

ROMA COMMUNITY PRACTICES AS SUBJECT ENCOUNTERS WITH STATE POLICY EVENTS

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Abstract: *This paper examines the discursive entanglements of migratory flows of 'bodies' and commerce, by way of the hegemonic logic of neo-liberalism, and site-specific Roma community practices of contestation in Germany to the Schengen Agreement. Roma subject encounters are also explored with respect to human rights policy and implementation within the context of the European Union; the Council of Europe; and NGOs as Amnesty International, and the European Roma Rights Centre. Further interrogation, investigates the macro-political implications in connection to capital markets and state membership eligibility, with respect to the EU and IMF, in juxtaposition to Roma micro-political encounter and event.*

Keywords: *Roma; Sinti; Community Practices; Micro-political encounter, European Union*

1. Introduction

The contextual terrain within which Roma communities encounter forced expulsion, persecution, and "appropriations of cultural forms in capitalist systems" by some EU leaders and citizens of member states, exacts a spatio-temporal cartography of mobility (GSO Conference Paper Call, 2012).

Currently, the 'unification' of Europe, with the opening of borders, the common European citizenship, and the common currency coexist with increasing internal

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fragmentation, regionalism, and the claims of post-national identity. European unification as practices of EU policy encounter and event, become sites of contestation with a resurgence of xenophobia, racism, and ethnocentrism, practices in part as 'micro'- and "hyper-nationalisms" (Braidotti, 2011, e-book). "Sociological categories" such as "marginals", and "migrants", or "minorities", are no longer adequate in the shifting landscapes of advanced capitalism, global diasporas, transnational flow of capital, and the emergence of alternate, multi-layered, mobilized subjectivities. Instead, subject positioning and re-positioning of and by mobile subjects are continually articulated as self-reflexive, situated practices of contestation and contradiction. Difference may be rearticulated no longer as the ebb and flow of migration between socio-economic and political spaces of center to periphery, or of 'multiculturalism', but in place difference emerges as an affirmative "transculturality" and "pluriethnic fragmentations within the same culture (Saskia Sassen cited in Rosi Braidotti, 2011). In Deleuzian grammar it is a "becoming minoritarian" process of Europe, as a way of both bypassing the binary global-local or glocal fusion, and as a destabilizing of established definitions of Euro-centric hegemony in its construction of social, economic, and political collective identity (Gilles Deleuze cited in Braidotti 2011). The homogenization and collective 'identification of 'European-ness' by EU actors, appropriates minoritarian forms of cultural self-articulations and subjectivities by way of programmatic directives and policy administration. In some ways, it elides the increasing complexity of fractionated subjectivities, assemblages, and affiliations between global capital exchange and intersecting alliances of trans-, post-national identities. As such, however well intentioned, EU agency posits itself as a regulatory and structural 'body' inhabiting an identity 'problematic'.

In the following, the aforementioned considerations on migratory flows of 'bodies' and capital are investigated by way of a critical, discursive intervention to normative institutional and regulatory state-centric practices. Specifically, this critical inquiry evokes two alternating registers of analysis within the context of site-specific Roma community practices, contestations, and cooperative affiliations. The first register of analytical inquiry, examines sites of contestation by Roma transnational migrations, both political and economic, and how they relate to citizen-centric and EU policies, as well as NGO and Roma activist organizations. The second analytical register deploys Roma community encounter and event in site-specific juxtaposition to the hegemonic logic of neoliberal globalization or market fundamentalism.

2. Discursive Interventions

This ethnographic cartography regarding Roma practices and trajectories of social, political, and cultural economies of self-articulation employs fieldwork notes and research in Germany. However, as the information becomes relevant in the analysis regarding regional governance and EU policies, other national policy approaches and

interests will be analyzed. In this way, to refrain from generalizations or broader determinations regarding local, state, national and regional interventions, my analysis is site-specific when situated to the larger queries regarding Roma subject trajectories and community practices. These questions are framed within the context of the Schengen Agreement, and the forced 'return' of Roma living in Neukölln to Kosovo. Investigations regarding site-situated articulations of subject trajectories such as gender, race, class, and nation are driven by contextually relevant loci of contestation. Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented is based on my field notes pertaining to the structural or institutional dynamic at given site visitations. Specific information regarding dates, names, quotations, and policy-based provisions are cited. What follows is a brief introduction to the constitutional and ideological debates that currently inform developing situational contingencies regarding Roma human and civil rights debates in Germany.

3. Constitutional and Ideological Considerations

The Romani movement emerged in response to the extermination of 1.5 million Roma and Sinti in Nazi death camps. The Holocaust Museum in Heidelberg, Germany is located at the Roma and Sinti Documentation Centre. It is also the site of the central office or *Zentralrat*, an activist and legal advisory board regarding Romani civil rights issues in Europe. I visited this site and had the opportunity in my conversations with those affiliated with the central office, to access information regarding constitutional and ideological considerations framing Romani 'refugee' debates in Germany. The *Zentralrat* has regional offices in the other federal states or *Bundesländer*, with the exception of the participating regional offices in Hamburg and Lower Saxony. By way of support from the Society for Endangered Peoples, the *Zentralrat* was able to gain support politically and financially from the SPD under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party in 1982 (Matras, 1998, p. 56). During this period, the German Federal Government accepted responsibility for the Romani Holocaust.

This set in motion the establishment of *Bundesländer* government supported offices to address the reparation claims made by Romani Holocaust victims. It became the basis from which Roma activist organizations were formed and mobilized under the legal provisions of German national and legal identity. Other Roma activist groups and organizations in central and eastern EU member-states were formed and based on socio-economic issues, and grassroots efforts concerning site-situated Roma community initiatives. Individual Roma assistance requests based on material concerns and needs in German communities spawned further administrative coalitions and efforts by the *Bundesländer* affiliated offices. Organizational efforts are aimed at short and mid-term measures to improve the socio-political status of Roma communities, backed by financial and institutionally based structural support. The

Zentralrat Roma activists work in cooperation the European Roma Rights Centre based in Budapest, Hungary. Their cooperative affiliation is in part mobilized by formal appeals to the European Union and the European Commission on structural recognition, policy provisions and financial support for European regionally situated concerns. According to Robert Kushen, Director of ERRRC, formal appeals currently focus on the educational segregation and institutional discrimination of Roma children (www.errc.org). National and regional structurally based educational discrimination is further complicated by local Romani clan based considerations such as linguistic differences within and between local communities. For example, Gigi who identifies herself as a German Romani poet, from Romania, speaks a dialect specific to her clan affiliation in a community of Bucharest. She describes her linguistic practices and affiliations as a Creole based on her clan and Kalderasha dialect, and Romanian and German language attributions. She lives and works in Heidelberg in an administrative position at the university, and considers herself a “EU citizen of Romani descent and heritage” (Heidelberg field notes: June 15, 2011).

The contestation sites of Roma community practices and subject trajectories splinter into varying articulations of self-diversification, and presents debates concerning local, national and regional loyalties regarding Romani rights based advocacy. In my conversation with an activist at the Roma and Sinti Documentation center in Heidelberg, he describes himself as Sinti, an affiliation and Romani dialect based on, but not restricted to “Germanophone soil” (Matras, 1998, p. 70). He states that the goal of the Zentralrat is to assist “German Roma” (Heidelberg field notes, June 15, 2011). This has caused debate among other activist cooperatives, as in Hamburg. I spoke by phone with an advocacy worker at the Roma National Congress. She, like others, requested that I withhold her identity in fear of jeopardizing their organizational efforts with other Bundesländer offices. She stated, “I think that excluding Roma requests for assistance based on national allegiance is very misguided. To tell my Rom sisters that I can’t help them is something I refuse to do. My efforts here formally or informally are daily, seven days a week; why should I limit my outreach based on German citizenship requirements?” (Berlin field notes, June 3, 2011). She identifies herself as “a stateless Kalderasha Rom with legal residency in Germany. She immigrated to Germany from Russia over 6 years ago, and attained her ‘legal’ status by way of her brother, who is now a German citizen. She states that under the EU 2006 amended Schengen Agreement, providing ‘freedom of movement’ with a EU identity card or passport, German legal residency is easier to attain. Germany is part of the EEA (European Economic Area), differentiated for example, by the EFTA (European Free Trade Association). State membership in one EU organization does not necessitate nor grant membership in another. For example, Switzerland chooses singular EFTA member-state status under EU policy provisions. Germany however, has full EU membership status, which under regional and German federal law expedites the granting of EU citizenship (<http://www.en>

wikipedia.org/wiki/Schengen-Agreement). As such, an individual who emigrates from a EU non-member state into an EEA member-state is by way of immediate family affiliation and employment, student status, or other indices verifying self-sufficiency, eligible to become an EU citizen. After 5 years of self-sufficient or employed residency, Germany under its *Freizügigkeitsgesetz* (a national partial implementation of EEA policy provisions) grants permanent residency status to an individual applicant on a case-by-case basis (Berlin filed notes, 2011).

The contestation sites of Romani membership eligibility within local, state, national, and regional parameters are interconnected with Roma geographic trajectories, and community practices and inter-articulations. At issue in the debate central to the Zentralrat's advocacy focus on German Sinti Roma is continued federal government recognition and financial assistance, based on Roma advocacy efforts for and by victims and survivors of the Holocaust. Appeals for assistance from Romani diasporic immigrants, and socio-economic refugees from the EU Balkan member-states and responsive local, national, and regional efforts, led to the development of the pan-European identity. Divergent Roma community grassroots efforts to this effect arose from varied directions and ideological approaches. Within the German national context, this pan-European identity became engendered out of pragmatically located efforts (as in the Hamburg based Roma National Congress) to assist transnational economic and political Roma refugees from the war torn states, such as those of 'Yugoslavia', or 'Czechoslovakia'. EU economic and political integration efforts, alongside its own organizational and 'mission based challenges', can be articulated as neglecting Roma communities and their integration advocacy concerns as a highly prioritized issue on the EU policy implementation agenda.

One such instance emerges in a 2009 Roma migration study within Italy, initiated by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Council of Europe Report concludes, "the Roma and Sinti are still widely considered by the Italian public to be a nomadic population, even though the majority of them have in fact been settled for along time. Consequently, many Roma and Sinti have been placed in camps instead of regular housing (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 2008). The Roma housing issue has been addressed by regional EU human rights discourse, as article 3EHCR, which is based on the judgment by the European Court of Human Rights Grand Chamber in the case of *Cyprus v. Greece*. "In particular, the court has established that if a population was condemned to live under debasing conditions which violated the very notion of respect for the human dignity of its members, such discriminatory treatment amounts to degrading treatment under Article 3 of the Convention" (Amnesty International, 2010, p. 24). Despite further decisive language for various policy recommendations and review, as the "follow-up plan of its plan for the integration of Roma people", adopted by a High Level Pan European Ministerial meeting in Strasbourg, the call for urgent action by

EU Commissioner Viviane Reding may likely be tabled by other economic priorities (Enterprise Europe Network, 2011). Overshadowed by discussions on the Danube River, its transport of liquefied gas through “EU’s industrial core,” priorities as this often sideline ‘action’ regarding implementation of Roma community rights discourse and practices. Despite the availability of 13 billion euros from the European Social Fund, between 2007 and 2013, to finance Roma housing and education programs, the European Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, Laszlo Anders stated, “At the end of the day not much has really changed” (Deutsche Welle). The EU has appointed a task force to investigate why EU member-states have not acted on the available funds (Deutsche Welle). Exemplary of the Western policy milieu, as well as the complexity of competing cosmologies and orders of social and political economies, alternate Roma community based practices and rights based coalitions (e.g., discussed previously within Hamburg and Heidelberg) may serve better the needs and concerns reflected by advocacy initiatives.

Further debate and questions remain as well over the use of the regulatory discourse ascriptions and category ‘nomadic’ within existing EU human rights discourse on housing, which equivocates the term ‘nomads’ as an ethnic slur specific to Italian Roma communities, in order to substantiate appeals to rights claims for “regular housing” (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 2008). What ‘regular’ housing alludes to may be questionable, however of another departure point of inquiry is the minority-nomad, majority-sedentary construction of dyadic Roma community identification. The semiotic over-coding of state-centric subject eligibility discourse with membership rights language by the European Commission, points to a critique leveled by the non-governmental agency, the European Roma Rights Centre. “Considering that the itinerant lifestyle is part of Roma identity, nondiscrimination in access to public housing as in principle imposed by Directive 2000/43/EC (Article 3 AS 1, h) should be understood as obliging the authorities to provide sufficient places for caravans” (The European Roma Rights Centre). The critique, “the Roma should be able to choose to lead an itinerant or semi-itinerant lifestyle, even there where there are good justifications for country planning legislation, which in principle denies them stopping places for their caravans,” equates state centered socio-economic interests with ‘country planning’ (The European Roma Rights Centre). In some instances it appears, human rights discourse by the EU or NGOs confound socio-economic interests with concerns of Romani ‘autonomous’ choice and community based cultural (self) governance and practice. Implicated further in this dynamic of EU/EC administrative challenges is the dissolution of the former Soviet bloc countries, as well as the territorial and administrative priorities of East German integration (Lippert et al., 1993, pp.1-38).

Working outside of Germany’s constitutional and state policy formulations, pan-European Roma organizations such as the International Romani Union, and the

World Romani Congress, continue their community work across clan, local, state, national, and regional boundaries. Also, by seeking multilateral policy recognition and intervention from the Council of Europe and United Nations, in part as political and financial support, these pan-European practices and articulations of Roma diasporic, political migration dramatically diverged from the Zentralrat's appeasement of German federal immigration requirements (Matras, 1998, p. 58). This ideological split is based in part on the argumentation "that there was no state in which the Roma were granted protection (Matras, 1998, p. 59). Germany's inter-articulation of EU citizen rights by the Schengen Agreement for freedom of movement and 'gainful' employment (implied as exclusionary practices of persons not reliant on state funded financial support) is a site-situated, nationalistic coding of citizenship and ethnicity requirements. Such policy entanglements appear as systematically exclusive of the immigrant rights EU citizenship is stipulated to protect. Within the context of the aforementioned critical inquiry into Roma and state-centric sites of contestation, this is central to the debate of the EU rights narrative, EU member-state 'sovereignty' and the integration of economically and politically marginalized peoples. As Nevzat Soguk states, "the truth claims as to the permanence of, naturalness, and self evidence of the sovereign state (as the sole spatiopolitical site of life activities) and the citizen (as the sole proper subject of the state's political site) having been exposed, the task of statecraft seems now much more difficult and much more contingent than ever before" (Soguk, 1999, p. 43). Furthermore, "for the practitioners of the state, what is at hand here and now is nothing less than a crisis of representation of the relations and institutions of the state" (Soguk, 1999, p.43).

Pan-European Roma advocacy efforts eventually won over the Zentralrat's resistance against the 'statelessness' argument, convinced that it merely reinforced the 'nomad' Romani stereotypes, and that it would whittle away its initial efforts to gain Roma and Sinti rights protection based on their minority status in Germany. However, increasing appeals for assistance by Roma transnational economic refugees from Eastern Europe, as well as increased calls for cooperative efforts between the Bundesländer affiliates, resulted in the Zentralrat's participation in pushing for international Roma rights resolutions (Heidelberg field notes, June 13, 2011). The founding of EUROM in 1990, as an international Roma community organization, structurally engaged the push for support of Romani rights by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1992, and one year later by the Council of Europe (Matras, 1998, p. 61).

4. The Global Economic Crisis and EU, IMF Directives

In Brussels, September 14, 2010, Viviane Reding, Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, stated, "Let me be very clear, discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or race has no

place in Europe. It is incompatible with the values on which the European Union was founded. National authorities who discriminate ethnic groups in the application of EU law are also violating the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which all Member States have signed up to” (Reding V., 2010, p. 2). In stark contrast and juxtaposition to Reding’s formal declaration, according the 2010 Amnesty International Report on the forced return of Roma to Kosovo: “Two young Romani men in their early 20s who had returned on the same plane from Germany in May of 2010, had been involuntarily taken from their homes in the early hours of the morning. On arriving in Kosovo one had been given six months rent and financial assistance, and the other had received assistance from the Organization for Migration, of 350 euro.” Another report states, “Florim, an Ashkali man was returned to Kosovo from Germany in April of 2010. ‘I lived in Germany for 20 years. All my five children were born there and went to school there. I worked there until we didn’t have the right to work because of all the Germans that were unemployed. We were granted *Duldung* (tolerance) status. My wife and children were returned on 17 March 2010” (Amnesty International, 2010).

As such, the granting of *Duldung* status (relevant to the expulsion of the Roma men cited in the previous report) by German government officials is an example of site- situated enforcement of state policy event, fraught with tensions that speak to the erosion of EU member-state sovereignty (within the contextual implementation of the Schengen Agreement) and the euro zone counterweight, implemented as a logic of employment analysis and market based values. This fraught and complex dynamic necessitates a closer examination of the larger contestations between ‘social democratic’ ideals, and the neoliberal globalization project, with respect to the migratory flows of ‘bodies’ and commerce, as well as the varied ethno-political orders and spatio-temporal entanglements it engages. For example, one such development enacted within the political economy of the EU’s current debt crisis, invokes a brief overview of counterweight euro zone measures employed by the European Central Bank. It raised interest rates in efforts to calm fears of further inflation in Germany, burdening southern countries already struggling with their debt. Some months later, the debt crisis escalated, exacerbated in part by governments’ imprudent borrowing practices, and regulators who allowed banks to treat bonds as a no risk proposition. Investors who did not make distinctions between bonds of troubled economies such as Greece, further escalated the banking crisis. It became the new sub-prime and lured investors from the U.S. looking for what was considered a safe calculation.

The 2008 financial crisis that struck global markets tested the efficacy of the euro zone states and the EU to find counterweight measures to deal with the fiscal emergency. One response to address the crisis was a series of euro zone meetings, as EU leaders converged in the European Council to renew their single market commitments and stimulate recovery while maintaining public spending. An overhaul

of the global financial system it was decided was desperately needed and the G20 transferred 832 billion euros into the International Monetary Fund to assist those states (such as Greece and Italy) in need. Street protests erupted in response to more government imposed austerity measures. In May of 2010, in response to the Greek situation, the EU and IMF structures a financial assistance plan of 110 billion euros for a period of more than three years. Protestors in Greece however were not impressed, and now included the EU and IMF as protest targets. EU leaders leery of a domino effect that could include Portugal, Ireland, Italy, and Spain addition to Greece, opted for the bailout plan. If Greece left the euro zone it is feared, the EU and U.S. economies would feel the aftershocks (Bache, 2011, p. 217).

The Greek economic crisis is pertinent to emergent EU member-states such as Kosovo (not fully recognized as a state by all EU member-states) and developing countries. Its post-war economy is too weak to meet the immediate public assistance and welfare needs of thousands of Roma expelled from Germany. It also places states on notice that are in the planning phases meeting EU requirements to gain entry as member-states. European Union membership is not necessarily a panacea for economic 'integration' such as Greece, as it contends with new leadership; partial shut downs of state and city services, and debates of self-determination outside the euro zone. "Within this European solidarity, it is necessary for the individual country to first face its responsibility," Hans-Peter Friedrich states in a television interview. Angela Merkel's German coalition government is becoming increasingly unpopular, specifically her CDU led-coalition which lost the election in Baden-Württemberg, a state known for its consistent conservative Christian Democratic support since 1952 (Kulish, 2011). The German electorate appears to be quick to anger in matters considered to be the fiscal irresponsibility of others. This sense of indignation however, does not seem to resonate regarding forced Roma deportations. "In this renationalization of European countries, and the rise of xenophobia, governments are very careful toward new migration flows," states Catherine de Wenden, Director of Research at the Center of International Studies in Paris (Kulish, 2011). At the same time, this is contradictory with liberal European models and the needs of the labor force in most European countries" (Kulish, 2011).

Catherine de Wenden's observations of macro-political connections and implications regarding migration may be elaborated further in Roma community micro-political encounters, as in the deportation of Elvis Berishaj from Dingelbe, Lower Saxony, to Kosovo. Elvis is currently contending with various competing state membership eligibility requirements. He articulates his subjectivities as a Serb speaking Kosovar Roma, who grew up in Germany, speaking German and Romani. He considers Dingelbe his home. He has childhood memories of Kosovo, yet now feels foreign around ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, and does not speak the language. According to German government regulations, Elvis no longer a minor in age, has to obtain a

Kosovo passport in order to apply for legal residency status in Germany; Kosovo is not yet a fully recognized as EU member state. Kosovo immigration officials speak Albanian, and due to his extended and continued absence (by way of the Duldung status), lack of identity documentation, as well as destroyed birth records during the 1999 war, are now reluctant to provide him with necessary paperwork for a passport application. He has been denied political refugee status in Germany, and the Ministry of the Interior deems his 'repatriation' (deportation), commonly referred to by Roma as *Abschiebung* (to cast off) to Kosovo as 'safe for return'. His deportation reflects a current forced expulsion policy of "50,000 Roma, most of them Serbian speaking," to Kosovo since 1999, with as many as 12,000 people facing deportation from Germany alone" (Human Rights Watch, 2010). However, by way of concerted local Roma family and Dingelbe community coalition efforts to petition and speak out publicly against Elvis's *Abschiebung*, his German 'legal' residency was granted.

5. *Berlin Field Notes*

In my attempts to inquire about the forced expulsion procedures of Duldung status Romani in Neukölln, I was asked by a police precinct officer if I wanted to file a complaint. I expressed my inquiry be based on questions of 'procedure', and was informed unless I wanted to file a formal complaint, no further assistance was necessitated (Berlin field notes, May 23, 2011). Two days later, I visited the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin and was denied access to the building. I presented my U.S. passport at the entrance checkpoint and was asked about the reason for my visit. I introduced myself, and my dissertation research purpose. I was informed unless I had a specific reason, my access would be denied. I inquired if I could schedule an appointment with someone there regarding "matters of public inquiry." I was denied. I made a follow-up phone call requesting by name to speak to an entry-level official. I was asked the phone extension number. I had no such number and again was denied access (May 25).

On the following day, after several repeated unsuccessful attempts to contact a Ms. Rosenberg by phone at the Romani Union in Berlin, I visited the office located on the Kyffhäuserstrasse. The office had been vacated. After various inquiries regarding a forwarding address to no avail, I received assistance from an art gallery director in an adjacent space. I gave him the phone number associated with the present location. There was no answer. He subsequently contacted the building landlord, who also had no information to provide (May 26). This lack of information pattern persisted as I visited the EU/EC offices in Berlin's city center the following week. I asked for information regarding their knowledge on the Duldung status deportations of German Roma. I was given a bulky packet and quickly returned back to my hotel (May 31). The packet included data analysis on topics entitled 'Dynamic Progress' and 'Globalized and Interdependent'. It contained various glossy brochures and

pamphlets with member-state per capita wealth and income distributions and information regarding the European Union that states: "The EU acts out of enlightened self interest just as much as global solidarity. On an increasingly interconnected planet, supporting economic development and political stability in the wider world is an investment in one's future" (European Commission, 2007). I pivot here to turn to a critical intervention by way of juxtaposition with two additional document citations.

The first document, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) report from the office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities, October 2010 states: "The Schengen Borders Code also provides for the abolition of intra-Member State border controls. Under this provision no controls are permitted at EU internal borders (Article 21). Police checks within the territory of a state are permitted but they must: not have border patrols as an objective; be based on general police information and experience regarding possible threats to public security; and aim to combat cross-border crime. The checks must be devised and executed in a manner distinct from systematic checks on persons and only be carried out as spot checks" (Cahn, C., & Guild, E., 2010, p. 28).

The second document, the Official Journal of the European Union: Directive 2004/38/EC of The European parliament and of The Council of 29 April 2004 states: Expulsion of Union citizens and their family members on the ground of public policy or public security is a measure that can seriously harm persons who, having availed themselves of the rights and freedoms conferred on them by the Treaty, have become genuinely integrated into the host member State. The scope for such measures should therefore be limited in accordance with the principle of proportionality to take account of the degree of integration of the persons concerned, the length of their residence in the host Member State, their age, the state of health, family and economic situation and the links with their country of origin" (Directive 2004/38/EC).

Such evidentiary documentation as juxtapositions of discursive practices by Roma community members and organizations, NGOs and IGOs, attest to sites of contestation and contradiction. Ongoing violence against state recalcitrant ontologies of the Roma diaspora is manifest in the destruction of Roma camps on the outskirts of Paris and Lyon. President Nicolas Sarkozy's orders the expulsion and deportation of 'illegal' Roma and the Elysee Palace confirms legislation to ensure the process "for reasons of public order" (Saltmarsh M., 2010). To maintain such 'public order', Interior Minister Brice Hortefeux states, "He would use decrees to dismantle about 300 illegal camps, of which 200 belong to Roma, citing such camps as the source of illicit trafficking, children exploited for begging, prostitution or delinquency" (Saltmarsh M., 2010). Furthermore, "those in France illegally or who have committed public-order offenses will be sent 'almost immediately' back to their countries of origin

without the possibility of returning (...) promising the use of digital fingerprinting technology toward this end" (Saltmarsh M., 2010). Countering such claims, Le Ligue des Droits de l' Homme states the government is "mixing up the situation of the European Roma with the Travelers who have French nationality," and "as a result of a few cases, are developing the idea that there is an ethnic solution to the problem of delinquency" (Saltmarsh M., 2010). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and other international human rights interventions and directives, appear within these site-specific instantiations to lack an agency of policy implementation.

6. Conclusions

Often recalcitrant to the integration projects of late-modernity and the market fundamentalism of neoliberal globalization, Roma community practices are mobilized along and within the interstitial spaces of bio- and geo-political demands. Roma identity practices and trajectories confound further considerations regarding their integration into the market economy. Incongruent with the ethico-political appeals and treatment of migrant labor by NGOs, EU/EC, and the UN, community advocacy efforts by and on the behalf of many site-specific Roma communities, present an open-ended endeavor. Such contingencies of encounter and event recruit specific articulations and embodiment of Roma community and cultural practices. The situated specificity of spatio-temporal contingencies, mobilize discursive community practices and economies of and by Roma subjectivities. Many traditional 'ways of life' and agency are mediated, disrupted or lost to demands of immanent conditions of physical, economic, and social survival. As such, this dynamic often engenders the conceits of regulatory, institutional ideals and mechanisms, as dismissals of Roma community practices. Roma subject trajectories that are articulated as varying practices of family coherence, traditional gender roles, specific clan allegiance and self-designation, oral historical narratives, performance, and trade craftsmanship is ascribed within the hegemony of neoliberal logic, as anachronistic and non-conforming. This engenders further critical provocations regarding xenophobic objectifications of Roma identity practices (e.g., uneducated, dirty, thieves, lazy) and gestures towards the objectified identity markers, and meta-applicable indices of state membership eligibility.

The politics of global, regional, national and state capture of subject eligibility (e.g., EU, IMF, UN) unfold as contentious debates of constitutional and ideological primacy. The liberal left of Western democratic ideals of freedom, human rights, a globalized 'free' flow of commerce and movement of 'bodies', counters and substantiates the further radicalization of right-center regimes, in and by tighter centrifugal privileging of regional, national, and ethnocentric fervor. The primacy of Western and Eurocentric rights and democracy discourse over-codes the habitus of

locally embodied situated economies of encounter and event. The global 'democratization' of technology, and increasing access to digital modalities of varied economies of exchange, confounds further, socio-economic interests, with 'freedom' of autonomous agency and choice. "In so far as values market exchange as 'an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action and substituting for all previously held beliefs', it emphasizes the significance of contractual relations in the marketplace" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). This directly calls into question the increased criminalization of poverty in Roma communities; the erosion of the welfare state and rifts various competing cosmologies of (de) legitimating constructions of subject eligibility. Paradoxically, the socio- and ethico-political orders of subject and community intelligibility, as static productions of transnational or state-centric discourse and practices, pronounce the tenuous and destabilized 'status' of embodied 'subject sovereignty'. In *Reading "Adam Smith": desire, history and value*, Michael J. Shapiro states, "the European Union and increasingly, the state-as-coherent-actor or unitary entity has been destabilized as various 'subnational' or tribal and ethnic groups have asserted desires to reoccupy old sovereignties that preexist the current geopolitical map" (Shapiro, 2002, p. 31).

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