research. Insights from Liberal Democratic Theory, Sociocultural Evolutionism and the Europeanization theory have been integrated. The integration technique of theory extension has been selected due to the complementary nature of the insights. A complicated theoretical framework establishing causal links has been developed. By adopting the interdisciplinary perspective on minority representation, a more complete context has been established, and essential insights have been found for shaping future research and providing suggestions for improving inclusion policy and minority representation in the European Union.

Using an interdisciplinary theoretical framework and a qualitative approach, this thesis has achieved a comprehensive analysis of the European Union’s policy on inclusion and its effect on minority representation. To further establish causal links, expert interviews have been conducted, coupled with the Critical Discourse Analysis of political speeches in the European Parliament. Three sub-questions have been answered to assess the main historical factors for explaining the persistence of minority exclusion, the extent to which political parties in the European Union reflect minority representation, and the perception of interest groups regarding the effectiveness of inclusion policies.

Sub-question 1 helped to identify the most critical historical factors, such as public perception, populism, antigypsyism and limited mobilization. Sub-question 2 unraveled the complex dynamics in the European Parliament and produced a question about the value of substantive representation by showcasing that parties with Roma MEPs proved the most representative. Sub-question 3 produced valuable insights provided by Roma interests groups on the policy assessment, implementation and main roadblocks. Additional insights were provided with the complete results and analysis, thus advancing the current understanding of minority representation in the European Union.

The research revealed that the primary causal factors have remained the same as suggested by the initial interdisciplinary theoretical framework, which resulted from the literature review and insights integration. These causal factors are voice entrepreneurs, antigypsyism, Europeanization, general public opinion, as well as openness and responsiveness of the political systems and actors. Thanks to the research conducted in this thesis, additional causal factors were discovered. Even though governmental support is crucial for mobilization, political independence has also been identified as essential for the mobilization and lobbying capacity of civil society groups.

Additionally, different types of policy have been investigated, differentiating between soft policy and directive, as well as different approaches such as mainstream, hybrid and a targeted approach. The ideal policy would be a directive that follows a hybrid approach, between mainstream policy and limited, targeted measures. Which of these types of policy is selected also affects the capacity of the European Commission to monitor implementation, which is essential for measuring improvements. Descriptive representation is also essential for increased overall representation.

Representation also strongly depends on the political will of main political actors and their responsiveness and openness. This is related to members of minorities and their involvement in elections. Minority representatives receiving high places on party lists and necessary campaign support regardless of their gender and financial situation also play a significant role. Important actors, such as the EPP in the European Parliament or Chancellor Angela Merkel, as the most influential advocate of minority representation in the EU, can promote more openness and responsiveness towards the needs of minority groups.

The general public's perception is instrumental in increasing representation. Right-wing populism prompted by economic crises as well as the perception of culture, history and Europeaness can affect the representation. Crises, such as the refugee crisis, can also shape general public opinion. It must be added that the primary root cause of minority misrepresentation is discrimination, or in the case of Roma antigypsyism.

Thanks to the improved understanding, policy advice was also provided. The advice suggests improvements on horizontal and vertical communication, education, organizational capacity-building and combating antigypsyist attitudes. These policy recommendations are also partially applicable to general minority inclusion policies.

The main lessons learned for understanding the effectiveness of inclusion policies in the context of broader minority representation can be derived from the insights above. First of all, public opinion and perception matter. It can incentivize politicians to put minority-related issues on the agenda or disregard them. The willingness of the political actors determines the effectiveness of the implemented policies. Secondly, as can be seen in the case of the migration crisis in Europe, economic downturn and political instability can decrease the effectiveness of minority inclusion. Thirdly, discrimination is often the core problem preventing higher minority representation. It can affect religious, ethnic, racial and gender minorities. The nature of discrimination can not only be explicit but also implicit and structural. Finally, minorities might see the policies as illegitimate without being directly involved in the policymaking process due to limited input, even if the output is desirable.

As mentioned above, the research has relatively high internal validity, moderate external validity and sufficient reliability. Further research on the subject area of minority representation could undoubtedly improve the external validity. Future research should be conducted consisting of alternative case studies centered around ethnic, racial and religious minorities. As this thesis adopted a somewhat exploratory approach, a quantitative large-N study should be conducted to produce more generalizable results. Additionally, a survey could be conducted to measure the perception of representation amongst members of the Roma community and other minorities. In the realm of EU policymaking, the representativeness of the Council of the European Union could also be explored. This might prove particularly difficult due to the consensus procedure in the Council. Nevertheless, there is much potential for future academic research on the subject of minority representation in the EU and beyond.

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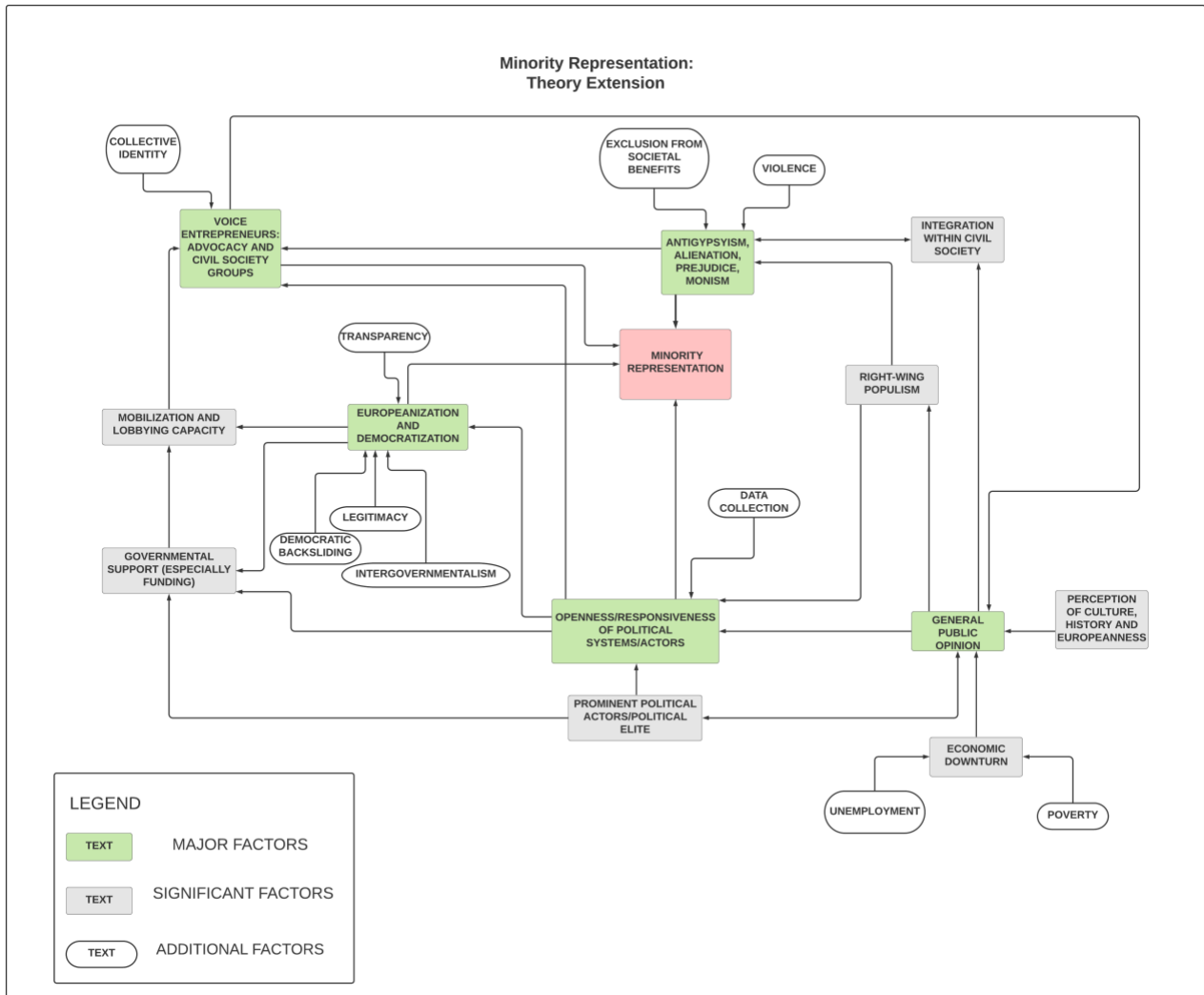
Appendix 1: Data Management Table

<u>DISCIPLINE/ THEORY</u>	<u>ASSUMPTIONS/ METHODOLOGY</u>	<u>INSIGHTS INTO THE PROBLEM</u>	<u>CONCEPTS</u>
<p>Politics</p> <p><u>Liberal Democratic Theory</u></p>	<p>Fair minority representation is desirable.</p> <p>A higher degree of political representation of minority groups (achieved through democratic processes) leads to more civil trust, societal cohesion and democratic legitimacy.</p> <p>When a minority is not represented in politics, civil conflict and alienation increase.</p> <p>Politicians (office-seeking) often prefer to represent groups that will increase their influence and overall political support.</p>	<p>To gain fairer representation and alter the general public opinion of minority groups, advocacy and civil society groups are instrumental.</p> <p>Right-wing populism and economic recession increase prejudice, antigypsyism and decrease minority representation.</p> <p>Universalist policies can lead to minority alienation and monism. A hybrid system with established equal rights (legal, citizenship, socio-economic) and differentiated multicultural policies is the most effective.</p> <p>Three main aspects that can improve political representation are collective identity, capacity to mobilize and responsiveness/openness of the political system.</p> <p>Prominent political actors can stimulate mobilization.</p>	<p>liberal democracy</p> <p>voice entrepreneurs: advocacy and civil society groups</p> <p>mobilization, collective identity (bottom-up)</p> <p>right-wing populism (party structure) & economic downturn</p> <p>antigypsyism, prejudice, alienation, monism</p> <p>universalism vs multiculturalism</p> <p>openness of the political system, influence of the political elite (top-down)</p> <p>public opinion</p>
<p>History</p> <p><u>Sociocultural Evolutionism</u></p>	<p>Social, cultural and political structures are subject to change over a certain period of time.</p> <p>Identifying sequential historical patterns allows making inferences about the causal effects which reflect on the present situation.</p>	<p>In the post-communist period, public scrutiny of Roma was motivated by negative perceptions by the general population of Roma culture and history.</p> <p>The economic downturn further complicated the integration of Roma within the civil society, leading to marginalization, exclusion from societal benefits, unemployment, poverty and violence against Roma.</p>	<p>civil society, social movement, mobilisation, activism</p> <p>public perception</p> <p>Europeanness</p> <p>economic downturn, crisis</p>

	<p>Developments throughout history have a defined and identifiable direction and possess a specific meaning.</p> <p>Changes in social, cultural and political structures can affect the current level of representation of minorities.</p> <p>Perceptions of such changes also matter.</p>	<p>Antigypsyism and racialization motivated the Roma social movement led by Roma activists.</p> <p>A growing wave of democratization in the 1990s improved political representation and mobilization of minorities. A similar effect was achieved through the EU enlargements of the early 2000s.</p> <p>Mobilization can be limited due to low governmental acceptance/support and funding.</p> <p>Due to national policy deadlock, Roma advocacy groups became more active on an EU level.</p> <p>Antigypsyism is shaped by the social perception of “Europeanness”.</p>	<p>unemployment, poverty</p> <p>antigypsyism, racialisation, exclusion, marginalisation, violence</p> <p>democratisation</p> <p>governmental support</p> <p>top-down vs bottom-up movement</p>
<p>Interdisciplinary</p> <p><u>Europeanization Theory</u></p>	<p>Europeanization processes are influenced by complex social, political, cultural and economic forces.</p> <p>Rodrik’s trilemma: countries have to give up some of their sovereignty in order to achieve a democratic supranational integration.</p> <p>The European Union institutions are responsible for minority rights protection.</p> <p>For the EU to successfully implement policy, the outcome needs to be considered as legitimate in terms of input, output and throughput.</p>	<p>Minority rights are significantly affected by EU politics. EU membership improves the representation of ethnic groups.</p> <p>National governments derive top-down policies from the EU level. Democratic backsliding and intergovernmental stances prevent the policies from being successfully implemented.</p> <p>Europeanization can be used as an excuse to tackle the social concerns internationally whilst evading local implementation.</p> <p>There is insufficient data collection and limited power of the European Commission to monitor the progress of implementation.</p>	<p>EU membership</p> <p>sovereignty</p> <p>legitimacy</p> <p>democratic backsliding, governing elites, intergovernmentalism</p> <p>top-down and bottom-up changes</p> <p>monitoring</p> <p>public opinion</p> <p>transparency of EU policymaking, democratic deficit</p>

		<p>Local support of governing elites and the general population can influence the success of increasing minority inclusion and representation.</p> <p>The level of influence of the general public is higher if the EU policymaking process is more transparent.</p> <p>Advocacy networks and civil society groups can increase their political representation through bottom-up movements by raising awareness and networking. Europeanization can increase the mobilization, lobbying capacity and involvement of stakeholders.</p>	<p>advocacy networks, civil society</p> <p>mobilization, networking, raising awareness, capacity-building</p>
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Appendix 2: Theory Extension Chart



Appendix 3: Interview Questions

Introduction:

What is the role of the (name organization) in promoting political representation of the Roma minority in the EU?

Perception-General

- According to you, what is the current state of the representation of the Roma minority in the European Union, and in particular the European Parliament?
- Do you think the attitudes towards the Roma community have changed, and in what way in the past 10 years?

Possible follow-up questions: What causes (a lack of) those changes? Which states, political parties and political leaders are the most influential in promoting or hindering the changes?

Perception- Policy-related

- What do you think is the effectiveness of EU-wide inclusion policies, such as the EU Roma Strategic Framework, on the current 'status' of the representation of the Roma minority in European politics?
- Possible follow-up questions: Why is the policy effective/ineffective? What are the main roadblocks? How could it be improved?

Perception +Historical Factors-General

- Do you think the EU enlargement of 2004 and 2007 had an impact on how the citizens and the national governments perceive the Roma minority?
- How, in your opinion, did the rise of political populism shape the image of Roma in the European Union in the past 20 years? What role is played by the re-emergence of nationalism and the persistence of the nation-state?

Perception +Historical factors- Discrimination

- Do you see a difference in treatment between non-Roma and Roma in the European Institutions? Possible follow-up question: Why (not)?
 - What specific changes can you identify regarding Roma discrimination across EU institutions in the past three decades?
- Possible follow-up questions: What political developments have led to those changes? To what extent were these developments influenced by national and regional differences?
- To what extent do those changes arise from social and cultural differences developed over the past three decades?

Additional question:

- What do you hope will change about the political representation of the Roma in the upcoming decade?

Additional questions to interest groups:

- As an institution representing Roma rights and promoting Roma mobilization, what is your organization's main goal and what do you do to achieve it?
Follow up: Can you identify the actors that are the least and the most likely to support you in achieving this goal?
- What are your expectations towards policymakers?

Appendix 4: Consent Form

Consent Form

Consent Form for an interview participant (adult) to be recorded. The recordings will be archived and used for the purpose of Bachelor thesis research.

CONSENT TO BE VIDEO/AUDIO-RECORDED, AND FOR STORAGE AND FUTURE USE OF DATA

Please tick the boxes below if you agree:

- I agree to be audiotaped for this project.
- I know that the audiotapes will be completely anonymous.
- I agree that my data can be used for presenting research findings and will be discarded at the end of the research project.

Name of participant _____

Signature

Date

Appendix 5: Critical discourse analysis coding grid**Part 1: Structures and Identities**

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?				1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National

SI5	Values	<p>Does the communicator address the following values:</p> <p>Equity Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty (Stone 2011)</p>				<p>1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)</p>
Score						(SI1-SI5)/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?				<p>1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No</p>
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?				<p>1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No</p>
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?				<p>1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted</p>
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?				<p>1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/ The Roma Minority</p>

D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?				1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?				1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						(D1-D4)/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?				1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						(A1-A5)/5

Appendix 6: Critical discourse analysis

EPP- score 17/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“We have to recognize people’s situation, where they don’t have good sanitary conditions, their streets are in ruins [...]” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“[The Roma] are still forced to live often in a very bad situation, feeling excluded and foreign.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“Education, working facilities and the living conditions have to be changed.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator outlines multiple points regarding socioeconomic difficulties faced by Roma, e.g. education, working conditions and housing.	This shows a good understanding of Roma-related socioeconomic concerns.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“We can also defeat the ideology of the superior race by politicians starting to solve people’s real problems. At the same time, however, it is important that we approach the ideology of the superior race not as an opinion but as a crime.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator states that discrimination against minorities should be considered a crime. This shows that the communicator feels strongly about preventing discrimination.	Whilst the communicator doesn’t mention Roma or antigypsyism, they still acknowledge discrimination of minorities in general. From the context of the debate, it is clear that Roma are also covered by this statement.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	<p>“We don’t have enough Roma participation in our programs”</p> <p>“[...] to involve Roma not only into the governance work and different ministries at the Member State level, but also in the Commission to strengthen the Roma task force [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“Thorough monitoring and active participation of Roma in decision-making processes must become an essential part of all activities.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator states that Roma inclusion in governance work/politics should be improved on a Member State level and EU level as Roma should be more involved in the decision-making processes.	The communicator not only mentions the inclusion in EU politics but also on a national level.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	<p>“The most important fields, housing, health, education, work, digitization, green energy utilization, agriculture, subsidiarity and the establishment of cooperation between real Roma organizations, the priority of local initiatives, were an integral part of our proposals at that time.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p> <p>“Social coherence is one of our basic topics, it appears in a number of primary law documents. For us, poverty, social deprivation, of course insufficient education or even discrimination, are completely unacceptable phenomena.” (European Parliament 2019a)</p>	The communicator mentions multiple aspects relevant to the situation of Roma, namely socioeconomic standing, integration, cohesion, law, discrimination etc.	The communicator goes beyond the obvious socioeconomic issues and discrimination to also address cooperation and social coherence. In the context of the Roma debate, this comment shows the Roma situation from the most comprehensive perspective.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	<p>“This, too, is the image of the European Union of the 21st century.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator identifies the 21 st century as a temporal scope, hinting that the issue is ongoing.	Whilst the comment was only relating to socioeconomic conditions, it would be reasonable to assume, based on previous statements, that it also relates to other issue areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	“Europe needs to tackle significantly the problems that plague people in Europe.” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator clearly states that the problems are in the whole of Europe.	The comment addresses that the situation of the Roma minority is an EU-wide issue but does not mention the national scope. Although Roma is not explicitly mentioned, the comment (in the context of the entire debate) seems to portray Roma as European rather than “ethnic outsiders”.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator explicitly address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	“Maybe we differ in skin color, but the color of the blood of each of us is the same. Red blood circulates in the veins of a Jew, a Roma, and every European, even a neo-Nazi.” (European Parliament 2020a) “The money is not arriving to the Roma, it is not arriving to the local level.” (European Parliament 2020b) “This initiative needs to place much greater emphasis on the results and efficiency of the funds spent.” (European Parliament 2020c) “Education, working facilities and the living conditions have to be changed.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions equality by calling Roma European and by saying that each person is the same. The communicator mentions efficiency by talking about efficient spending of Roma-related funds. The communicator mentions welfare by talking about education and living conditions.	The communicator addresses equality, welfare and efficiency but doesn't explicitly mention security or liberty.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						7/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	“As part of EPP, who have been pushing for the Roma agenda [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator clearly says that EPP is pursuing Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda.	This finding is also supported by the rest of the comments made by EPP MEPs.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“There is much to do and not only in those four areas [related to socioeconomic factors]” (European Parliament 2020b)	By saying that there is much to do the communicator stresses the need for change.	While the communicator stresses the need for change, urgency is not highlighted. It is not reflected in other comments during the debate.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“[...] we would like to think seriously about whether, in the context of poverty in Europe of 120 million, the issue of 16 million Roma could be extended to other poor groups in Europe in terms of economic integration.” (European Parliament 2019a) “[...] we need health policies targeted to these vulnerable groups.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator talks about mainstream economic integration and targeted health policies.	The communicator hints at the hybrid model by suggesting both mainstream and individual policy.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted

D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	<p>“We, as politicians, need to look at the real problems people face” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“The European Union can also help with all this, but the Member States must also be active.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	In the first comment, the communicator addresses EU politicians as the change makers. The second comment also talks about the importance of active Member States.	The first comment has been said whilst discussing socioeconomic conditions, the second comment relates to the Framework in general.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	<p>[...] to involve Roma not only into the governance work and different ministries at the Member State level, but also in the Commission to strengthen the Roma task force [...]" (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator mentions that Roma should be included in governance work at a national and EU level.	By mentioning both the EU actors and the Member States, the EPP hints at a collaborative approach.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	<p>“We [politicians] cannot accept the idea of some kind of superior race” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“Let us not be indifferent to us, parliamentarians. We cannot allow ourselves the sin of omission when minority rights are violated or the space of life without hatred is limited” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“Member States continue to fail to combat discrimination and prejudice” (European Parliament 2019a)</p>	<p>The communicator addresses the fellow Parliamentarians and suggests the responsibility of the European Parliament by using words such as “we” or “us”.</p> <p>The responsibility of Member States is also addressed.</p>	By mentioning both the EU actors and the Member States, the EPP hints at a collaborative approach.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						6/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	<p>“Extremists make use of corruption, of the unresolved problems of the Roma community and in Europe we need to solve these problems” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator calls for a unified response by addressing the fellow Parliamentarians, with the word “we”.	Whilst the communicator uses the word “we”, he clearly suggests that the “extremists” are contributing to the problems of the Roma community. They could also be hinting at ID (right-wing EP party), who have been clashing with members of the EPP in the Roma-related debates. Nevertheless, the communicator suggests a unified response from, at least, the majority of parties involved.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“[...] to involve Roma not only into the governance work and different ministries at the Member State level, but also in the Commission to strengthen the Roma task force [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the inclusion of Roma on a Member State level and EU level. Implicitly it is assumed that this would be achieved through the EU Roma Strategic Framework, which is the subject of the discussion.	The EPP is clearly one of the biggest proponents of the EU Roma Strategic Framework throughout all the debates.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	“Monitoring is the most important to stop corruption.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator expresses the significance of monitoring.	Whilst the communicator briefly mentions monitoring, the comment is not very elaborate. It does not mention the need for more monitoring, just its significance.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“The European Commission, Parliament and the governments of the Member States must continue to work together to eliminate all signs of racism, xenophobia and discrimination in our societies.” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator talks about the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Member States as instrumental actors.	Notably, this comment only relates to discrimination. From the entire debate one could deduce that the three actors mentioned are also relevant, according to EPP, in other issues areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“Monitoring is the most important to stop corruption” (European Parliament 2020b) “In Central and Eastern Europe, we need to give the highest priority to address hunger, extreme poverty and severe housing deprivation among Roma. The second most endorsed policy should be education strategies for Roma, including vocational training and adult learning. The third would be better access to the labour market.” (European Parliament 2020c) “In all our societies, we need to do more to fight discrimination, to inform the public about the vulnerability of Roma, to reduce prejudices – all this is about education.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator outlines very clear actions that need to be taken regarding poverty, education, labor market, discrimination etc. The importance of monitoring is also addressed.	From these quotes and the overall debate, it is relatively clear that EPP has a series of actionable goals in regard to the Roma minority.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						4/5

S&D- score 17/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	“They [Roma children] most likely fall out of school. Their parents [...] most likely experience the same prejudice on the employment market. [...] Their housing condition did not improve in the last ten years.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions education, employment and housing difficulties.	While other political parties were more elaborate in the description of the socioeconomic factors, often also mentioning segregation, the S&D address three major socioeconomic factors prevalent in the debate.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination	“Hatred and intolerance across the European Union are on a trend of steady growth. Political parties, also in this House, fuel a climate of racism and anti-immigration with their rhetoric, be it against Jews, Muslims,	The communicator identifies the scope of discrimination against a variety of groups including Roma. This scope is	Not only does the communicator address the discrimination of Roma on a national scale but also in the European Parliament.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

		experienced by the Roma minority?	migrants, Roma or LGBTI people. We cannot tolerate populist rhetoric, prejudice and nationalism to become part of mainstream politics; to become the new normal. We cannot allow far-right parties, such as the AFD in Germany, Fidesz in Hungary, Lega in Italy, to become the dominant voice of our public debates.” (European Parliament 2020a)	international and national. The main influential actors (AFD, Fidesz, Lega) and additional factors (populism) are identified. The issue is also described as steadily growing.	They also discuss broader related factors such as populism and nationalism, producing a comprehensive answer.	
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	“And it is necessary to provide incentives and empower Roma women to lead change, more funding is needed for NGOs on the ground, it is necessary to give a voice to the community.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator talks about empowering Roma women and NGOs.	The communicator doesn't explicitly mention the political sphere; however, it is implicit from the rest of the debate that according to S&D Roma should be encouraged to participate in politics.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	“First and foremost, we need to understand the diversity within the Roma community in terms of the geographical and social environment and the problem of multiple discrimination against Roma. It is also necessary to improve the socio-economic situation of the Roma in terms of employment, education, accommodation, health care, while fighting against equating this situation with Roma culture or antigypsyism.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator explains that multiple issues need to be addressed, such as discrimination, socioeconomic factors, employment, housing, education, healthcare etc.	S&D comprehensively outline multiple issue areas and the sub-areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	“Hatred and intolerance across the European Union are on a trend of steady growth.” (European Parliament 2020a) “This report is of strategic importance today [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions discrimination as being “on trend of steady growth”, which suggests that the issues are ongoing. Moreover, they mention that the importance “today”.	While the comment only relates to discrimination, it is clear from the rest of the debate that according to S&D it also covers other issue areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	“in an EU where we stand up, we speak up and act when fellow Europeans are discriminated against” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator talks about the EU spirit of mutual support.	While the comment only relates to discrimination, it is clear from the rest of the debate that according to S&D it also covers other issue areas. The description of Roma as “fellow Europeans” is very telling about the strong commitment of S&D to solving the issue on an international level.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	Freedom: “As progressives, we will always stand up for freedom for all to be who you want to be, to believe what you want to believe.” (European Parliament 2020a) “There is no political will to give equal opportunity” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator explicitly mentions freedom (liberty) and equality in the speeches.	Whilst liberty and equality have been mentioned, little has been said regarding efficiency, welfare and security.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						6/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	“From the point of S&D, we fully support [...] the report, and to have a legislative act with binding character.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator states that they want to have a binding Roma-related policy.	From the statement and other speeches, one can see that S&D is committed to pursuing Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“Our task here in the European Parliament is to be brave and secure that there is going to be a change in the next few years” (European Parliament 2020b) “in an EU where we stand up, we speak up and act when fellow Europeans are discriminated against” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator talks about strategic importance of securing that there is a change. They also mention the need to speak up.	The statements indicate that the communicator expresses a need for change.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“First, training of the competent authorities. Second, registration of hate crimes and, third, protection of their victims and guarantee of security of these threatened communities in Europe, not only the Jewish community - of course - but also the Roma community and anyone who serves hate speech. as a scapegoat for attitudes of intolerance and contempt against others that cannot be tolerated because they are profoundly incompatible with European law.” (European Parliament 2020a) “First and foremost, we need to understand the diversity within the Roma community in terms of the geographical and social environment and the problem of multiple discrimination against Roma. It is also necessary to improve the socio-economic situation of the Roma in terms of employment, education, accommodation, health care, while fighting against equating this situation with Roma culture or antigypsyism.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator mentions mainstream policy regarding intolerance and discrimination as well as individual Roma policy regarding welfare state issues.	The communicator hints at the hybrid model by suggesting both mainstream and individual policy.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	“The institutions failed, the Member States failed, the Union failed, we failed” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions both the Member States and the European Union as responsible.	The comment, which relates to socioeconomic factors, discrimination and inclusion shows that both the EU institutions and the Member States are responsible for the socioeconomic status of the Roma minority.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	“Strengthening Roma inclusion in Europe is not the responsibility of countries and local communities alone, but must be the concern of the entire European Union.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator mentions both the Member States and the European Union as responsible.	By mentioning both the EU actors and the Member States, the EPP hints at a collaborative approach.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority

D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	<p>“For this reason, this Parliament not only has the duty to express sadness and concern but, above all, motivation to support all the actions of the Commission and the Council [...]” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“As the European Parliament, we must be firm and fight hard all forms of hatred and discrimination.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator addresses the European Parliament but also mentions the need to work together with the Council and the Commission.	The statement, which were made whilst discussing discrimination, indicate that both national actors (the Council) and supranational actors (EP) need to collaborate.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						6/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	<p>“Our task here in the European Parliament is to be brave and secure that there is going to be a change in the next few years” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator addresses the European Parliament by mentioning the word “our” in regard to the Roma-related response.	In the context of the entire debate S&D has been very persistent in highlighting the need for a unified response.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	<p>“European policy has a great responsibility to suppress any form of intolerance.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“We need to have a strategic EU framework, with a wider set of priority areas, clear targets, timelines and indicators for monitoring.” (European Parliament 2019a)</p>	The communicator expresses the need for European policy not only to fight discrimination but also a broader set of priorities.	The communicator clearly supports an EU-wide policy throughout the debates. Not only does the communicator support the policy but also additional aspects, such as monitoring.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	<p>“A binding legislative act for the Member States that includes clear objectives, is adapted to the needs of each particular context, has specific indicators, more efficient and robust monitoring and supervision mechanisms, and is adequately funded.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p> <p>“We need to have a strategic EU framework, with a wider set of priority areas, clear targets, timelines and indicators for monitoring.” (European Parliament 2019a)</p>	The communicator stresses the need for better indicators for monitoring, supervision mechanisms as well as better monitoring.	While these comments don’t explicitly mention expertise, the development of indicators as well as supervisory mechanisms require considerable expertise of the European Commission. Therefore S&D implicitly call for more expertise.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	<p>“The institutions failed, the Member States failed, the Union failed, we failed.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“[...] its translation into administrative capacities and concrete political actions remains at the discretion of national, regional and local governments.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator talks about actors such as the Member States (national, regional and local governments) and the EU as a whole.	The relevant actors, which are also the most mentioned in the debate, are clearly outlined.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	<p>“First, training of the competent authorities. Second, registration of hate crimes and, third, protection of their victims and guarantee of security of these threatened communities in Europe, not only the Jewish community - of course - but also the Roma community and anyone who serves hate speech. as a scapegoat for attitudes of intolerance and contempt against others that cannot be tolerated because they are profoundly incompatible with European law.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator talks about competence training, registration of hate crimes and protection of victims when it comes to discrimination. Effective implementation tools are also discussed.	Whilst the first comment relates predominantly to discrimination, S&D has discussed a variety of issue areas in the debates. S&D seems to have a very clear plan as to which actions should be taken to advance Roma goals and how to monitor their implementation.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

			“We need time, measurable indicators and consequences if the funds are not used in the proper way.” (European Parliament 2020b)			
Score						5/5

Renew- score 13/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“The Covid19 pandemic highlighted food storages and education problems. Roma also live in segregated settlements with no running water.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“With segregated education and discrimination in the labor market, we are denying thousands, hundreds of thousands of people the opportunity to take up high value-added work.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator mentions socioeconomic issues related to poverty, education, segregated settlements and labor market.	Clearly the communicator is aware of the recent developments regarding the socioeconomic standing of the Roma community as they address the influence of the Covid19 pandemic. The communicator also links the socioeconomic issues of the Roma to discrimination.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“In Hungary, an anti-Roma governmental campaign has been launched. The Prime Minister approves of the segregation of Roma children in the countryside, discourages the payment of compensation for the segregation of these children and enrages others by saying that Roma people get this money without doing any work.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator describes an anti-Roma campaign in Hungary.	The communicator is able to give specific country-related examples. Nevertheless, this could mean that the communicator sees the problem only from one perspective. This doesn't seem to be the case during the debates.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	<p>“I fully share the view that we should involve the Roma community in the decision-making process. Roma are European citizens and we cannot decide on how to support them without their involvement.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“Therefore, we must implement the aid policy for the next decade together with the Roma, and we must also take responsibility together.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator expresses the necessity of including Roma in decision-making processes.	While not mentioned explicitly, it not clear if the communicator also means inclusion in politics.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	<p>“With segregated education and discrimination in the labor market, we are denying thousands, hundreds of thousands of people the opportunity to take up high value-added work. Yes, a cruel attitude towards the Roma makes the whole society poorer and the countries less competitive. They spent money blindly and expected that from this, and only</p>	The communicator clearly states multiple issues that need to be addressed, such as education, discrimination in labor markets, antigypsyism etc.	The communicator is aware that multiple issues need to be improved.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

			from this, all problems would be solved. They have only forgotten that catching up cannot be based solely on money. True catching-up can only be achieved through humane and just politics.” (European Parliament 2020c)			
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	“Hate speech and openly racist politics are on the rise in many EU countries. They have always been present in society, but in recent years they have been spreading instead of receding.” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator sees Roma discrimination as an ongoing issue which is growing in the past years.	Whilst this comment only refers to discrimination, the ongoing situation of Roma was also discussed in other parts of the debates.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	“This is a common European and global problem that threatens our core values.” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator talks about discrimination as a European issue.	The statement was made regarding discrimination of minorities and did not focus on other relevant factors. Nevertheless, other factors were also mentioned during the debates.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	“Raise your voice, be people with dignity and respect the rights and freedoms of all citizens.” (European Parliament 2020a) “We have to make sure that Roma have fundamental rights, as other European citizens.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions two values equality, by saying that Roma should have fundamental rights and liberty, by saying that they have a right to enjoy freedom for all.	Whilst the communicator mentions equality and liberty, the three other criteria were not explicitly mentioned.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						5/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	“I would like to mention a few ideas how to ‘Renew’ Europe in this scope [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator contributes their ideas to the Roma-related discussions.	In the Roma-related discussion the Renew group had comments on the Roma-related issues but did not indicate that Roma are part of their political agenda. (This is also confirmed by looking at the Renew website)	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“If we don’t act now this can cause a domino effect, as extremists learn from each other. For example, with the spread of exclusionary law-making practices and propaganda methods. If we do not speak out and take decisive action now they will keep undermining EU values and principles which, like solidarity, respect of human dignity, human rights and non-discrimination will have no role to play in the future of Europe. We must act now.” (European Parliament 2020a)	While discussing discrimination, the communicator stresses the need for change. The time of change is suggested as “now”.	Even though the comment mentions only discrimination, it is evident from the debate that the communicator also wants to see change in other areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“The EU has to lead by example. We need to introduce a Roma mainstreaming policy on a European level [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator calls for a mainstream policy.	By advocating only a mainstream policy and no targeted approach, the Renew party doesn’t advocate for a hybrid approach.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted

D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	“If the Member States are not acting, the EU as to step up.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the European Union as the responsible actor.	From the statement regarding socioeconomic conditions it seems that Renew suggests a more paternalistic approach on behalf of the EU, as the Member States are not explicitly mentioned.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	“We need to introduce a Roma mainstreaming policy on a European level in order to integrate Roma perspective at all stages. [...] The EU should actively reach out to the Roma.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We have to support NGOs and individuals to fight for their rights across all European levels.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the European Union as well as NGOs as the responsible actors.	From the statements regarding inclusion it seems that Renew suggests a more paternalistic approach on behalf of the EU, as the Member States are not explicitly mentioned.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	“If we don’t act now this can cause a domino effect, as extremists learn from each other. [...] We must act now.” (European Parliament 2020a)	Yet again the communicator mentions the EU as the responsible actor.	From the statement regarding discrimination it seems that Renew suggests a more paternalistic approach on behalf of the EU, as the Member States are not explicitly mentioned.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						4/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	“We need to introduce a Roma mainstreaming policy on a European level in order to integrate Roma perspective at all stages. [...] The EU should actively reach out to the Roma.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator suggests that the EU needs to actively reach out to the Roma minority.	It seems that the communicator wants to argue for inclusion of Roma in decision-making processes, and thus achieve more unity. This stance is not comprehensively elaborated in the discussions.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“We need to introduce a Roma mainstreaming policy on a European level in order to integrate Roma perspective at all stages. [...] The EU should actively reach out to the Roma.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator advocates for an EU-wide mainstreaming inclusion policy.	Since the Renew group is not the most active participant of Roma-related debates, there is little information about their stance towards the policy. Nevertheless, the statement suggests that Renew favors EU-wide policy.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	“The next Roma framework needs to have obligatory and measurable targets and clear indicators.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator stresses the need for measurable targets and indicators.	While these comments don’t explicitly mention expertise, the development of indicators as well as measurable targets require considerable expertise of the European Commission. Therefore, the Renew group implicitly call for more expertise.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	<p>“If the Roma framework remains a wishlist, the Member States would not pay enough attention and the results would be far from desirable.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“The reason is lack of political will, especially on the Member State level.”</p> <p>“If the Member States are not acting, the EU as to step up.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“These NGOs contribute more to the education of the children than the entire education system in Hungary.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator very clearly mentions that the responsibility lies on the Member States but they don't fulfill the challenge due to lack of political will, which leads the EU to take a more active role. NGOs are also mentioned.	The Renew group clearly outlines the instrumental actors and suggests a very active stance of the EU who in their opinion should intervene in the Member States.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	<p>“Roma are European citizens and we cannot decide on how to support them without their involvement.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“The next Roma framework needs to have obligatory and measurable targets and clear indicators.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“We have to make sure that we have a European financial control mechanism but have to make sure that they contribute to the [programmes].” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator stresses the need of Roma involvement, indicators, measurable targets and financial control mechanisms.	These answers are not very elaborate in comparison to other parties; however, they outline the basic steps.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						4/5

ECR- score 9/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“We should focus on the following: access to housing [...], access to microloans, [...] equality education. We have so many countries where we send Roma to special schools [...] where they can't even have elementary education.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator mentions housing, education and segregation.	ECR clearly outlines socioeconomic issues often also mentioned by other parties.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>When asked if he sees antisemitism as the only group/problem related to discrimination, an ECR MEP responded:</p> <p>“In view of the history of this continent, anti-Semitism, what took place in the 20th century, I see as a mega problem.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“Secondly, colleagues, some of you practice saying that there was discrimination in Bulgaria. Honestly, I would not comment on this, because most of you do not know where Bulgaria is on the map, you have no idea what you are talking about, you speak by heart, as usual.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The MEP speaking on behalf of ECR does not consider Roma as the main group targeted by discrimination in the EU.	While the discussion on discrimination has been centered around antisemitism, other MEPs often mentioned Roma. Therefore, this comment, which was directly following a question about the importance of other groups shows disregard for discrimination experienced by Roma.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	<p>“Participation and empowerment of Roma people themselves at all levels, local, regional, national and European.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator mentions inclusion of the Roma minority across all levels.	The communicator doesn't explicitly mention the political sphere and it is not implicit from the rest of the debate that according to ECR Roma should be encouraged to	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

					participate in politics. Therefore, the issue is not comprehensibly addressed.	
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	“The European Union must pay attention to education and training, and even more so to the Roma, who must be given the opportunity for social inclusion, education, health and drinking water.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator mentions the need to improve a large number of welfare provisions.	A lot of the issues discussed during the debate by ECR MEPs were centered around welfare state provisions. Other parties took a much more broad and comprehensive perspective.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	“But, of course, there are social prejudices against the Roma. There are stereotypes and I think that is where we need to go.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator states that there are stereotypes which need to be prevented.	This statement shows that the issue is ongoing. Notably the communicator doesn’t mention discrimination or antigypsyism but rather stereotypes.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	“The European Union must pay attention to education and training, and even more so to the Roma, who must be given the opportunity for social inclusion, education, health and drinking water.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator suggests that the European Union should pay more attention to a multitude of welfare state concerns regarding Roma.	From the context of the debate, there have been contradictory statements regarding the question of EU’s vs national responsibility. However, at least some MEPs believe that this is an EU-wide issue.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	“We should demand nothing more but also nothing less for Roma people than we demand for majority of society.” (European Parliament 2020b) “[...] ensuring quality education and healthcare system.” (European Parliament 2020b) “The EU funds are often misused.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions equality by stating that Roma should receive the same things as the majority. They also mention welfare by discussing education and healthcare. Moreover, efficiency is mentioned whilst discussing effective use of EU funds.	Whilst the communicator mentions equality, welfare and efficiency, the two other criteria were not explicitly mentioned.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						3/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	In the Roma-related discussion the ECR group had comments on the Roma-related issues but did not indicate that Roma are part of their political agenda. (This is also confirmed by looking at the ECR website)	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“The European Union must pay attention to education and training, and even more so to the Roma, who must be given the opportunity for social inclusion, education, health and drinking water.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator stresses the need for change by suggesting that the EU must pay attention to a number of welfare issues.	Whilst paying attention doesn’t necessarily mean change, it is prevalent throughout the debate that ECR anticipates changes with regard to Roma related issues.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“This resolution is a sober challenge to long-term strategies for change for the better in the Roma population living in our Member States and in the European Union, and I support it.” (European Parliament 2019b)	The communicator expresses their support for the resolution.	Since the resolution is a hybrid model and the communicator support the resolution, it is reasonable to deduce that the communicator supports the hybrid model.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	“The European Union must pay attention to education and training, and even more so to the Roma, who must be given the opportunity for social inclusion, education, health and drinking water.” (European Parliament 2019a) “I am calling on Roma officials, encouraging them to make good use of these opportunities and to fully engage with those mandated institutions and organizations to improve their lives, conditions, as well as opportunities for work, employment, to improve the upbringing of their children.” (European Parliament 2019b)	The communicator mentions both the European Union and Roma officials as the major actor responsible for improving the socioeconomic conditions.	These are two quite contradictory statements. The words “pay attention to” could lead one to believe that ECR does not want the EU to intervene or be responsible. That would be coherent with their mission to allow sovereign states to make individual decisions, as stated on their website. Due to the contradictory nature, the score of “0” will be assigned.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	The issue has not been compressively mentioned during the debate. It is hard to predict the opinion of ECR due to previous contradictory statements.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	The issue has not been compressively mentioned during the debate. It is hard to predict the opinion of ECR due to previous contradictory statements.	1: Collaborative/ EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						2/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	Due to limited statements by ECR it is hard to asses if the party would opt for a more unified response. As mentioned on their website, the EU institutions should not intervene too much in national politics.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“This resolution is a sober challenge to long-term strategies for change for the better in the Roma population living in our Member States and in the European Union, and I support it.” (European Parliament 2019b)	The communicator expresses their support for the resolution.	Since the communicator supports the resolution, they must support EU-wide inclusion policy.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	“We need the systematic collection of robust data segregated by gender and age [...] and setting targets and impact indicators” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator expresses the need for impact indicators and better data collection.	This certainly shows that the communicator calls for more expertise, especially since more systematic data collection is requested.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“We [the European Parliament] should really focus on the evaluation on the project that was financed from EU funds.” (European Parliament 2020b) “I am calling on Roma officials, encouraging them to make good use of these opportunities and to fully engage with those mandated institutions and organizations to improve their lives, conditions, as well as opportunities for work, employment, to improve the upbringing of their children.” (European Parliament 2019b)	The communicator mentions both the European Union and Roma officials as the major actors.	Whilst it’s not clear whether ECR calls for more involvement of the Parliament, Roma officials or both, the actors are outlined.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“We really need to be resistant when it comes to recommendations.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We [the European Parliament] should really focus on the evaluation on the project that was financed from EU funds.” (European Parliament 2020b) “The European Union must pay attention to education and training, and even more so to the Roma, who must be given the opportunity for social inclusion, education, health and drinking water.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator mentions the need of strong recommendations, financial evaluation and paying attention to welfare provisions.	These steps are not as elaborate as some of the other parties have suggested, however, they serve as a good foundation.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						4/5

ID- score -12/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	“Many people with the Roma background are not properly educated. They don’t go to school and this means that they can’t properly take part in social life and in society.” (European Parliament 2020b) “There are major problems with people with Roma background. They struggle to find housing but if you are not successful professionally then it’s perhaps not surprising. Germans and people from other countries who aren’t appropriately qualified and don’t have jobs also have the same problem.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator suggests that Roma minority’s socioeconomic problems, such as homelessness, come from the minority not being educated or qualified.	In light of the overall discussion, these statements seem to omit a large number of socioeconomic issues that other parties have mentioned. Based on the explained theoretical insights in this thesis, one could assess the statements as misleading regarding the sources of the situation of Roma.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No

SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	<p>“I must also urge you to stop calling right-wing nationalist colleagues racists if they choose their own people and the protection of our borders” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“I think we have to deal with those problems [relating to education] rather than talk about discrimination.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“We [the EU] have already heard that we are guilty and that the people with a Roma background are discriminated against in all countries of the EU and I don’t think that’s true.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator suggests that discrimination is not a problem that should be addressed regarding Roma and right-wing nationalism has nothing to do with racism.	The communicator certainly does not address discrimination as an issue. Based on the explained theoretical insights in this thesis, one could assess the statements as misleading regarding the discrimination of Roma and the influence of right-wing nationalism.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	<p>“Unfortunately, today the term "inclusion" has become synonymous with renunciation of our values and our lifestyle, almost as if to include the other meant to change oneself. This unfortunately happens with the Roma, who in our country have given birth to criminal networks, evading the census, while we are all registered, and who exploit their children, forced to beg, who are denied even the right to school. How can I explain to my compatriots that, through a humanist virtue and a kindness of soul of which they are never the beneficiaries, we would choose to devote more money, more time and more resources to integrate a population that does not want it?” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator explains that inclusion of Roma is not desirable as their lifestyle of exploitation of children and criminal acts would not be accepted by the MEP’s constituents.	The communicator does not comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority and produces a misleading/stereotypical view of the Roma community, which was condemned by other MEPs.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	<p>“There are simply different cultures and religions and there is a solution to the problems that this causes: borders.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p>	The communicator only mentions one issue, namely borders.	Multiple issues are not addressed.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	<p>“Many people with the Roma background are not properly educated. They don’t go to school and this means that they can’t properly take part in social life and in society.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator mentions that Roma cannot participate in society due to poor education. The present tense seems to indicate that the communicator sees this as an ongoing problem.	Whilst the communicator does not acknowledge all the issues, they mention that education is an ongoing problem.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	<p>“It is also not our responsibility to bear neither the cost nor the responsibility of an assumed lifestyle choice.” (European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator states that the Roma minority’s issues should not be subject to EU’s attention.	The communicator’s statement suggests that ID believes the issue is not to be solved from an EU-wide perspective. Notably, the issue is not framed as national either. Nonetheless, the score of “-1” will be assigned.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	None of the values have been explicitly addressed. Only security was mentioned in regard to borders but this comment did not relate to the security of Roma, which is assessed by the variable ‘values’.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						-5/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	In the Roma-related discussion the ID group had few positive comments on the Roma-related issues and did not indicate that Roma are part of their political agenda. (This is also confirmed by looking at the ID website)	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	<p>“There are simply different cultures and religions and there is a solution to the problems that this causes: borders.” (European Parliament 2020a)</p> <p>“We have millions of unemployed and working poor in France, whose material situation, as you recalled earlier, will worsen with the COVID crisis. How can I explain to my compatriots that, through a humanist virtue and a kindness of soul of which they are never the beneficiaries, we would choose to devote more money, more time and more resources to integrate a population that does not want it?” European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator suggests that the issue boils down to borders and in light of Covid19 no spending on Roma is necessary as other issues have priority.	The statements made by ID group members suggest little need nor advocacy for change, rather the opposite is proposed by mentioning that the funding is more important elsewhere.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	<p>“Many people with the Roma background are not properly educated. They don’t go to school and this means that they can’t properly take part in social life and in society.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“I think we have to deal with those problems [relating to education] rather than talk about discrimination.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator suggests that the problems of Roma community are caused by education.	These statements suggest that the communicator would be inclined to support a rather targeted approach.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	“We [the EU] have already heard that we are guilty and that the people with a Roma background are discriminated against in all countries of the EU and I don’t think that’s true. Many people with the Roma background are not properly educated. They don’t go to school and this means that they can’t properly take part in social life and in society.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator suggests that the socioeconomic inequalities exist as a results of Roma actions and the EU is not responsible for the socioeconomic improvements.	The statement clearly suggests that the EU perceived to not be responsible for the socio-economic status of the Roma minority. The communicator suggests the Roma community itself as responsible.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	“I think this shows that there is a failure also by the Roma community.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator suggests that the Roma minority is responsible for its inclusion in society.	The statement clearly suggests that the EU perceived to not be responsible for the inclusion of the Roma minority. The communicator suggests the Roma community itself as responsible.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	The actors responsible for preventing discrimination are not addressed. This is probably caused by the fact that a large number of ID speeches expressed that there is no discrimination.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						-4/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	“I think this paternalistic attitude towards people with Roma background is the wrong way to go.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator is against a paternalistic approach.	In the context of the debate and considering the given statement, one can assess that the ID group doesn't advocate for a more unified approach.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“I think we have to deal with those problems [relating to education] rather than talk about discrimination.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator believes that education is the solution to Roma-related issues.	By focusing only on education, the communicator, one could assume that the communicator rejects the idea of the EU-wide inclusion policy. This can also be seen in the context of all the debates.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	“It is also not our responsibility to bear neither the cost nor the responsibility of an assumed lifestyle choice.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator does not advocate for more expertise as they believe that aiding the Roma problems is not the responsibility of the EU.	No expertise has been requested. On multiple occasions, ID members suggested that the funding should be spent elsewhere.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“I think this shows that there is a failure also by the Roma community.” (European Parliament 2020b) “This is where the state must intervene, fighting the degradation that characterizes the lives of Roma in our cities.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator suggests two actors, namely the Roma community and the national states.	Whilst the communicator does not suggest the EU as an influential actor, other actors are outlined.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“It is also not our responsibility to bear neither the cost nor the responsibility of an assumed lifestyle choice.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator does not propose actions as they believe that it is not the responsibility of the EU.	The communicator does not outline clear actions.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						-3/5

Greens/EFA- score 18/18

Part 1: Structures and Identities

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	“Majority of the people with Roma background [...] live in precarious conditions. They are excluded from those things that provide people with a decent quality of life: housing, education, employment and healthcare.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We could see how the people who are locked up in their neighbourhoods had little access to food, drinking water or healthcare.” European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator addresses a variety of issues including housing, education, employment, healthcare, “Roma neighbourhoods” and access to food and water.	The communicator shows a comprehensive understanding of socioeconomic difficulties in the statements and throughout the debate.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator	“Unfortunately, crimes and discrimination have continued ever since, among others in Europe (in	The communicator explains that Roma	The communicator shows a	1: Yes

		comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	the Balkans), but also against [...] Roma” (European Parliament 2020a) “These people are suffering insults and hatred in public” (European Parliament 2020b) “Studies show that between 55 and 85% of the majority of our society in Europe reject people with a Roma background.” (European Parliament 2020b)	experience discrimination and provides data related to Roma exclusion from society.	comprehensive understanding of discrimination experienced by Roma in the statements and throughout the debate.	0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	“The way we see it, we are talking about inclusion rather than integration because people with Roma background have been citizens in the European nations for 800 years, they are not stateless people.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We need equal participation in all areas of public life and this should be ensured for people with Roma background” (European Parliament 2020b) “It [the policy] would make it possible for people with Roma background to take part in political life at all levels and it would help them to be emancipated” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator explicitly mentions the need for Roma inclusion in all areas of public life and at all levels, including politics.	Whilst other parties often did not mention politics explicitly, the Greens/EFA MEPs did, which shows their elaborate stance on inclusion.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	“Antizyganism has been firmly anchored in majority society and in institutions for centuries. Poverty is the result, but not the cause. The new EU Roma framework must not be misused to exploit our people as work slaves because they are Roma. We need real equal participation and inclusion of people with a Roma background right from the start and at all levels. We must finally raise awareness among civil society and politicians. The NGO’s access to the funds must not fail because of the bureaucracy, and we must expand strategies to combat corruption.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator addresses issues of antigypsyism, poverty, participation, inclusion, awareness, corruption etc.	As one of the leading parties in the Roma-related debate, the Greens/EFA have an extensive view on discrimination and the issues that need to be addressed in this regard.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	“Today, faced with this observation, we must rethink the fight against all of these moral, psychological and physical attacks.” (European Parliament 2020a) “Racist attacks are increasing dramatically. People of a different skin color or religion, black people, Jews, Sinti and Roma are often the targets of racist violence.” (European Parliament 2020a)	The communicator explains that the issues of discrimination are relevant “today” and well as “increasing dramatically”, which shows that the communicator sees it as an ongoing issue.	Whilst the comments are only focused on discrimination, in the context of the debates Greens/EFA also mention other relevant issues.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	“Antigypsyism and racism poison our society but also poison other societies, just look at the United States. [...] It’s neither the time nor place for Europeans to say that the situation is better in Europe” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator refers to the antigypsyism in Europe, in contrast with discrimination against other communities in the United States to show the severity of the situation in Europe.	In contrast to some of the other parties the Greens/EFA refer to Roma as Europeans. This is quite telling about their position on the issue.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	“It is more important than ever that each of us stands up for a political culture of equality, for respect and solidarity and takes a clear position against racism.” (European Parliament 2020a) “They must have equal access to education, jobs, housing and healthcare.” (European Parliament 2020b) “appropriate budgets which are included in national, regional and local budgets” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator explicitly mentions equality in context of racism. They also mention the need to satisfy a variety of welfare concerns. Finally, efficiency is also mentioned regarding budgets.	Whilst equality, welfare and efficiency are mentioned, the two other aspects are omitted.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)
Score						7/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	“I am the rapporteur of the House on this subject. In my current report, we express clearly our demands on the future EU-Romani policy and identify the real barriers to the inclusion of Romani people.” (European Parliament 2020c)	As the rapporteur, the communicator clearly explains their stake in advancing Roma-related issues.	In the context of the debates but also in a much broader context exceeding the scope of the debates, the Greens/EFA are very active when it comes to advocating for Roma.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“This would have significant positive effects on our society and on the development of the European society because 80% are threatened by extreme poverty [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator suggests that the EU Roma Strategic Framework will have positive effects on improving poverty in society.	In the context of the debates, not only are the Greens/EFA advocating for change but could also be described as the main actors framing the debate and pushing for new developments.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“The next strategy for people with a Roma background must focus on the fight against marginalization and antigypsyism.” (European Parliament 2020b) “This would have significant positive effects on our society and on the development of the European society because 80% are threatened by extreme poverty [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions both targeted strategy against antigypsyism and mainstream strategy against poverty.	The communicator hints at the hybrid model by suggesting both mainstream and individual policy.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	“Member states [...] must draw up national strategies with the appropriate budgets which are included in national, regional and local budgets [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the responsibility of Member States.	Whilst this comment is related to the policy as a whole, it also relates to socioeconomic issues. In the context of the debates, the role of the EU as an actor instrumental in advancing socioeconomic status of Roma has been strongly highlighted. Therefore, a score of “1” will be assigned.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	“Member States should be called on to prevent antigypsyism and to fight it in the national justice systems and also to include it as a cross-cutting measure in the national inclusion strategies. Without that even the best inclusion strategies will be doomed to fail” (European Parliament 2020b) “Civil society organizations at all levels and particularly civil society organizations representing those affected by antigypsyism particularly at the local level must be included at all levels” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the responsibility of individual Member States and civil society organizations.	Whilst the first comment is related to the policy as a whole, it also relates to inclusion. Notably, in the context of the entire debate, the role of the EU as an actor instrumental in advancing inclusion of Roma has been strongly highlighted. Therefore, a score of “1” will be assigned.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	“Indifference and ignorance must be stopped. We need to work together and constructively to find solutions.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator refers to the actors responsible as “we”. This probably refers to European Institutions and Member States. Collaborative spirit is marked by the words “work together”.	This comment, which was made in regard to racism and antigypsyism, clearly shows the communicator believes in the responsibility of the European Union and the Member States.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
Score						6/6

Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	<p>“We need to work hard to benefit the victims of Antigypsyism” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“We need to work together and constructively to find solutions.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator on two occasions highlight the need to produce a unified response by using the word “we”.	In the context of the debates, the Greens/EFA took a unifying/collaborative stance towards other parties.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“A strong Roma strategy for the post 2020 period should be seen as an opportunity for the EU and Member States so that they can balance the socioeconomic situation of the citizens” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator expresses support for the Roma strategy describing it as an “opportunity”.	In the context of the debates, the Greens/EFA are very strong proponents of the EU Roma Strategic Framework.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	<p>“[...] clear roadmap in terms of time, clear and binding progress indicators and appropriate funding” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“In addition, we need a robust monitoring to ensure active implementation and appropriate use of resources” (European Parliament 2020b)</p>	The communicator stresses the need for progress indicators and robust monitoring.	While these comments don’t explicitly mention expertise, the development of indicators as well as monitoring systems require considerable expertise of the Commission.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“Governments must understand that fighting this discrimination is not enough. [...] In the next strategy Member States should be called on to prevent antigypsyism and to fight it in the national justice systems [...]” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator stresses the role of Member States in fighting antigypsyism.	Throughout the debates the communicator mentions EU institutions, Members States and NGOs.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	<p>“We would call on antigypsyism to be seen as a specific form of racism and to be recognized as such formally.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“clear roadmap in terms of time, clear and binding progress indicators and appropriate funding” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“They must have equal access to education, jobs, housing and healthcare” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“They [civil society organizations] need technical support. They need to have a role in monitoring and implementing the strategies.” (European Parliament 2020b)</p> <p>“A new approach is needed. We must put the fight against anti-gypsism and social exclusion first. Equal participation of Romani people must be achieved at all levels of government through binding targets and legislation at national, regional and local level. An adequate budget must be dedicated to the implementation of the next Romani framework.” European Parliament 2020c)</p>	The communicator mentions acknowledgement many actions that need to be undertaken, some of them relate to antigypsyism, development of indicators, funding, welfare, civil society organizations, participation and social exclusion.	The debates clearly show that the Greens/EFA are the most instrumental actors in advancing Roma goals. Their knowledge of Roma related problems and proposed solutions are more advanced than in the case of most of the other parties.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						5/5

GUE/NGL- score 11/18**Part 1: Structures and Identities**

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
SI1a	Issue	Does the communicator comprehensively address the socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Roma minority?	“Whether we talk about housing, education or health, the overall situation is not being improved.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions housing, education and health as the main socioeconomic concerns.	Whilst the GUE/NGL don’t produce the most elaborate response, they mention the main concerns.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1b		Does the communicator comprehensively address the discrimination experienced by the Roma minority?	“Antigypsyism is the greatest problem for people of Romani background” (European Parliament 2020b) “There are a lot of prejudices which are concrete and to an extent hardly against other communities.” (European Parliament 2020b) “Fighting of racism and antigypsyism has to be the top priority.” (European Parliament 2020b)	On multiple occasions the communicator mentions the antigypsyism or discrimination experienced by the Roma community.	Not only does not communicator acknowledge the discrimination, but also suggests that hardly any other communities experience this sort of injustice. This shows a strong stance of GUE/NGL regarding discrimination.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI1c		Does the communicator comprehensively address the inclusion of the Roma minority in national and/or European politics?	“We need to have majority of the population involved” (European Parliament 2020b) “The reduced space of civil society. What can we do to empower the Romani communities?” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions the inclusion of the majority of the population but also civil society organizations.	The communicator doesn’t explicitly mention the political sphere; however, it is implicit from the rest of the debate that according to GUE/NGL Roma should be encouraged to participate in politics.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI2	Issue-areas	Does the communicator state that to improve the situation of the Roma minority multiple issues need to be addressed?	“Roma women are being segregated and receiving inferior treatment. [...] state money for Traveller housing is not spent, the Traveller Health Strategy has not been implemented in 10 years, and the Traveller Health Committee has not met in 10 years.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator mentions a variety of issues, for example segregation, housing, health, financing etc.	Interestingly, the communicator explicitly mentions empowerment of Roma women, which has not been tackled by other parties in the debate.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI3	Time	Does the communicator state that the situation of the Roma minority in the EU is an ongoing issue?	“So, we can have all the strategies we like, but we really need implementation if we are to achieve equality.” (European Parliament 2020c)	The communicator states that the issue is not fixed until the implementation is effective.	The issue according to GUE/NGL is seen as ongoing.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
SI4	Territory	Does the communicator classify the situation of the Roma minority as an EU-wide or national issue?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	Due to limited number of speeches made by GUE/NGL members, it is difficult to assess their stance.	1: EU-wide/both 0: Not Addressed -1: National
SI5	Values	Does the communicator address the following values: Equality Efficiency Welfare Security Liberty	“We need equality and equal treatment.” (European Parliament 2020b) “I know that in some member states money isn’t being used because people don’t want to spend money on Roma and Sinti.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We have to look at where the resources are and how they are being used.” (European Parliament 2020b) “Whether we talk about housing, education or health, the overall situation is not being improved.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator mentions equality by addressing equal treatment. Efficiency is also mentioned regarding the use of Roma-related resources. Welfare provisions are also mentioned. Security of Roma against racial attacks is addressed.	The communicator explicitly mentions all the values but liberty. That is the highest score in this category out of all the parties assesses.	1: Yes (3-5 values) 0: Some (1-2 values) -1: No (0 values)

			“Roma community face racist slurs, abject poverty and attacks every single day. Entire families live in fear in their homes.” (European Parliament 2019a)			
Score						6/7

Part 2: Dynamics

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
D1	Distance	Does the communicator identify Roma-related issues as part of their political agenda?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	In the Roma-related discussion the GUE/NGL group had positive comments on the Roma-related issues but did not indicate that Roma are part of their political agenda. Whilst their values are diversity and anti-racism, Roma are not mentioned on the official website.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D2	Change	Does the communicator stress the need for change regarding the situation of the Roma minority in the EU?	“We need to break the vicious cycle of oppression and exploitation that the Roma face by tackling it at source.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator stresses the need for change regarding oppression of Roma.	The language of the statement indicates that the communicator believes change is necessary.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
D3	Status Quo	Does the communicator suggest that the Roma-related issues should be resolved individually or be part of a more general inclusion policy?	“I think that really is a key... mainstreaming as other have said.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator calls for a mainstream policy.	By not mentioning a targeted approach coupled with the mainstream approach, the communicator seems to call for just a mainstream approach rather than hybrid.	1: Hybrid 0: Mainstream -1: Targeted
D4a	Responsibility	Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the socio-economic status of the Roma minority?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	Due to limited number of speeches made by GUE/NGL members, it is difficult to assess their stance.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4b		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for improving the inclusion of the Roma minority in national or European politics?	“The reduced space of civil society. What can we do to empower the Romani communities?” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator calls on the European Union (or European Parliament) to improve the inclusion of civil society groups.	Whilst this statement is rather brief, it shows some hit of GUE/NGL’s stance.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority
D4c		Who, according to the communicator, should be responsible for preventing the discrimination against the Roma minority?	“Fighting of racism and antigypsyism has to be the top priority.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator seems to call on the European Union (or European Parliament) to fight racism and antigypsyism.	Although there is no actor mentioned, the comment seems to be addressed towards other MEPs. Whilst this statement is rather brief, it shows some hit of GUE/NGL’s stance.	1: Collaborative/EU 0: Not Addressed -1: Member States/The Roma Minority

Score						3/6
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Part 3: Agency

Id. #	Theme	Question	Text & Description	Interaction & Interpretation	Context & Explanation	Value/Code
A1	Unified Response	Does the communicator stress the need for a more unified response regarding Roma-related issues?	“We need to break the vicious cycle of oppression and exploitation that the Roma face by tackling it at source.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator addresses fellow Parliamentarians to fight discrimination.	Whilst the comment only relates to the issue of discrimination, in the context of the broader debate and GUE/NGLs’ statements, it seems to be applicable to other issue areas.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A2	Resolution	Does the communicator believe that Roma-related goals can be achieved through EU-wide inclusion policy?	“What the need is political change. [...] We need a directive and objectives that Member States have to meet.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator calls for an implementation of the directive.	By suggesting that a directive is necessary, it seems that GUE/NGL support the idea of an EU-wide inclusion policy.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A3	Expertise	Does the communicator stress the need for more expertise generated by the EU on Roma-related issues?	Not Addressed	Not Addressed	Due to limited number of speeches made by GUE/NGL members, it is difficult to assess their stance.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A4	Actors	Does the communicator clearly outline which actors are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“We need to break the vicious cycle of oppression and exploitation that the Roma face by tackling it at source.” (European Parliament 2019a)	The communicator addresses fellow Parliamentarians to fight discrimination.	Whilst the communicator addresses other Parliamentarians, there is too little comprehensive information to assess which actors are seen as instrumental.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
A5	Actions	Does the communicator clearly outline which actions are instrumental to advancing Roma-related goals?	“What the need is political change. [...] We need a directive and objectives that Member States have to meet.” (European Parliament 2020b) “We have to be clear about who the funding should go to and who it is going to.” (European Parliament 2020b)	The communicator addresses the need for a directive and efficient funding management.	Whilst the communicator addresses some of the actions that need to be undertaken, there is too little comprehensive information to assess which actions are seen as instrumental.	1: Yes 0: Not Addressed -1: No
Score						2/5