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Summary

DOCTORAL THESIS

Roma between integration and cultural identity: optimising public policies and good practices

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Preliminary introductions

The main purpose of the research, which was the basis of the doctoral thesis was the formation of new public policies or the adaptation of the already existing ones in order to maximize the chances of success in order to integrate the Roma population on the territory of the Member States in the European Union. Also, in order to form certain models and examples of good practice, it was necessary to examine all public policies directed towards the Roma, their evolution over time and the reasons why such policies were and are still needed.

Thus, the Recommendations offered by the European Union to the Member States for the integration of Roma on their territory were analysed, which then came in the form of complex and well-developed strategies such as the Decade of Roma Inclusion, the Europe 2020 Strategy or , the most recent attempt offered under a new name - "A Union of Equality: the EU Strategic Framework on Roma for Equality, inclusion and participation". These strategic frameworks served as guides to follow for Member States that initially wanted to join the European Union. One of the conditions for accession for the former Soviet states was to address and solve the problems that the Roma had on their territory.

This was also the case for Romania, which approached roma issues in the form of national strategies that also included the Recommendations offered by the European Union. The first strategy was one of the most promising, being also influenced by accession to the European Union, offering a series of public policies geared towards the main needs of the Roma, framed by four main pillars: education, health, employment or housing. The secret of the success of these first examples of good practices and measures is the political will exercised at that time, a political will that either will be diminished or will be missing in the next stages of implementing future national strategies for the integration of the Roma minority.

An important first objective was to analyse the situation of Roma and the status of Roma since their first contacts with the European area. Thus, we have been able to see how the Roma, even though they have a fairly long history on this territory, have always faced certain negative policies directed directly at them. The history of the Roma people is a crucial element in understanding the causes of their integration and, perhaps even more importantly, why such a process is necessary. The status of the people of roma origin, from the very first dates regarding their appearance in the European area, is that of a marginalised, sensitive person and in some cases, of the undesirable person.

Therefore, I want from the very beginning to outline an overview of the evolution of people of Roma origin and to outline certain ideas that will then be developed and rethought in order to be able to form public policies that are specifically directed to their needs. From this point of view, I have chosen to address a number of research methods and tools in order to be able to extract the examples of good practice that are then developed and adapted by each Member State.

Taking into account my area of research, the research questions have the role of generating a knowledge on the public policies directed in order to better integrate the Roma population into society, both in Romania and in other Member States of the European Union. In this process, the Roma's perception of the public policies offered to solve urgent problems (lack of drinking water, or unequal access to education or employment) were analysed, the purposes and values that they promote and want to promote in future national and European directives, but also the relationship that Roma have with the state institutions responsible for carrying out public policies.

Also, a central and crucial place in this research is occupied by the education system and implicitly the development of public policies in order to be able to solve the problems faced by the Roma when they arrive in school. Discrimination, segregation, ethnic bullying, but also their non-presence in school textbooks and the propagation of stereotypes further deepen the gap between the majoritarian population and the Roma people. Following the quantitative and qualitative study, I understood how important education is for the Roma, who believe that only through education can they break stereotypes and certain social and then economic barriers. Even though I stress the importance of developing public policies that have a cross-sectorial character and that take into account all four main pillars, which are inter-connected, more attention is needed at the level of education, the Roma having a lower average age than that of the majority population, many of them being children.

THESIS STRUCTURE

Chapter I. Roma in Europe. History, identity, integration

The history of the Roma is a crucial element in understanding the causes behind the process of their integration and, perhaps even more importantly, why such a process is necessary. The status of the Roma, from the very first dates regarding their appearance in the European area, is that of a marginalised, sensitive person and in some cases, of the undesirable person.

Another factor that has been presented and is closely related to the evolution of the process of integration of the Roma people is the process of Europeanization that they went through and what were the consequences for them. Thus, it is necessary to delimit the concepts and theories presented, which contain crucial elements that provide an understanding of the situation of the Roma.

In order to be able to provide an explanation of the nature and delicate situation of roma on the territory of the European Union, conceptual theories such as social inclusion and exclusion are presented, these being analysed by a series of factors that show the importance of addressing these concepts defining the situation of Roma people. Also, in this chapter, there are presented multiple definitions regarding the cultural identity of Roma, these definitions having an even greater importance because they were presented by roma representative persons, both at the level of Romania and of the European Union, starting from the specialist for Roma issues at local and regional level, going to the members and presidents of roma and pro-Roma NGOs and culminating with the Superior Project Officer within the Directorate Anti-Discrimination-Roma and Travellers Team- Council of Europe or Roma and pro-Roma activists from countries such as Italy, Bulgaria or Germany

It was also required that a delimitation of the concepts of integration and inclusion is formed, these terms being used throughout the work, at different times. I wanted to make this delimitation from the very beginning, these terms being similar, but the methods and practices that have been developed have different approaches. Throughout this paper, I have highlighted the importance that newly developed public policies must take into account, especially in states with large populations of Roma, technics and inclusive methods, and move beyond the sphere of integration policies. An example state in this respect must be Romania, having both the largest Roma population on the territory of a state in the European Union and having a history

strewn with many events that have negatively affected the development and normal evolution of the Roma on their territory. Thus, moments such as the slavery of the Roma in Romania, one of the oldest periods of slavery in Europe that has spread over the course of 500 years or the forced deportation of Roma to Transnistria, morally "obliges" the Romanian state to form policies aimed at roma inclusion as an equal and important part of this system.

Both the terms of integration and inclusion have close connotations, but the differences between them have a strong impact on the strategies offered at both national and European level. We can see that to this day, the term most used when referring to public policies for the Roma minority was that of integration. Following the evolution of european directives and especially the contemporary ones, we will see that lately there has been an exchange of paradigms, being now more and more about roma inclusion in the states of the European Union.

Despite the perspective of social integration where there is a lack of an empirical and theoretical basis that is sufficiently comprehensive, it is used as a useful framework for the studies that will develop on ethnic processes. The advantage of the perspective of integration comes from its focus on the different social dimensions that are crucial in the evolution of ethnic groups.

Also, in order to be able to provide the best possible explanation of the difference between the two terms, a comparative analysis is used in order to observe the evolution of public policies for the Roma, starting from an integrative approach and then moving towards an inclusive one with the expansion of the European Union and its borders. Within this delimitation, the definitions offered by the interviewers were essential because they clearly showed the need for inclusive approaches, at least at The Romanian level, in order to be able to maximize the chances of success of public policies. The choice of the term integration is due to the considerable number of countries in the European Union that have a small Roma population on their territory and where the Roma are only people who work seasonally and their impact is not a considerable one.

Roma identity is a complicated concept to fully define. Cultural, social and historical content is found in it, and the task of the researcher is to define how these elements are connected to each other at a given time and in a certain group, and how the hierarchy of elements appears and changes over time.

The second approach to Roma identity can be defined as a relational one. From this point of view, the set of cultural values (Romanipen) is treated as the historical result of

concrete relations between Roma and the non-Roma environment, between certain Groups of Roma and between different categories of people in the context of these groups. It is precisely these relationships, within this point of view, that define the Roma identity and its many variations. In other words, in order to understand who the Roma are, it is necessary, above all, to return to the fundamental opposition between the World of the Roma and the world of non-Roma. It is precisely the impact of the non-Roma world, rather than any "natural difference", "ethnicity" or distinct cultural values, that, in the opinion of some researchers, played a crucial role in the construction of the Roma as a separate group.

Chapter II. Detailing the methodology used in the research

Going further, after delimiting the concepts and theories I chose to detail the methodology used in the research. This chapter aims to present the utilized research methods, along with the research tools appropriate to the methods in order to be able to answer the research questions set out in the first part of this paper. I will also explain the reasons why these approaches were chosen, each of the methods used, be they semi-structured interviews, life stories or participatory observation, will be presented, highlighting their strengths , but also their limits in relation to the specifics of this study.

Through this chapter, I will bring up the ethnographic method, offering arguments for its use, but also the potential disadvantages that could occur when applying this method, the Roma groups being described as "difficult to reach". Going further on this chapter, I will present how and the criteria for which I will choose contacts (with a supporting role) as well as my role in processing and analysing data.

In the continuation of this chapter the ethical problems that may arise during the entire duration of the study, the way in which they influenced the study, but also the methods used to overcome ethical problems will be presented.

Given the purpose of my research, the research questions have the role of generating a knowledge on the public policies directed towards a better integration of the Roma population in society, both in Romania and in other Member States of the European Union. In this process, they analysed the perception of Roma on the public policies offered to solve urgent problems (lack of drinking water, or unequal access to education or employment), the values they promote and want to promote in future national and European directives, but also the

relationship that Roma have with the state institutions responsible for carrying out public policies.

An increased attention will be paid to the governance tools and techniques that were the basis of multiple policies to improve the situation of Roma in close correlation with the systems of knowledge and expertise, viewed through the lens of the conceptual apparatus of governance. With this approach, I want to go beyond the anthropological, sociological literature or the studies of the Roma population regarding public policies and their impact on the situation of the Roma minority in Romania, the new strategic framework of the European Union being also a new starting point.

One of the research tools that were used was a semi-structured interview guide. This guide will also aim to collect crucial data to understand the roma inclusion process across multiple sectors such as education or employment. Also, the structure of the interview is based on a series of questions meant to present the different perspective that roma communities have on the methods and techniques used by the state for their integration into society. The sampling of these inverts will result in a qualitative database.

Another methodology used is that of researching social policies. This methodology offered the possibility of rebuilding the path taken by the social policies addressed to the Roma minorities, their evolution over time, but also the effectiveness of these measures. The starting point is to study the relevant social issues with regard to the four major areas analysed (education, employment, health and housing) and how the public policies implemented so far have managed to meet the needs of the Roma community. It will also take into account many of the policies addressed to the Roma minority, which were initially developed in the form of programmes by NGOs and later transformed into public politics.

Ethnographic method allows the researcher to obtain information of an internal nature on the social life of the studied group, which is designed to interpret and describe social phenomes from the perspective of the protagonists.

Ethnographic research or ethnographic method is a method of social research that presents through a systematic analysis of the culture of human groups. This method is defined by Anthony Giddens as a direct study of groups or people for a specified time. Participant observation and personal interviews are two of the main techniques of this method. Also, surveys and the collection of information from existing documents are also among the ways in which this method achieves its objectives.

Chapter III. Roma history in Romania – an essential factor in the development of public policies

Chapter III is one that focuses on the history of the Roma in Romania, an essential factor that must be taken into account when developing public policies. The history of the Roma is a crucial factor in order to form any form of measures or public policies for their integration, especially in Romania, a country that has been in close connection with the Roma minority since its inception. In order to be able to understand why the existing public policies for Roma in Romania did not have the expected results, we must take a step back and analyse how the Roma were represented from the moment they arrived on the Romanian space until today.

During this chapter, a presentation of the history of Roma in Romania is formed in order to understand the shortcomings in the field of education regarding their representation in history and especially in schools in Romania, the impact of such information for people of Roma origin, the traces they leave and how important this chapter is for Roma and their development, in any age bracket.

Following the research and the qualitative and quantitative study developed, I noticed a lack of knowledge on the part of both Romanians and Roma about the common history of these two populations. A history that is strewn with many obstacles and impediments for the Roma population, these being the subjects of a period of 500 years of bondage, followed by the deportation of roma to Transnistria and culminating in a forced assimilation during the communist period and then the transition into a democratic system without having the basic mechanisms to be able to develop in a favourable way.

This chapter has a special place in the development of future public policies, especially educational ones, and especially in the development of Roma self-esteem and the general consciousness of the majority population. The impact of this history is a huge one in the development of today's Roma, who are marked by what they know or how little they know about the history of their own people. This information, which leaves deep traces in the development of each individual and which remain with him regardless of the status or function acquired over the years, will be used in order to bring together the two subjects, the Roma and the Romanians, each of them being the victims of a lack of information that can bring many positive changes and can help in the formation of a common and developmental front, front which has been made with other moments in our history.

Thus, the episodes with a strong impact on the development of Roma in Romania are approached, starting from their 500-year slavery in Romania, going ahead with their deportation to Transnistria and culminating in a forced assimilation during the communist period. These episodes have left strong marks among the mentality of the majority population and, in particular, among the Roma, who pass from generation to generation certain traumas.

In order to be able to emphasize the importance of this chapter and implicitly of the need to approach future policies also from the point of view of Roma history, I have chosen to offer at the end of this part a series of stories and life stories of the interviewed persons that show the consequences of not presenting this information at educational level in the development of Roma self-esteem and of the relations between Roma and Romanians.

Chapter IV. Public policies on Roma integration in Romania

The next chapter wants to analyse the public policies on roma integration in Romania and to extract both certain examples of good practice and to understand what were the problems for which many of them failed.

The key moments in the development of these policies are analysed, the first moment being immediately after the fall of communism in 1989, where the Roma had a chance to be able to mobilize and organize themselves politically, but they lacked many of the elements necessary for this process due to the many shortcomings generated by their complicated history in the Romanian space. In the early moments, they had simple requests and desires that appealed to human decency: sewerage system, drinking water or paved roads.

Historically, public policies in Romania on Roma integration have been strewn with numerous attempts. A public policy that can be identified and a first stage of identification was carried out immediately after December 1989 [Elena Zamfir, Cătălin Zamfir, 1993], is that of the problem, particularly sensitive, of the Roma.

A moment that produced numerous public policies and examples of good practice in order to improve the situation of the Roma was Romania's accession to the European Union. In this respect, Romania, along with other South-Eastern European states that wanted to join the European Union had to form national strategies that would offer solutions for the integration of the Roma. Thus, the first National Strategy for improving the situation of Roma 2001-2010 was born, providing measures in key areas such as education, health, employment or housing.

Thus, both the Government Strategy of 2001 and 2011 and the Decade of Roma Inclusion propose public policies with a focused approach, with commitments from the Romanian Government both nationally and internationally. As a first step, an analysis of the main measures implemented and their impact on the Roma population is necessary. I believe that, in order to be able to provide the most coherent analysis of the public policies that need to be developed towards the Roma population in the future, we need to understand what were the successes, but also the failures of the strategies previously applied, both for the targeting approach and for the mainstreaming approach. After analysing these factors, a number of objectives and measures will be presented.

The next attempt to form stable, efficient and long-term public policies was offered by Romania due to the appeal sent by the European Union through the Europe 2020 strategic framework, which this time invited each state on its territory to present strategies for the integration / inclusion of Roma people. During this period, certain positive examples can emerge from countries such as Spain, the Czech Republic or Italy, but with less applicability. Even if the number of states that presented national roma integration/inclusion strategies was considerably higher than the previous call, unfortunately the same cannot be said about the public policies directed at Roma people due to the fact that the political will was lacking and the frameworks offered by the European Union are nothing more than recommendations (in the previous period, the accession of states to the European Union was closely linked to solving the problems of Roma people.

The present National Strategy for the inclusion of Romanian citizens belonging to the Roma minority is Romania's response to the recommendations submitted by the European Union through the new Rome Strategic Framework of the European Union 2020-2030, also called the new Strategic Framework of the European Union on Equality, Inclusion and Participation of Roma. Certain new and positive aspects that we can draw from this strategy refer to positive measures in key areas such as education, health, employment or housing, but they also come with measures that focus on reconciliation with the historical past, an issue also highlighted by the President of the European Commission present at the 14th European Platform for Roma Inclusion.

Thus, it is very important to see the evolution of public policies from our country in Romania, which are closely related to the directives coming from the European Union. I could add here even a co-dependency or at least a causal relationship between them, Romania being

rather a (unfortunately) reactive state and not proactive when it comes to the formation of public policing for the improvement / integration / inclusion of Roma. Proof of these words are the strategies offered, the first strategy in 2001 being a response following the European Union's request to several countries in South-Eastern Europe that wanted to join the European Union and which had to address the issue of Roma integration on their territory. The second strategy was addressed in the same way, as a response to the call provided by the European Commission in 2011 for each Member State to form national strategies by 2020 with the inclusion of Roma in their territory as a key item on the agenda.

Unfortunately, due to the events carried out worldwide that had a very strong impact and that limited the resources of each country (the coronavirus pandemic and the war in Ukraine), both the strategy offered by Romania and many other strategies missed the initial deadline for submission and were delayed by almost two years. This has considerably diminished an opportune moment for the formation of new public strategies and policies by the states of the European Union, but the efforts offered by Roma and pro-Roma NGOs have been intensified.

History, as in this case, can provide the answers to how this sensitive subject should be addressed. A history of the successes and failures of the measures offered at both national and European level in order to be able to extract and adapt in certain cases the examples of good practice. The quantification of these successes, especially those at the social level, could be reviewed in time, the measures that I will offer at the end of this study being some that I believe will bring the desired results both in the short term, but especially in the medium and long term, especially when we talk about increasing the self-esteem among the Roma population and raising the level of awareness of the majority population on the positive aspects and identity Beautiful cultural of the Roma.

Chapter V. Roma-oriented public policies at EU and Member State level

The next chapter is devoted to the efforts offered by the European Union and the frameworks through which wanted to encourage the formation of good practices that would then be developed into public policies that each Member State would adapt according to the situation of the Roma on their territory.

In the first 10 years after the fall of communism in Europe, the former socialist countries experienced inter-ethnic conflicts in the region. The first conference held in Copenhagen after the fall of the socialist regimes, the CSCE expressed concern about the potential inter-ethnic conflicts that may arise in the area and thus launched the agenda of the human dimension of security During the 1990s, the OSCE monitored the inter-ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, as well as the situation of the Russian minority in the former Baltic states and of Hungarians in Romania

Thus, an important first step was, as I was presenting before, the moment of accession of the South-Eastern European states, which had as their objective the integration of the Roma from their territory. This moment was important not only through the policies developed by the Member States concerned, but perhaps more importantly, it paved the way for future frameworks and strategies that would be directly directed towards the integration and then the inclusion of the Roma.

In this regard, we can note an extremely important moment, the Decade of Inclusion, an unprecedented political commitment by the Member States to resolving roma problems. It is at this time that strategies have been developed and presented by multiple Member States, which will then be developed and adapted within the framework of the Europe 2020 strategy. Unfortunately, due to a lack of funds in certain situations, but especially due to the lack of political will, many of the national strategies have failed to bring long-lasting improvements to the situation of the Roma, many of which remain only on paper.

Another important step has been taken both to protect the good practices already developed at European level, but especially to integrate the Roma minority into the states of the European Union. This step consists of the European Union's Rome 2020-2030 Strategic Framework.

This new framework comes as a result of shortcomings and problems raised with regard to the latest strategies addressed in this direction. The Rome Strategic Framework 2020-2030 launched in October 2020 is based on principles such as equality, inclusion and participation and is based on the measures addressed by all Member States through national strategies for the integration of Roma population by 2020.

Within the framework of this strategy, horizontal and sectoral priorities are offered which aim to bridge the gap between the Roma population and the majority. What began as an extremely opportune moment for the development of future public policies was unfortunately followed by the outbreak of events that required urgently directing resources towards solving these problems reported worldwide (the coronavirus pandemic and the war in Ukraine). Thus, many of the states national strategies have been delayed and, because of this, there has been an even greater gap compared to previous strategies between writing these public policies aimed at solving Roma problems and implementing them.

After the key moments in the development of public policies that are direct to Roma at European level have been completed and explained and the positive elements have been extracted, but also the negative ones in order to form public policies, a comparative analysis on the representation of Roma in European curricula and school textbooks follows. Case study - representation of Roma in Germany and reconciliation with the historical past.

The objective of this subchapter is to present a comparative analysis of European programmes and school textbooks to see how the Roma are represented in different countries and in different subjects. The main topics and main subjects that are discussed and that refer to roma are at the level of history, civic culture and geography classes. Particular attention will be placed on the model of Germany, a country which, even though it has one of the smallest Roma populations on their territory compared to other EU Member States, here the Roma are represented in the widest possible way and as adapted as possible.

The research of the school curriculum showed that, out of the 22 states included in the analysis, eight mention roma in history, geography or social sciences programs. Where matches have been found, most countries talk about Roma in terms of history, and only some German states and Hungary mention the Roma in their civic curriculum. Spain refers to roma in a curriculum for geography and history (a combined subject), for an optional topic on the cultural and artistic heritage of Andalusia and in cross-curricular sections focused on the development of intercultural competences.

This analysis has revealed certain examples of good practice that can be developed and adapted to the Roma community by each Member State. Also, this subchapter has a crucial role in developing public policies in the educational field at the level of Romania, where the representation of Roma in the educational curriculum and in the educational textbooks is extremely limited or completely lacking.

Also, another subchapter containing new elements and which has shown the importance of developing public policies to help roma people, especially in the field of health, focuses on the impact and challenges of Covid-19 for the Roma community in Europe. This subchapter is intended to show the difficult and sensitive situation faced by the Roma population, especially those at rural level or with a precarious financial situation. The lack of sewerage systems and the lack of drinking water combined with a sense of discrimination and, in some cases, ethnic hatred have led to events that have further deepened the differences between the Roma and the majority.

Chapter VI. Presentation of the results of the quantitative study and of the ethnographic study

In the continuation of the work were presented the results of the quantitative study. These were achieved by correlating the responses provided in a dedicated questionnaire for both the general public and roma in communities in a more simplistic manner. It was made in order to truly understand what is the importance and necessity of studying the history of Roma, along with traditions, customs and their culture. In order to make an integration process as comprehensive as possible, it is absolutely necessary for the Roma minority to be as well presented and understood as possible, the Romanian state being the main key factor in this respect.

The quantitative study, by offering a questionnaire both to the general public and to the use of the same questionnaire, in a more simplistic manner and for the Roma in the communities, was carried out in order to truly understand what is the importance and necessity of studying the history of the Roma, along with their traditions, customs and culture.

These answers also have an important role to play in view of final conclusions, because they address many of the topics addressed in the paper, such as the history of the Roma, the public policies from our country in Romania, the European public policies, the educational system from our country in Romania. These answers, correlated with the answers given during

the interviews by Roma representatives from the local, county level, NGO members, undersecretaries of state or members of political parties were crucial in developing the ideas and directions of the final research.

The present thesis also presents the results of the ethnographic study, which is carried out at the level of the community in the town of Târgu Jiu, Gorj. Here, thanks to the contact persons from among the traditional community and especially to the leader of the Pro-Europe Roma Party branch and traditional Roma judge, Mr. Nelu Pavel, I managed to understand even better the problems of the communities and to understand how important traditions and customs are for the Roma people. I also witnessed a traditional Roma judgment and managed to increase my understanding of the Roma's cultural identity.

Thus, this quantitative study was an important step towards forming the final conclusions. Part of this questionnaire, in a much narrower and simplistic form, was also addressed when I was in the traditional Roma communities, where I learned about the traditional roma judgment. This was possible thanks to Mr. Nelu Pavel, President of the Pro-Europe Roma Party in Târgu-Jiu and traditional Roma judge. Also, an important role in this regard was played by Mr. Ion Bobu, a local expert for Roma from Tărgu-Jiu who also offered me information about the customs and traditions of the Roma, but also Bobu Vasile, county expert within the Gorj County Office.

Chapter VII. Conclusions, recommendations and directions of future research

All these data were analysed correlated and developed in the final chapter entitled: **Conclusions, recommendations and directions of future research**. Within this chapter there are important elements that have applicability in the main key areas (education, health, employment and housing), but also in key areas such as reconciliation with the historical past and the development of self-esteem.

In this chapter, I would like to offer future research directions on public policies in both Romania and the European Union, regarding the integration/inclusion of Roma. In addition, conclusions and recommendations based on the comparative study presented, on the results of the quantitative, qualitative and ethnographic study will be presented.

These recommendations will refer first of all to the last strategic framework for Roma inclusion offered by the European Union for the period 2020-2030, together with the National

Strategy for the Inclusion of the Roma Minority in Romania for the period 2022-2027. The priority area where most recommendations are made is education, and it is also presented in connection with other priority areas such as health, housing or employment.

Thus, this chapter offers solutions that are viable and that can be developed and adapted by each Member State, which has a significant Roma population on their territory or which have a history that is closely linked to the development of this people (the example of this is Germany, where it even though it has an extremely small Roma population, produced some of the best examples of good practice and public policy as a result of reconciliation with their historical past, namely the Holocaust for Jews and Roma).

Also, within this subchapter, future recommendations and research directions will be presented, which will be especially focused on the educational field and on the representation of roma in school textbooks and curricula. Romania is one of the states that have a responsibility both historically and morally for developing examples of good practices that other states can adapt according to the situation of the Roma on their territory. In this respect, Romania must become a pro-active state in forming public policies that focus on the requirements and needs of Roma, on promoting self-esteem and an inclusive education.

In my opinion, after studying the frameworks provided so far and the public policies, I have noticed that when it comes to measures to reduce poverty, the enlargement countries and the Member States should implement measures geared towards real needs, as well as better use of social benefits, such as adequate minimum income schemes by automating them, cutting red tape, eliminating conditionality's and sanctions, and combating discrimination and stigmatisation against Roma.

In addition, in order to combat discrimination against the Roma, one measure that I consider useful is that accession countries and European Union Member States should provide public officials with training programmes that are focused on detecting and discriminating behaviour with regard to minority beneficiaries, especially roma people. There is also a need for public discourse that stigmatises people benefiting from aid programmes or facing poverty to be combated through a better understanding of their role and benefit.

Another measure that I consider useful is the elaboration of strategies that directly aim at the protection, promotion and development of the Romani language through teaching and publishing activities. The use of the Roma language in public documents and public communications should also be taken into account. In addition, anti-bullying phenomena and

prejudices against Roma among children and teachers in legislation must be addressed, along with methods for inclusive teacher training.

Public policies aimed at Roma education must also be based on methods to support the overall improvement of multicultural and inclusive education by addressing pupils' and parents' prejudices towards roma and by developing curricula that include educational materials on Roma culture, history, art and language. In addition to the above, policies and methods are needed to ensure the teaching of the Roma language and history in schools, including about slavery and the Roma Holocaust in all states. This rethinking of school textbooks and teaching materials must take into account the support of civil society and Roma academics.

All these research directions and public policy proposals, regardless of the branch on which they focus, must be followed by a political will in order to be successful.

Key words: public policies, Roma, integration, inclusion, European Union, Romania